UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY
OU_172934
UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

THE INDIAN

ANNUAL REGISTER

July—December 1942

VOL. II

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

Issued from 1919] THE INDIAN [25th. Year of Issue

ANNUAL REGISTER

An Annual Digest of Public Affairs of India

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

BEING ISSUED IN 2 SIX-MONTHLY VOLUMES

Volume II] July.–Dec. 1942 [Volume II

Editor :—Nripendra Nath Mitra

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PAYABLE IN ADVANCE Rs. 14 ONLY
VOLUMES: CLOTH BOUND Rs. 8 EACH POSTAGE EXTRA
FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTION PAYABLE IN ADVANCE Rs. 15 ONLY.

PUBLISHED BY

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

THE INDIAN
ANNUAL REGISETR
JULY–DECEMBER 1942

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS :–

July 1942	1
August 1942	13
September 1942	26
October 1942	39
November 1942	49
December 1942	60
INDIA IN HOME POLITY—JULY TO DECEMBER 1942	66
Hopeful prospects for Allied powers	66
N. W. Africa expedition—A U. S. job	66
Was it a "second front ?"	67
U. S. A. preparations	67
Huge expansion of her fighting forces	68
The Axis aware of the African move	68
Axis on the defensive	68
German defeats in Russia	68
Announced to the German people	69
Bombing of Germany	69
Russia's natural wealth under German possession ...	70
Russia's self-sufficiency	70
Why Germany drove towards the Caucasus	71
Russia's sacrifices and sufferings	71
Lend-Lease materials—U. S.—Soviet agreement ...	72
Fissures in the "United Nations" Camp	72
Anglo-American leadership	73
U. S. snubbing of General De Gaulle	73
U. S. policy creating clevage	73
The strategy behind the Darlan deal	74
U. S. contact with German Generals	74
Russia playing an Independent hand	75
Allied leadership suspect	75
What Africa and Asia felt	76
Events in Egypt and Iran	76
Attitude of Turkey and Saudi Arabia	77
Allied grievance against Russia	78
United Nations and the Indo-British problem ...	78
Treatment of China	79
China's sufferings	80
Success gained by China	80
Play of what power politics	81

Chinese forces east of the Salween 81
The strategic positions of the opposing forces ... 82
Not easy to understand 83
Six months sea and air battles 83
Japan's successes and failures 83
Allied failure to appreciate China's role 84
Help to her desperately inadequate 84
What has enabled China to carry on 84
Has been told in China book 85
What western nations did to her 85
Announcement of October 10 85
The regime of "extra-territoriality" 86
Why "extra-territoriality" was demanded 86
The clauses of renunciation 87
Prospects in the immediate future 87
Japan must be taught a "terrible lesson" 88
U. S. Vice-President on the future 89
Science and World planning 89
World-wide doubts and questionings 90
Napoleon and Hitler did a necessary work 90
The political and economic unity of Europe 91
Warring nations and "global basis" of reconstruction ... 91
How India comes into the picture 91
China's anxiety about the deadlock in India ... 92
Sir Stafford Cripps' bungling 92
The "Quit-India" movement 93
Propaganda value of booklet 94
The Disturbances in India 94
August movement may halt Allied offensive 95
The attitude of the Congress 96
Unnatural relation between India and Britain... ... 96
A sample of American Press opinion 97
The sea-saw of Anglo-American relation 97
Britain's privileged position in the U. S. 98
U. S. following British lead in China 99
Present British Government cannot give right lead ... 99
A Canadian party's suggestion 99
An American suggestion 100
What ordinary Americans did feel 100
How Mr. Churchill exploited this feeling 101
Indian finance-capital & the Congress 101
British finance-capital around 10 Downing Street ... 102
The temptations before American finannce-capital ... 102
"Civil" war between Hindus and Muslims 103
The stumbling block to India's political freedom ... 103
Sir Sultan Ahmed's plea 104
A make-belief that was soon exposed 104
Members of the Governor-General's Council cannot
Initiate any political change 105
Non-Congress organisations in healing up the breach ... 106
Differences amongst Indians stand in the way ... 106
Separatist conceits and ambitions 107

The cry for an undefined Pakistan 108
The "real Muslim problem" and Nizam State 108
What is its place in Muslim life 109
Short-sightedness of Pakistanis 109
Credal majority principle will smother the Nizam State ... 109
Azad-Muslim conference and its constituents 110
What it is fighting against 110
Our century-old fight against internal weaknesses ... 111
Gandhiji and British distortion of him 111
His non-violence has prolonged British rule 112
Bengal Government Communique—"parallel" Congress Government in Midnapur 112
Mr. Fazlul Huq's picture 112
The present and the immediate future 113
The story of Government reprisals 113
What produced the disturbances 113
Satish Ch. Das-Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan 114
How he has been serving the people from inside the Jail 114
Dr. Shyamaprosad Mukherjee's charge-sheet ... 115
"Steel-Frame" and its unresponsiveness to Human Distress 115
Failure of Price Control Conferences 116
Government purchases and rise of prices 117
Profiteering and speculation started from these ... 117
Corruption in high places 118
Government profiteering in rice and paddy 118
News of food scarcity rationed 119
India's food area going down inspite of "Grow more food" campaign 119
Profiteering in cloth industry trade 120
Absence of faith-cause of Indo-British tension... ... 120(a)
Contradiction between profession and practice... ... 120(b)
What of the future ... ... 120(b)
THE VICEROY'S EXTENDED COUNCIL 120 (d)
Six New Members Appointed ... ... 120 (d)
THE COUNCIL OF STATE
AUTUMN SESSION—NEW DELHI—21st. to 29th. SEPTEMBER 1942 121
Standing Committee for Information Dept. 121
Car allowance for members 121
Political situation in the Country 121
Allocation of defence expenditure 129
M. K. C. Corporation's activities 131
Modification of press restriction 133
Power of Military Commanders 139
Price Control Policy 139
THE CENTRAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
AUTUMN SESSION—NEW DELHI—14th. to 24 SEPTEMBER 1942 140
Indian Companies Act Amend. Bill 140
Rubber Control Amend. Bill 140
Railways Act Amend. Bill 141
Casualties in Burma Air Raids 141
Damage to Posts & Telegraphs 141

Country's Geological Resources 141
Political Situation in the Country 142
Alleged insult to Girl Picketers 142
Debate on Political Situation (Contd.) 143
Casualties by police firing 146
Debate on Political Situation (Contd.) 146
Utilization of mineral resources 156
Official Bills 157
Treatment of Indians in Dominions 157
M. L. A. 'S and attendence in Courts 157
Ban on Khaksars 158
Finance Member's Mission to England 158
Adjournment motions ruled out 160
Release of Khaksar Leaders 160
Police excesses in August Disturbances 160

LAWS PASSED IN 1941—42.

Government of Bengal 163
" of Behar 164
" of Orissa 164
" of N. W. F. Province 164
" of Punjab 165
" of Assam 166
" of Sind 166
" of Bombay 167
" of Madras 168
" of United Provinces 172
" of Central Provinces 174

CONGRESS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DISTURBANCES 1942—43

CHAPTER I 176
The "Quit India" movement : setting the stage ... 176
CHAPTER II
Wardha to Bombay—The motives and aims of the Resolutions 178
CHAPTER III
The Contemplated Character of the Movement... ... 183
CHAPTER IV
The Nature of the Disturbances 188
CHAPTER V
The Part Played by Congressmen 193
CHAPTER VI
Conclusion 199
APPENDIX I
Record of the Allahabad meeting of the Congress Working Committee 200
Appendix A 204
Foreign Soldiers 205
Appendix B 205
APPENDIX II
Mr. Rajagopalachari's letter of July 18th. 1942 to Mr. Gandhi 206
Mr. Gandhi's reply 207

APPENDIX III (1)

Text of the resolution adopted by the All-India Congress Committee on the 8th. August 1942 209

APPENDIX IV

Confidential.—Andhra Provincial Congress Committee ... 211

APPENDIX V

A Comparison of the "A. I. C. C. twelve-point programme" with Mr. Gandhi's pre-arrest writings and statements ... 212
"12-point" Programme 212
Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's writings & statements ... 213
"12-point" Programme 213
Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's writing & statements ... 214
"12-point" Programme 214
Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's writing & statements ... 214
"12-point" Programme 215
Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's writings & statements ... 215
"12-point" Programme 216
Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's writings & statement ... 216

APPENDIX VI

The "A. I. C. C." instructions for a no-tax, no-rent, no-grain campaign 217

APPENDIX VII

"The freedom struggle front" 219

APPENDIX VIII

An appeal to the people—Independence Day—26th January 1943 222

APPENDIX IX

"To all fighters for freedom"—Revolutionary greetings ... 223

APPENDIX X

Mr. Gandhi's last message 227

APPENDIX XI

(i) Instructions from the All India Congress Committee to the Provincial Congress Committe and others 227
(ii) All India Congress Committee ; To students ... 229

APPENDIX XII

Survey of the first five months of "Our Revolution" ... 231

APPENDIX XIII

"Six Commandments of Gandhi Baba" 232

APPENDIX

Extract from the "Harijan" dated August 23, 1942 ... 233
Question Box—Permissible items 233

APPENDIX XV

Miscellaneous Congress pamphlets 233
Congress Bulletin No : 5—Britisher's ordered anarchy ... 233
Anglo-American third front in India 233

Mass murder all over India 233
International affairs 234
Bulletin No : 6—War of Independence—Devilish Slaughter 235
No negotiation—fight on 235
War programme 236
Bulletin No : 7—War of Independence 236
Workers' task 236
Bonfire of English goods 236
Picketting of English and American banks 236

THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

BOMBAY—7th. AUGUST TO 9th. AUGUST 1942 ... 237

MAULANA AZAD'S SPEECH 237

"Decision impelled by necessity" 237
Freedom and the war effort 238
Demand for a political change 238
"No time for threats or promises" 238

MR. NEHRU MOVES RESOLUTION 239

British attitude condemned 239
Blackmail charge absurd 239
"Unparalleled example of inefficiency" 239
American attitude to Asia must change 240
"A fight to the finish" 240

SARDAR PATEL SECONDS RESOLUTION 241

"Make it a people's war for India" 241
Britain's unwillingness to transfer power 231
"Cannot trust Japanese" 241
Scope of proposed movement 242

MAHATMA GANDHI EXPLAINS STAND 242

Position of the States 242
Freedom to construct 243
"British are not going to fail" 243
Hope that Mr. Jinnah will change 244
Adherence to non-violence 244

SECOND DAY—BOMBAY—8th AUGUST 1942 244

SEVERAL AMENDMENTS MOVED 244

Mr. Balkrishna Sharma's amendment 244
Mr. Saxena's amendment 244
Mr. Subbaroyan's amendment 245
Mr. Satrugna's amendment 245
Dr. Ashraffs amendment 245
Mr. Zaheer's amendment 245
Mr. Sardesai's amendment 246
"The only proper lead" 246
"Inopportune to launch movement now" 246
Amendments rejected 218

MAHATMA GANDHI'S SPEECH 248

"Lord Linlithgow—A personal friend" 249

"The voice within me" 249
Critics urged to search their hearts 249
"We wont hit below the belt" 249
"A firm believer in Communal unity" 250
"Mr. Jinnah Misguided" 250
Let Issue be decided by a Tribunal 250
"Cannot wait any longer for freedom" 251
"Nothing secret about my plans" 251
"Freedom shall be your mantra" 251
Duty of the Princes 252
Underground activity deprecated 252
MR. NEHRU'S SPEECH ON THE RESOLUTION ... 252
Revolutionary significance of the war 253
"Narrow soldiers point of view will not do" 253
Muslim League attitude critized 253
PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO ADDRESS UNITED NATIONS ... 254
PRESIDENT ON CONGRESS-LEAGUE UNDERSTANDING ... 254
THE ALL INDIA HINDU MAHASABHA
WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS—NEW DELHI—29th. to 31st. AUGUST 1942 255
Declaration of India's Freedom 255
Muslim League's attitude condemned 256
"British Government encouraging Anti-National forces"... 256
Committee appointed to organise campaign 256
Policy of repression condemned 257
Release of Shri Y. D. Joshi 257
Release of Congress Leaders 257
WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS—NEW DELHI—3RD.TO 5TH OCT. '42 257
Executive's Call to Nationalists 257
Government's Contention 257
Propagate the Demand 257
Negotiations to Continue 258
Ban on festivals and processions 258
Collective fines condemned 258
Inquiry Committee 258
24TH. SESSION—CAWNPORE—29TH. DECEMBER 1942 ... 259
LALA LAKSHMIPAT SINGHANIA'S ADDRESS 259
THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 259
Bhagalpur Epic 260
The Cripps' mission 260
"Quit India" 262
Conditions of Co-operation 263
Unjust propaganda 264
Policy of Responsive Co-operation 265
Mahasabha assumes the lead 266
The National Demand 267
Utility of Foreign propaganda 268
Proposed delegation to the U. S. A. 269

Pro-Pakistani Hindus 270
Counting without the host 272
House on a living volcano 273
Would Moslems learn the lesson 275
A propaganda for Sanghatanists 276
Hold Fast ! 277
SECOND DAY—CAWNPORE—30TH. DECEMBER 1942 ...
PROCEEDINGS AND RESOLUTIONS 278
Felicitations to Pt. Malaviya 278
Dr. S. Mukherjee congratulated 279
Plea for holding Hindu Women's Conference ... 279
Sympathy for flood-stricken people 279
Organisation for defence parties 279
President's appeal 279
THIRD DAY—CAWNPORE—31ST. DECEMBER 1942 ... 280
Non-availability of food-stuffs 280
Resolution on political situation 280
Britain responsible for deadlock 281
United National Demand 281
Charter of Rights 281
Collective fines on Hindus 282
Direct action 282
THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE
WORKING COMMITTEE—BOMBAY—16TH TO 20TH AUGUST 1942 283
Establishment on Provincial Government 283
Mr. Jinnah on the Resolution 285
WORKING COMMITTEE—NEW DELHI—8TH. NOVEMBER 1942 285
Resolution on Sind affairs 285
Collective fines 286
The Political situation 286
COUNCIL MEETING—NEW DELHI—9TH. NOVEMBER 1942 286
Mr. Jinnah's address 286
RESOLUTIONS—
Settlement of deadlock 288
Facilities for Haj Pilgrimage 288
Policy regarding States 289
A. I. MUSLIM STUDENT'S FEDERATION 289
ANNUAL SESSION—JULLUNDER—14TH & 15TH. NOVEMBER '42 289
SECOND DAY—JULLUNDER—15TH. NOVEMBER '42 ... 290
Mr. Jinnah Restates League's Terms 290
Resolutions 292
THE PUNJAB MUSLIM LEAGUE CONFERENCE 292
ANNUAL SESSION—LYALLPUR—17TH. NOVEMBER '42 ... 292
Sir Nazimuddin's Appeal 293
Punjab Premier's Speech 293
Mr. Jinnah's Speech 293

Mr. Jinnah Explains Attitude 293
Punjab Premier's Plea for Communal Settlement ... 294
SECOND DAY—LYALLPUR—18TH. NOVEMBER 1942 ... 294
Bombay resolution of League Endorsed 294
Mr. Jinnah's Reply to Citizens' Address 294
THIRD DAY—LYALLPUR—19TH. NOVEMBER 1942 ... 295
Removal of Ban on Khaksars 295

THE ALL INDIA AKALI CONFERENCE 296
THIRD SESSION—LYALLPUR—26TH. & 27TH. SEPT. '42 ... 297
Presidential Address 297
Resolutions 301
Present Political Situation 301
Political Prisoners 301

THE ALL INDIA NATIONALIST LEAGUE 302
SECOND SESSION—POONA—31ST. JULY & 1ST. AUGUST '42 302
Presidential Address 302
Resolutions 304
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—NEW DELHI—20TH. SEPT. '42 308
Resolutions 308

THE LIBERAL FEDERATION POLITY 309
COUNCIL MEETING—POONA—5TH. JULY '42 ... 309
Liberal's Appeal to Britain 309
COUNCIL MEETING—NEW DELHI—26TH. SEPT. '42 ... 310
Establishment of National Government 310

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA 311
An Appeal to the Government 311

THE A. I. NEWSPAPER EDITORS' CONFERENCE 312
SECOND SESSION—BOMBAY—5TH. OCTOBER '42 ... 312
Mr. Horniman's Welcome Address 312
President's Speech 312
Proceedings & Resolutions 315
Press Restriction Must Go 315
Responsibility of the Press 316
Opposition to Pre-Censorship 317
SECOND DAY—BOMBAY—6TH. OCTOBER '42 ... 317
Standing Committee Appointed 317
Foreign Message & Censorship 318
Delay in Press Messages 318

THE UNITED PROVINCES PRESS CONFERENCE 319
FIRST SESSION—LUCKNOW—31ST. JULY '42 ... 319
Presidential Address 319

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESS—TEXT OF CORRESPONDENCE 321

Standing Committee's Note to Government ... 322
Sir R. Tottenham's Letter 323
Editors' Committee President's Reply 324
Sir R. Tottenham's Reply to the President 326
President's Representation to Government 327
Sir R. Tottenham's Reply 327

BRITISH INDIA AND INDIAN STATES 328

STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES—
BOMBAY—3RD. JULY '42 328

Jam Saheb Survey's War Effort 328
Protection of Princes' Rights 329
Jam Saheb's London Address 329

THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE 332

ANNUAL SESSION—CALCUTTA—17th. DECEMBER 1942 ... 332

Mr. Haddow's Presidential Address 332
H. E. The Viceroy's Address 332
Proceedings and Resolutions 342

INDIAN DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT 344

HOUSE OF COMMONS—LONDON—10th. SEPT. 1942 ... 344

Mr. Churchill's Tirade Against Congress 344

HOUSE OF COMMONS—LONDON—11th. SEPT. 1942 ... 345

Mr. Greenwood's speech 345
Mr. Wedderburn's speech 346
Mr. George Ridley's speech 346
Mr. Wilfred Roberts speech 347
Sir Frederick Sykes' speech 347
Sir Stanley's Reed's speech 348
Mr. Amery's Tirade Against Congress 348
Mr. Amery's version of breakdown 354

HOUSE OF COMMONS—LONDON—8TH. OCTOBER 1942 ... 355

AMery Repeats old charges 355
Mr. James Maxton's speech 362
Mr. Campbell Stephen's Speech 362
Mr. Oliver Stanley's speech 363
Mr. Graham White's speech 363
Mr. William Cove's speech 363
Mr. Arthur Greenwood's speech 364
Mr. Attlee's Reply to the Debate 364

HOUSE OF LORDS—LONDON—20TH. OCTOBER 1942 ... 368

Duke of Devoushire's speech ... ...
Lord Addison's speech 370
Earl of Huntingdon's speech 371
Lord Chancellor's Reply to the Debate 371

AMERY'S CAXTON HALL SPEECH
on the future of India 375

SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER'S CALL TO BRITAIN
on the Need for Positive Line of Action 379

INDIA'S FIGHT FOR LIBERTY
Mr. Lin Yutang's Warning 381

AMERICA'S ANXIETY OVER INDIAN DEVELOPMENTS
Ernest Lindley's Statement 382

ALL INDIA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE 38
ANNUAL SESSION—INDORE—27TH. DECEMBER 1942 ... 385
Presidential Address 385

THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS 38
26TH SESSION—BARODA—1ST. JANUARY 1942 ... 387
Presidential Address 387

THE HISTORICAL RECORDS CONFFRENCE 38
18TH. SESSION—MYSORE—21ST. JANUARY 1942 ... 389
Mr. John Sargents' speech 389
Mysore Ruler's opening Address 390

THE CONVOCATION ADDRESSES 391

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 391
Sir Azizul Haque's Address 391

THE GURUKUL UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 393
Sir Radhakrishnan's Address 393

THE DELHI UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 394
Mr. N. R. Sarkar's Address 324

THE S. N. D. T. UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 395
Mr. N. R. Sarkar's Address 395

THE AGRA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 397
Mr. N. R. Sarkar's Address 397

THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 398
Sir C. V. Raman's Address 398

THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 401
Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Address 401

THE DACCA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 403
Sir Mirza Ismail's Address 403

THE TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 404
Sir Ramalinga Reddy's Address 404

THE PATNA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 412
Sir Mirza Ismail's Address 412

THE ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 418
H. H. The Maharaja of Travancore's Address 418

THE ANDHRA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 420
H. H. Maharani Setu Parvati Bai's Address 420

THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 422
Hon'ble Mian Abdul Haye's Address 422

Chronicle of Events

July 1942

His Excellency the Governor-General's Executive Council was extended ; and it was announced from New Delhi that His Majesty the King was pleased to approve the appointment of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Sir E. C. Benthall, Sir Jogendra Singh, Sir J. P. Srivastava, and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C I.E., to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai resigned his membership of the Congress Working Committee.

His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, at the meeting of the Chamber of Princes in Bombay, expressed the determination of the Princes to fight for the King-Emperor and the defence of the Motherland.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru declared at Nagpur that the Indians being a subject people could not help China. Pandit Nehru deplored the condition of education in the country due to the war situation.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in his book "Freedom and India," complained : "We are charged with professing a fight for freedom and democracy in Europe while denying both to India."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari resigned his membership of the Congress and the Assembly.

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution urging the withdrawal of the British power from India and pleaded with the British Government to accept the Congress proposal. On the failure of the appeal, the Congress intended to utilise all its non-violent strength for the vindication of the political rights and liberty of India, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

At the All-India Depressed Classes Conference at Nagpur Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraj M.L.A. (Central) declared : "If we now help the Allies in winning the war, I assure you that a settlement of our problem will go before the tribunal of the United Nations."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, said in New Delhi : (re : negotiation with the Congress) : "If this refers to India's right to Independence, it is certainly not a matter for negotiation. It is a fundamental principle which must be recognized by the United Nations. But if this question refers to arrangements for the duration of the war.....it is quite obvious to my mind that matters of this nature can only be settled by negotiation".

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview at Bhopal said : "The recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee and the pronouncement of Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders have created a most dangerous and most serious situation in the country."

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article entitled "To every Japanese", said : "I would ask you to make no mistake about the fact that you will be sadly disillusioned if you believe that you will receive a willing welcome from India."

Dr. Syed Mahmud, ex-Minister, of Bihar, and a member of the Congress Working Committee, said at Patna: "The Congress is always prepared for a settlement with the British Government if its essential demands are conceded."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wrote in a letter to the *Times*, "Nothing can be more dangerous in its implications or consequences than the Wardha proposals, particularly at a juncture like this."

Mr. M. S. Aney said at Nagpur: "The Cripps' proposal should be accepted.....these proposals gave all parties the chance of coming together and evolving a line of action for Government."

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said at Poona: "The visit of Sir Stafford Cripps was a calamity to India and the Allied cause. It was the biggest diplomatic failure.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar wanted to resign the Presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha, on account of ill health.

1st Professor Coupland, Professor of Colonial History at Oxford, surveying the Cripps' Mission's negotiation, in a booklet published in London, observed: "As regards both Anglo-Indian and Hindu-Moslem relations the Cripps' Mission has opened a new phase of the Indian question."

The Government of Bombay decided to institute a State Medical Faculty to hold examinations leading up to the registrable medical qualifications in Allopathy, pending the conversion of the Government Medical Schools at Poona and Ahmedabad into Medical Colleges.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in an interview to the "*News Chronicle*" said: "We want all Indians to have the will to resist Japanese aggression and never to submit and to help China to the best of our ability. But it is impossible to do these things effectively within the frame work of the present structure and policy in India. Risks must be taken in the attempt to change this, but complacently to allow it to remain is the greatest of all risks. The defence of India can only be effective under a free Government with the full co-operation and good-will of the Indian people."

Mr. Rajendra Prosad discussed the political situation with Mahatma Gandhi at Wardhaganj. The discussion included Gandhiji's proposed new movement. Mr. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay, had further talks with Mahatma Gandhi on the constructive programme about village self-sufficiency. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, apprised Mahatma Gandhi of the trend of his discussions with Mr. Jinnah, who insisted on his demand of Pakistan in his talks with Mr. Rajagopalachari.

The Council of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee held two sittings at Gorakhpur.—It discussed the general situation in the country in the light of the international situation.

2nd. It was announced from New Delhi that His Majesty the King was pleased to approve the appointment of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E, Dr. B. R. Ambedker, Sir E. C. Benthall, Sir Jogendra Singh, Sir J. P. Srivastava, K.B.E., and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C.I.E., to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

The following appointments to portfolios were made by the Governor-General :—

Member in charge of Information—Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer in succession to the late Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari.

Member in charge of Civil Defence—Sir J. P. Srivastava, in succession to the late Hon'ble Dr. Raghabendra Rao.

Member for War Transport, and for Ports and Air respectively consequent on the appointment of Sir Andrew Clow, late Member in charge of Communications to be Governor of Assam—Sir E. C. Benthall and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman.

Member for Defence.—The Hon'ble Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon.

Commerce Member—The Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker, to succeed the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, on his appointment as a representative of India on the War Cabinet.

Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands in succession to the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker—Sir Jogendra Singh.

Member-in-charge of the Department of Labour in succession to the Hon'ble Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon—Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

The portfolio of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in future to be designated the War Portfolio.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said at question time in the House of Commons, that he had received a letter from the Glasgow Trades Council (a Labour Organization) asking for the reopening of negotiations and that he was replying that the Government's attitude was clearly stated by himself and Sir Stafford Cripps on April 28.

He added: "Statements already made show that the Viceroy will always be willing to listen to suggestions made within the framework of our previous proposals by any representative body of Indian public opinion.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a Press interview in Bombay, said that he felt that the only way Britain could do justice was by handing over "Moslem homelands to the Moslems and Hindu homelands to the Hindus." This, he said, was a practical proposition and would cause the least amount of trouble and friction. The Pakistan Scheme was just and reasonable both for Hindus and Moslems. He characterized the Congress proposal for a "united and democratic government for the whole of India" as one which could and would mean for all intents and purposes, a Hindu Raj and Hindu domination, over a hundred million Moslems.

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai resigned his membership of the Congress Working Committee on account of ill health and addressed a letter to the effect to Maulana Azad.

3rd. Sir Azizul Haque, High Commissioner for India, in visiting Manchester, met a number of Indian trainees who were working at engineering factories in the north-west.

Mr. A. C. Sen, presiding at the quarterly general meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, discussed the problem of food-supply in the country. Mr. Sen referred particularly to the position in regard to the supply of rice, salt and sugar. In this connexion, he expressed his approval of the Government's "Grow more food" campaign.

His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, in a statement at the meeting of the Chamber of Princes, in Bombay, reiterated the determination of the Princes to face and fight the difficulties ahead with all their resources for their King-Emperor, for the defence of their Motherland and for the world cause at stake.

His Excellency the Viceroy sent a message of Greeting and Goodwishes to the President of the United States on the occasion of the American Independence Day.

The adjourned meeting of the Provincial Organizing Committee, set up by the Progressive Coalition Party was held at the Calcutta residence of the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, with Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq in the chair.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting held under the presidentship of Pandit Suraj Bali Pandey, President of the Gorakhpur District Congress Committee, at Gorakhpur, observed: "We do not want the Germans or the Japanese to come to India. We will fight them with or without arms."

4th. The High Commissioner for India, Sir Azizul Haque, visited Liverpool. He was met by Sheikh Abdul Hamid and Mr. M. U. Bakhit, the Indian Seamen's Welfare Officer.

Sir Azizul Haque, in a speech at Chester, said: "Today, India holds the most important key position". Sir Azizul outlined India's contribution of an average of 40,000 Seamen to the British mercantile services, the enlistment of 50,000 men voluntarily to the army every month, and the development of industry on a scale which could not be believed by any one unless he went to India. India had been so organised that she was able to provide a very large amount of war munitions.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, speaking at a big Red Shirt gathering at Babra, near Charsadda, criticised the British Government for not taking Indians into their confidence.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*: "I have to pay a heavy price for having drawn up an entrancing picture of a free India without a single British soldier."

The Mysore Legislative Council concluded its discussion on the cut motions

on the Budget for 1942-43, and voted all the demands. Mr. D. H. Chandrasekharia, President of the Council, presided.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Nagpur, declared that Indians at the moment being a subject nation, could not help China. Unless India was free she could not give China any help. Pandit Nehru added that Britain professed to be fighting for freedom and democracy, yet she denied these to peoples in her Empire. The result was that a subjugated country like India developed resentment and hatred towards Britain.

Mahatma Gandhi, writing on the Jodhpur situation in the *Harijan*, advised the workers to observe restraint in language. He offered his condolences to the widow and children of Mr. Balmukund Bisa.

The Government of India decided to appoint an Officer to make a special study of the all-India aspects of problems connected with the supply and prices of articles of common consumption.

Mr. B. G. Holdsworth, C.I.E., I.C.S., Establishment Officer to the Government of India, was appointed Civil supplies Commissioner (Rice and Miscellaneous) in addition to his duties as Establishment officer.

5th. Mr. Meherally, Mayor of Bombay, opening the National Youths' Conference at the St. Mary's Hall, George Town, exhorted Indian Youths to follow the lead of Mahatma Gandhi, whose voice was more than ever the voice of India.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, presiding over the second Mysore State Hindu Mahasabha Conference at Bangalore, said that the Hindu Mahasabha movement was, in its merit, entirely and strictly national and was always prepared to deal with the communal problems in a spirit of equality and justice.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru wrote in the *National Herald*: "Truth, they say, is the first casualty in war. There are many other casualties.....I do not know in which category education will fall. In India, education is apparently considered a luxury in war time by Military or Civil authorities. Already many Schools have been closed and probably many more will suffer the same fate."

The Government of Bengal promulgated an Ordinance identical with the Turbulent Areas Ordinance promulgated during the latter part of 1941, in view of the recurrence of disturbances in Dacca.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Bombay appreciating the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council said: "It constitutes a step forward in the direction of constitutional progress, larger Indian is action and non-officialisation of the Council is also an improvement on the present state of things."

At the annual meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation at Poona, several resolutions touching on the various aspects of the political life of the country were passed.—Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, President of the Federation, was in the chair.

Mr. N. Kalyankrishnan, presiding over the South India Students and National Defence Convention held at Salem, stressed the imperative need for national unity and a National Government to organise resistance to foreign aggression.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru issued a statement from Allahabad on the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He said: "In my opinion the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, though it raises the number of Indians to ten, does not really betoken any change in the political and institutional character of the council or its powers. It is only the continuation of the policy of the Declaration of August 8, 1940."

6th. The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha, under the presidency of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

The Government of Bihar prohibited the export of rice outside the province.

Dr. Cyril Fon, Director General, Geological Survey of India, in a talk to a gathering of industrialists and journalists in New-Delhi, dealt with India's great mineral wealth and efforts to discover and develop it through the Utilization Branch of the Geological Survey of India.

The Government of India informed the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, that the question of granting compensation for goods abandoned by owner and goods seized by the enemy, would be considered after the war.

In the Mysore Legislative Council, non-official business was taken up. Mr. D. H. Chandrasekharia occupied the chair.

7th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India was asked by Mr. Stephen

Davis (Labour) in the House of Commons whether "with a view to rendering unnecessary the retention in India of British, American and other troops now there he will make immediate approaches to leaders of the Indian National Congress in order to establish a National Government in India so that the people shall be inspired to organise the defence of their own country." Mr. Amery replied : "No. The forces now in India are indispensable for the safety of India and for victory of the Allied cause and will be retained until victory is achieved."

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, reviewing his three years' stewardship of the Commerce Department of the Government of India, at a meeting of the Madras Economic Association, claimed that though spectacular results by way of starting "big basic industries" were not achieved during the period, a number of "ancillary and auxiliary industries had been started, which would provide the base for basic industries."

At the session of the Congress Working Committee held at Sewagram, Mahatma Gandhi reiterated his views already expressed in the Harijan, both with regard to his attitude towards the British Government and the communal problem.

The *Monshoor*, the official organ of the All-India Muslim League, wrote from New Delhi: "In spite of the strong position of the rank and file of the Congress Party, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, with firmness and determination is doing propaganda for his great mission to effect a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League."

A Press Note from Bombay, stated : "Since the Government of Bombay undertook a review of the cases of persons who are being detained under its order under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, out of 84 communist detenus, who were under detention on January, 1, 1942, 47 have been released up to date. The remaining cases are under consideration."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a public meeting in Madras, which was held to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Chinese war of resistance, emphasised that the people of this country should shoulder the task of defending it from the Japanese. He also pointed out that there was no difference between the "Pakistan" of his conception and that of Mr. Jinnah and the communists.

8th. The Congress Working Committee resumed its discussion on the general political situation at Sevagram.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in a special interview to British and American Press correspondents at Wardha, observed : "The Congress position is very much changed since Sir Stafford Cripps' departure. The Congress is not prepared to accept what it was willing to then. The rank and file felt great relief when the negotiations failed. I would have got the passive approval of the Congress to a settlement with Sir Stafford Cripps but now it is not possible to secure that passive approval."

Sir Azizul Haque, High Commissioner for India in London, replying to the reception by the British Council in Liverpool, said : "India has her differences, but what country in the world is without its differences ? Ours is a vast country and therefore it is natural we should have many languages but please remember that Indians are essentially a united people despite their many languages and creeds.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India in the foreword to the volume of his speeches, under the title "India and Freedom", said : "There is no charge to which British public opinion has been more sensitive than the reproach that our policy towards India bears no relation to our professed war aims. We are charged with professing a fight for freedom and democracy in Europe while denying both to India."

9th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar in his letter to the President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, in reply to the latter's communication, calling upon him to show cause why disciplinary action should not be taken against him, wrote : "In order to be absolutely free to carry on my campaign for converting the Congress from its present policy, I have decided to resign my membership of the Congress and to tender my resignation of the Assembly membership at the meeting of the Party on the 15th. July."

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, labour Member-designate of the Viceroy's Executive Council in an interview in Bombay, observed: "What is wrong with the present politicians in India is their conception of majority rule. Just as the minority

has no right to veto the decision of the majority, so also the majority has nc right to rule over the minority against its consent."

The Congress Working Committee had another sitting at Sevagram.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in a Press interview said: "Whatever we do ou desire and intention are clear—we do not wish to injure the cause of China or the defence of India. It is obvious that any step we may take against th British Government may be full of perils. The problem before the Congress i to take steps to increase the people's spirit of resistance."

The Bombay Government issued orders regarding the requisitioning and acquisition of properties for defence purposes, including A. R. P.—Collectors of districts and other requisitioning authorities were instructed to give, in consultation with the local defence authorities, as much notice as possibl to persons who were to be evicted from their lands or buildings, and see that nc person was evicted unnecessarily.

10th. The Congress Working Committee held further discussions at Sevagran in Mahatma Gandhi's hut on the draft resolution on the political situatio prepared by Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar in a statement in Madras, said: "I am convince that if the Congress accepts the principle of territorial self-determinatio that I have proposed in my A. I. C. C. resolution, we can make Mr. Jinnah and his League accept it and join the Congress in a united political front."

It was officially announced from Lahore that in response to the reques made by *beoparis*, the Punjab Government decided to recuit the tax payabl under the Punjab General Sales Tax Act for 1941-42.

Professor Reginald Coupland in a broadcast talk from London, said: "It i no longer a question of Britain giving India freedom. It is for India to tak it." He added, "Sir Stafford Cripps gave Indian politics just what was needed a dose of realism. For the first time Indian Nationalists believed that Britain' promise to give independence was genuine."

11th. The Congress Working Committee met at Sevagram. Pandit Jawharla Nehru presented an alternative resolution which defined more clearly th meaning of Mahatma Gandhi's demand for the British withdrawal and th stages by which the object was to be achieved.

The Congress Working Committee issued a series of instructions for th guidance of the people who were affected on account of evacuation or othe orders involving loss, either temporary or permanent, of landed property motor vehicles and boats.

The Government of India's attitude regarding Press reports about th behaviour of troops towards the civil population in some cases, was containec in a letter from Sir Frederick Puckle, Secretary to the Government of India Department of Information and Broadcasting to the President of the All-Indi Newspaper Editors' Conference.

The Government of Bengal issued an order under the Defence of Indi Rules directing wholesale dealers in the city dealing in essential commoditie and foodstuffs as rice, wheat, flour, atta, salt, sugar, soft coke, matche kerosene oil, mustard oil, dals and coconut oil not to withhold from sale an of the commodities to any retail dealer or other customer in quantitie normally supplied by him, and also not to refuse to furnish cash memos o receipts for the commodities sold.

Mr. K. Santanam M.L.A., (Central) resigned his membership of the Congres and the Central Assembly.

Mr. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, in a statement to the *Associated Pres* observed: "I have not yet taken any steps to give a practical shape to m idea of having a Progressive Muslim League, because I wish to make on final appeal to the Muslim League to render me justice."

His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the United Provincea replying to an address presented by the Municipal Board of Badaun, mad a strong criticism of "those defeatists and those destructive critics, of whon there are far too many in this country.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, replying to an address at Lahore, said that the Hindu in no circumstance were to permit the Pakistan Scheme to materialise. H would fight it tooth and nail.

12th. At the Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha, further discussio

on Mahatma Gandhi's draft resolution, with particular reference to some of the objections raised against the draft took place.

In reply to General Wavell's message of greetings on the fifth anniversary of China's struggle against Japanese aggression, Marshal Chiang Kaisekh sent a message of appreciation. He said : "I deeply appreciate your greetings to me and our fighting forces on the fifth anniversary of our War of resistance. Such sentiments of friendship and words of encouragement as embodied in your message are all the more gratifying for the very reason that they come directly from comrades in arms bound by the ties of Common destiny and ideals.

To observe the All-India Detenu Release Day, a public meeting was held at Royapettah, Madras, under the auspices of the Provincial Trade Union Congress, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Madras Students' Organization, and the various Trade Unions in the city, Mr. F. N. Ganesan presided.

13th. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, replying to addresses presented to him by the Southern India Millowners' Association and the Indian Chamber of Commerce at Coimbatore, said : "There was no doubt that at the end of this war India would rise to the full status of nationhood and citizenship and occupy that place in the comity of nations which was her due."

The Congress Working Committee spent another day discussing Mahatma Gandhi's draft resolution without coming to any final conclusion.

A meeting of the Hindu-Moslem Women's Unity Committee was held at the residence of the Nawab Begum of Dacca at which the programme of work to be undertaken was discussed and decided upon.

14th. The Congress Working Committee released a 700 word resolution on the political situation The resolution gave a brief resume of the stand taken by the Congress. It urged the withdrawal of the British power from India, pointing out that the Congress wished to take no hasty step and would like to avoid, as far as possible, any course of action that might embarrass the United Nation and pleaded with the British Government to accept the Congress proposal. If the appeal failed the Congress would then be reluctantly compelled to utilise all its non-violent strength for the vindication of the political rights and liberty of India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.—After the resolution of the Congress Working Committee was released for publication, Mahatma Gandhi, in a Press interview explained the implications of the resolution and answered a number of questions put to him by newspaper correspondents.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League, in a statement in Bombay, referred to an article by Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harijan* in which Gandhiji asked : "Have Pakistanists attempted to convert oppositionists in a friendly way ?"

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, dealing with the Hur disturbances in Sindh, declared that considerable progress had been made towards bringing a very difficult and dangerous situation under control

15th. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in a statement issued from Bombay, said : "Those responsible for the Congress Working Committee's resolution are faulty of either practising colossal self-deception or of trying to fool the people."

At the meeting of the Congress Legislative Party (Madras), Mr. C. Rajagopalachari announced his decision to resign his membership of the Madras Legislative Party and of the Assembly.

The Hon. Mr. B. Sambamurti decided to tender his resignation of the office of Speaker of the Assembly as also of his seat in the House.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan dwelt on the international situation and on the Congress resolution, speaking at a function at Benares.

16th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru at a Press Conference in New Delhi explained the implications of the demand of the Congress for the withdrawal of British power from India.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari communicated to the Governor of Madras his resignation of membership of the Madras Legislative Assembly, as also that of Dr. T. S. Rajan, Mr. S. Ramnathan, P. Ratnaveluthevar, Mr. Subramaniam, Mr. R. S. V. Aiyar, Mr. V. T. Venkatachari and Mr. Abdul Kadir.

H. E. the Governor of Madras in his speech at Bellary observed : "I beg everybody to read my remarks in the newspaper and try to realise how little and petty our differences are as compared with the great things we have yet to do

to prevent the Axis domination of the world. We have got to think big and act quick."

17th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in the course of an interview to the United Press in New Delhi, observed : "The Congress would not be satisfied with anything but the immediate declaration of independence and the transfer of full power to the hands of Indians."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in an interview at Jubbulpore, said : "The demand for the British withdrawal is not actuated by a desire to embarrass, but the motive behind is to enable India to defend herself and to help the Allies in winning the war by bringing India's wholehearted support to the Allied cause."

18th. Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraj M.L.A., (Central) in the course of his presidential address at the All-India Depressed Classes Conference at Nagpur, said : "We know and feel that unless the Allies succeed in defeating the Axis, India has no chance of becoming a free country. If we now help the Allies in winning the war, I assure you that a settlement of our problem will go before the tribunal of the United Nations and will receive consideration which has not been hitherto bestowed on it by the British Government. We all wish an Allied victory."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, presiding over the Brihad Gujarat Hindu Yuvak Parishad Ahmedabad, declared : "The Hindu Mahasabha has never been, nor does it ever intend to be, a purely communal organization."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Meerut, declared : "The only course open to the country is to fight British Imperialism in order to increase India's power of resistance to Fascist aggression."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, addressing a joint session of the Travancore Legislature at Trivandrum, said : "I have perused and re-perused the resolutions arrived at Wardha, under the inspiration and stimulus of that very great man Mahatma Gandhi. I do not think I can say anything else than this, that I have failed to follow or understand those resolutions."

At Gujranwala, apprehending a breach of the peace, the police ordered the dispersal of a Conference arranged by Babu Kharak Singh to condemn the management and the Sikander-Baldev Pact.

19th. Mahatma Gandhi, answering the question "If *Harijan* is suppressed", wrote : "I would ask inquirers not to be agitated if *Harijan* is suppressed. The paper may be suppressed. The Manager has been instructed to stop the paper immediately orders are served on him. It is part of the movement to publish *Harijan* in defiance of orders. But though *Harijan* may be suppressed, its message cannot be so long as I live. Indeed the spirit will survive the dissolution of the body and somehow speak through the millions."

Sardar Patel addressed a meeting of local Congress Workers in Bombay and explained the implications of the resolution adopted by the Working Committee. He urged Congressmen to be prepared for all eventualities and to follow the instruction of Mahatma Gandhi scrupulously. They should feel and act as freemen. Sardar Patel also briefly spoke on the proposed Civil Disobedience movement.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said at Peshwar : "The Congress resolution is clear. The British will be strengthening their position by acting on our advice. With an independent India, fighting whole-heartedly as an ally of the United Nations, the chances of effectively resisting and overpowering the Japanese will considerably increase."

Sir Bertram Stevens, who was Australian representative on the Eastern Group Supply Council in New Delhi said in a speech at Sydney : "If Japan is defeated, a new Order in Asia is inevitable. The East will never return to to its old quiescent subservient state. We must think of the Chinese, Indians, Malayans, and Javanese as friends of equal status. European prestige in the form in which it used to exist has been shattered."

20th. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar took over charge of the Labour portfolio in the Viceroy's Executive council.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, presiding over the Lyallpur District National War Front Conference held at Dasua, said : "If the British quit India, chaos will follow and ordered Government will not be possible."

Mr. J. C. Setalvad, President, Indian Merchants' Chamber, speaking at a luncheon in Bombay, given by the Chamber in honour of Sir A. Ramaswamy

Mudaliar, Commerce Member to the Government of India, observed: "There was general expectation that the industrialisation of the country would go on apace as a result of the war. Unfortunately, it has not been so, as the Government constituted as they are, have not considered it as their prime and fundamental duty to help forward the development of vital Indian industries and the business community feels that this is due partially if not wholly to the anxiety of the Government to maintain intact the foreign vested interests here."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in an interview in New Delhi, answered the question, "Whether there was any basis for the impression prevailing in certain quarters after the statements made by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru that there was hardly any room left for any negotiation with the Congress." "If," said the Maulana, "this refers to India's right to Independence, it is certainly not a matter for negotiation. It is a fundamental principle which must be recognized by the United Nations. But if the question refers to arrangements for the duration of the war, there is a clear procedure envisaged in the resolution of the Working Committee itself, and there is no reason to suggest that there is no room for negotiation. It is quite obvious to my mind that matters of this nature can only be settled by negotiations."

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Working President, Bengal Hindu Mahasabha, commenting on the Wardha resolution of the Congress Working Committee in a press interview at Patna, said: "As practical men, our appeal is "Quit nonviolence, and take to disciplined militarisation" which will make India free and keep her independence safe against all wicked aggressors and enemies of human freedom."

21st. The labour newspaper, *Daily Herald*, in a leading article, addressed to the Indian National Congress party, said inter alia: "If you persist in demands which are at this moment impossible to grant, you will cripple your cause and humble the influence of us who are your proud and faithful advocates. You will do worse, you will convey to the world the impression that India's leaders are incapable of distinguishing between the ideal of the United Nations and the petty standards of nationalism: that you rate political strategy higher than the prospect of liberty, equality and fraternity with the progressive peoples of the earth."

The Committee of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce discussed matters relating to customs throwing open smaller posts for traffic, and the working of trade marks and insurance regulations, with Mr. Slade, I.C.S., Member, Central Board of Revenue, in charge of customs when he visited the Chamber in Madras.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, dealt with the situation in India at a private Parliamentary meeting of Members of Parliament at the House of Commons, and discussed in detail the position created by the Congress Party's resolutions and Mahatma Gandhi's possible campaign of Non-cooperation with the object of obtaining Indian Independence.

22nd. The Governor of Bengal, under the Defence of India Rules, cancelled the orders of the Government of Bengal passed early in 1940 on all printers, publishers and editors in the province of Bengal, prohibiting the printing or publishing of and the use of any press for the printing of the periodicals entitled *National Front* and *New Age* or any successor of these periodicals.

The National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party adopted a resolution containing an appeal to the Indian peoples to try and reach a settlement with the British Government.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, in the course of a statement on the London *Daily Herald's* editorial on the Congress attitude, said: "We do not want to stand aside. We want to fight the enemy but we want the confidence that British Labour has, that victory in this war will mean among other things, complete freedom."

23rd. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments released from detention or restriction a number of individuals associated with the Communist Party who desired to assist in the war effort.

Sj. Satish Chandra Das Gupta, founder of the Khadi Pratisthan and a member of the Gandhi Seva Sangha was arrested at Feni (Noakhali) under the Defence of India Rules.

H. E. the Governor of Madras, under the Defence of India Rules, promulgated the Madras Sugar Dealers Licensing Order which prohibited the carrying on of business in sugar except under and in accordance with a license issued by the Commissioner of Civil Supplies.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview at Bhopal said : "The recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee and the pronouncements of Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders have created a most dangerous and most serious situation in the country and it seems to me that the All-India Muslim League must consider, as soon as possible, the developments that have taken place. I therefore propose to call a meeting of the Working Committee at an early date."

24th. Mr. M. N. Roy sent a cable to the *Daily Herald*, London, stating : "The latest Congress resolution is the logical outcome of nationalism. Therefore, abandon the hope of the Congress changing its attitude. Congress is not India. Anti-Fascists who are eager to defend India as a sector of the international people's front claim the support of British democracy. There should be no more delay in reinforcing their hands with power and responsibility offered to Congress leaders whose unreasonableness and irresponsibility have finally shocked you."

Sir M. Zafrullah Khan, Agent General for India in China said to the pressmen in Chungking : "If the Wardha resolution was accepted, and Britain agreed to act according to it, India would be occupied by Japan within a week after the British had withdrawn."

A Press Note from New Delhi, stated inter alia : "The existing arrangements for the production (of salt) are more than sufficient for the annual consumption, which is estimated at about 530 lakhs of maunds per annum. The total of the stocks in India on June 15, 1942, was 362 lakhs of maunds, and it is clear, therefore, that the stocks are ample for immediate demands."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, in a statement to the press in New Delhi, said that he and Mr. V. G. Deshpande toured Madras Presidency to counteract the Pro-Pakistan campaign. Everywhere they were accorded a hearty reception and huge meetings were held to protest against the partition scheme.

25th. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta M.L.A. (Central), President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, expressed the view that every section of the people of India, except the Indian National Congress, was in favour of helping the British in their war effort not because it loved the British, but because it loved its own country.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad observed at Lahore, "If the United Nations are prepared to respond to the appeal embodied in the Congress Working Committee's resolutions, then the details can be easily settled by means of negotiation."

26th. Mahatma Gandhi, under the caption, "To my critics", wrote in the *Harijan* : "It is no use damning me as a dictator like Hitler. He does not argue with his co-worker, if he may have said to have any. He merely issues order which can only be disobeyed on pain of death or worse. I argue with my friends for days. My sanction with my friends as well as self-styled enemies has ever been reason and love."

Dr. Syed Mahmud, ex-Minister and a member of the Congress Working Committee, in an interview at Patna, said : "The Congress is always prepared for a settlement with the British Government if its essential demands are conceded. This point is repeatedly made clear by the President and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in their statements."

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the *Harijan* entitled "To every Japanese", said : "I would ask you to make no mistake about the fact that you will be sadly disillusioned if you believe that you will receive a willing welcome from India. You have been gravely misinformed, as I know you are, that we have chosen this particular moment to embarrass the Allies when your attack against India is imminent. If we wanted to turn Britain's difficulty into our opportunity, we should have done it as soon as the war broke out nearly three years ago. I must confess at the outset that though I have no ill-will against you, I intensely dislike your attack upon China."

Sardar Prem Singh, a prominent Akali Leader, in a statement to the Press from Amritsar said : "The Congress campaign will be fatal to the Sikh cause, which has just gained a foothold in the politics of the country."

Sir K. V. Reddi, Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, in a statement to the Press in Madras, said : "Withdrawal of British power from India before

the war is finally won will be the greatest disaster that can ever befall this country."

The Punjab Provincial Committee of the Communist Party in a statement at Lahore, declared: "Sir Feroz Khan invites us to go out of the Congress and the Congress leaders provoke us to do the same, but we shall not leave the Congress, as it is our birthright to remain inside our patriotic organisation."

Sir Stafford Cripps in a broadcast to the United States made an appeal to the American people for their understanding, help and support in doing whatever was necessary to maintain intact the front of the United Nations in India and reopen the life line of the Chinese.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel addressing a crowded public meeting at Ahmedabad, declared: "Sir Stafford Cripps' visit disillusioned the Congress and drove Mahatma Gandhi to demand the withdrawal of the British power from India."

27th. Mahatma Gandhi sent the following message to the *Daily Herald*: "Amid universal bullying, the *Daily Herald's* is the unkindest cut. This bullying seems inspired for it has no foundation."

The *Daily Herald* wrote editorially: "Presumably he is hinting that we were asked by the Government to write the article. He is wrong. We are inspired only by the belief that we are rightly interpreting the outlook of Labour men and women which is our daily task."

Mr. C. P. Lawson, M. L. A., (Central) presiding at the annual General Meeting of the European Association (Central Administration) in Calcutta, said: "The Council of the European Association had accepted the goal of Self-Government for India and were convinced that His Majesty's Government would do everything possible to establish that self-government after the war."

The Hon. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, in the course of a statement to the Press, said: "No one can expect consistency from Mr. Gandhi, but every body did and had a right to expect a sense of responsibility from him. It is difficult to understand why Mr. Gandhi should think it necessary to enter upon so hazardous a plan of action at so perilous a time in the history of India."

The Dewan President Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, making a statement in the Sri Mulam Assembly at Trivandrum, observed: "At this juncture when everything is, so to say, in a nebulous state and when people's nerves are highly strung, I make an appeal to this house and through this house to the people at large, that any agitation should be confined to the solution of specific and immediate grievances."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in an interview at Allahabad, observed: "We do not want to be passive spectators of a disaster in India or China that concerns us more intimately than it can concern any one else. Therefore, it becomes essential to create conditions here and now which will change the character of the war, especially in India, and give tremendous additional strength to the Allied cause. That can only be done by a complete change in India by recognising and giving effect to Independence and then by co-operation as Allies between India and the United Nations in the fight against aggression. It is perfectly clear that a free India will defend itself by armed force and every other way possible. But all this is dependent upon the present freedom and the vital enthusiasm that this creates among the masses."

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Chairman of the Indian Medical Association, addressing the members of the Mysore Univesity Union, advised the boys that their chief concern should be the acquisition of knowledge during their studentship. When they entered life, after leaving the portals of the colleges, Dr. Roy added, the knowledge they had gained must be utilised, in the conduct of their lives, in a manner worthy of their noble traditions and worthy of a good citizen.

28th. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at a Press Conference at Ahmedabad, declared: "Anarchy is always preferable to slavery, as there is hope of independence arising out of anarchy. The movement will not collapse if the leaders are rounded up. The new situation will create new leaders. Peacetime leaders were replaced by new leaders in England on the declaration of war. Freedom's fight will never collapse for want of leaders in any country. Experience will make the new leader wiser."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in letter to the *Times of India*, wrote: "I am not one of those who have refrained from criticising—at times far too bluntly—the Indian policy of His Majesty's Government and particularly the mishandling

of the situation in India by Mr. Amery, and yet, I feel very strongly that nothing can be more dangerous in its implications or consequences than the Wardha proposals, particularly at a juncture like this."

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, President of the Servants of India Society, addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, sounded a warning that the launching of a mass civil disobedience movement would be detrimental to the best interests of the country.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in a statement made at a Press Conference in New-Delhi, referred to the various criticisms, both in Britain and America, of the Congress Working Committee's resolution, particularly the broadcast of Sir Stafford Cripps to the United States, and appealed to the United Nations to intervene on behalf of India.

Mr. M. S. Aney, in delivering the inaugural address to the National College at Nagpur said that the best solution of the deadlock was that all parties should meet and evolve a formula for presentation to the British Government. He added that neither Mr. Jinnah's demand for Pakistan nor Mahatma Gandhi's slogan, "Quit India," would lead them to their goal. He believed that the Cripps' proposals should be accepted notwithstanding the fact that they were not perfect. But those proposals gave all parties the opportunity of coming together and evolving a line of action for Government.

A Press note from Bombay stated that both to ensure more equitable distribution of commodities among retailers and to protect the public from over-changing, the Government of Bombay decided that those shops which dealt in such commodities should be licensed and that retail trade in those commodities should be permitted without a license.

29th. The Hon'ble Mr. R. H. Parker, presiding at the annual meeting of the Indian Roads and Transport Development Association in Bombay urged the importance of planning in all matter and particularly Road Development. He emphasised that Roads should be regarded as capital expenditure, as are Railways and Irrigation, and that Roads should be "our No. 1 post war job." Dealing with transpost problems, Mr. Parker appealed to lorry owners to fit producer gas plants to their vehicles in their own interests as well as in those of the country.

Mahatma Gandhi, in an interview at Wardha, declared : "No guarantee to be given by anybody is contemplated by the Congress demand, because the present recognition of India's independence is the need of the hour not because of distrust about the future, but because India as an independent power wants to play, if it is at all possible, a decisive part on the side of the Allies".

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, addressing a meeting of students at Ahmedabad, declared : "Mahatma Gandhi's last struggle will be short and swift, and will be finished within a week."

30th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, gave a warning in the House of Commons that the Government of India would not flinch from taking every possible step to meet any situation that might arise out of Congress action. The demand of the Congress for British withdrawal would, if conceded, completely disrupt the Governmental machinery in one of the most vital theatres of the war at a time when every energy was needed for the struggle against the common enemy. It was the earnest hope of the British Government that the people of India would not countenance a movement fought with such disastrous consequences for the Allied cause but on the contrary, throw their all into the struggle against the Axis. The British Government, Mr. Amery concluded, was unable to initiate further discussions on India. Nevertheless, it stood firmly by the broad intentions of the Cripps' offer irrespective of the immediate conduct of the Congress Party.

The Indian Central Jute Committee's Bulletin stated that exports of raw jute from India from July, 1941 to February 1942 came to 205,000 tons as against 142,000 tons and 387,500 tons during the corresponding period of the 1940-41 and 1939-40 seasons respectively.

31st. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, intended to resign his office owing to reasons of health and in order to enable some other leader of the Mahasabha to carry on the work of the organisation more energetically.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement to the foreign Press, said : "The latest decision of the Congress Working Committee on July 14, 1942, resolving to

launch a mass movement if the British do not withdraw immediately from India is the culminating point in the policy and programme of Mr. Gandhi and his Hindu Congress of blackmailing the British and coercing them to concede a system of Government and transfer power to that Government which would establish a Hindu Raj immediately under the aegis of the British bayonet, thereby throwing the Muslims and other minorities and interests at the mercy of the Congress Raj".

Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, presiding over the first United Provinces Press Conference at Lucknow, paid a tribute to the work done by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, presiding over the second session of the All-India Nationalist League, at Poona, declared: "In my opinion, the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps was a calamity for India and the Allied nations. It was the biggest diplomatic failure of Britain and it was also a military disaster."

Mr. M. N. Roy, in the course of a statement at Dehradun said: "Mr. Amery's statement in Parliament that the British Government stands firmly by the Cripps' offer is very timely."

August 1942

The attention of the whole country was riveted on the policy of the Government in arresting Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and other members of the Congress Working Committee, immediately after the passing of the "Quit India" resolution by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay.

The Governor-General in Council passed a resolution to the effect that it was incompatible with their responsibilities, that a demand should be discussed, the acceptance of which would plunge India into confusion and anarchy.

The "Tilak Day" was celebrated at Poona, Allahabad and other places to do honour to the memory of Lokmanya Tilak on the 1st August.

The death anniversary of Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjee, the "father of Indian nationalism" was observed in Calcutta, on the 6th August.

Mahatma Gandhi, commenting on the Government's decision to publish a certain document seized by the Police during their raid on the A. I. C. C. office at Allahabad, said; "Their action becomes more reprehensible, when they make, what I consider to be, illegitimate use of the document seized. They might have had the courtesy of referring the document to the A. I. C. C. and heard what the Committee had to say before making public use thereof."

Sir Stafford Cripps, in a statement, expressed the view: "Self-government for India is assured as soon as hostilities are over and it becomes possible to replan the life of India on a new basis."

Mahatma Gandhi, in a message to the Chinese people, said: "Let China know that this struggle is as much for her defence as it is for India's liberation."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said in London: "By their prompt and resolute action the Government of India have saved India and the Allied cause from a grave disaster."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a statement from Madras, appealed to Mr. Jinnah to find a solution for the political impasse.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League adopted a resolution, in Bombay, on the political situation, indicating the

League's attitude to the questions of the formation of a National Government and to the Congress movement.

Dr. B. R Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Government of India, said in Delhi: "I want to put the depressed classes on terms of equality with the other communities in India. I do not want you to remain servile to other communities but I want to place the reins of Government in your hands."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in an address to his countrymen, said: "You should not resort to violence and put non-violence to shame. When such a thing happens, you may take it that you will not find me alive.

The British Communist Party in a letter to Mr. Churchill, reminded the Premier that the Congress resolution declared for armed resistance to Axis aggression.

The India Office issued a statement, in which it said that disturbances had been limited and sporadic in character and had in no way affected India's war effort and there were no indications of any widespread mass movement.

The Government of India decided that the Indian standard Time should be advanced by an hour from the midnight ofthe 31st August.

1st. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* : "The chorus of indignation from Great Britain and America with which the working committee resolution on the contemplated mass action has been greeted, and the veiled or open threats which have been hurled at the Congress will not deter the Congress from its purpose. Hitherto, it has thriven on opposition and attempts at suppression. It will not be otherwise this time."

The National Council of the Congress of Industrial organizations and Maritime Union resolved that both the C.I.O. and the Federation of labour should establish working relationship with the All India Trade Union Congress and issued a plea for greater freedom for British India.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting in celebration of "Tilak Day" at Allahabad, said : Struggle—eternal struggle ! That is my reply to Mr. Amery and Sir Stafford Cripps."

Mr. B. G, Kher, ex-premier of Bombay, expressed the view at Poona, that even after twentytwo years of the death of Lokamanya Tilak, his prophetic words that self-Government and defence of a country were unseparable and complementary to each other rang true and could justify the stand taken by the Congress.

Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas member of the Viceroy's Council, speaking at the 22nd. anniversary of Lokamanya Tilak at Poona, made an appeal to Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress to take up the lead in the critical situation and to convene a conference of the leading political parties in the country with a view to presenting a united demand.

2nd. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* : "A kind of nervousness creeps over me as I think of the Princes of India, although I have the privilege of knowing many and some even intimately. My nervousness arises from the painful knowledge that they are a creation of the British Rulers. . ...The present incumbents are sole creation of the Imperial Power."

Sir Homi Modi, President of the Democratic Union said in Bombay : "I appeal to you all to close up your ranks and be prepared to fight Mr. Gandhi's call to mass civil disobedience".

Sardar Patel addressing a public meeting at Surat declared : "Let Britain only transfer power to Indian hands whether it is to the Moslem League or any other party and the Congress is prepared to dissolve itself."

Dr. Syama Prasad Mukerjee, speaking at a meeting in Calcutta, held under the auspices of the Bengal Provincial Young Moslem Association, made an appeal to the Hindu and Moslem youths of Bengal to try earnestly to bring about a better understanding between the two communities in the province.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar declared at a Press Conference in Delhi : "There

is no question of my serving under or as an adviser to the Secretary of State for India. I will attend all meetings of the British War Cabinet and Pacific War Council as a representative of British India appointed by the Government of India and not as in 1917, by the Secretary of State for India.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, speaking at a largely attended meeting at Poona, said: "If the Congress made an unequivocal declaration, upholding the demands of the Hindu Mahasabha, namely, the indivisibility and integrity of India as a nation, representation of the various communities in the legislatures in proportion to the population, and allocation in respect of the services on grounds of merit alone, the Hindu Mahasabha would support the Congress in any movement that might be launched for the attainment of the freedom of the country."

3rd. Pandit Ravaneswar Misra, working President of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, addressing a meeting at Monghyr said: "We want our India to be one and indivisible. We want independence but not anarchy."

Mr. M. N. Roy in the course of a message to the Punjab Labour Defence Conference at Dehra Dun, said: "The time has come when we must fight and win. If we fail to do so, then nothing can save our country. Let a powerful call to the masses of the country be issued by your conference."

Mr. P. C. Joshi, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, in a statement in Bombay, said: "Every progressive man and woman in Britain must realise that the root cause of deadlock in India, which threatens to burst up as a non-violent struggle by the Congress leadership, is the refusal of the British diehards to recognise Indian independence and implement it here and now in a changed practice. They think the people's war can be fought minus the people; they do not want Indian national mobilization.

4th. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar issued separate appeals calling on leaders of all parties such as the Congress, the Moslem League and the Hindu Mahasabha to move in the matter and call joint All-Parties Conference.—Failing such a Conference being called, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar suggested that the Viceroy and the Executive Councillors should take the responsibility for calling such a Conference.

5th. In a press interview, commenting on the Government's decision to publish a certain document seized by the Police during their raid on the A. I. C. C. office of Allahabad on May 26th last, Mahatma Gandhi stated: "I want to make a remark or two about the manner in which the Government have got this document. I think that the procedure thus adopted of searching the A. I. C. C. office and seizing documents was itself reprehensible. The Congress is not an illegal organization.....Their action becomes more reprehensible when they make, what I consider, illegitimate use of the document seized. They might have had the courtesy of referring the document to the A. I. C. C. and heard what the Committee had to say before making public use thereof. Inspite of the effort of the Home Department to discredit the members of the Working Committee, the reading of the notes, unauthenticated as they are, will not make any difference, at least in India in the prestige which the Congress enjoys. There is nothing in it of which any member has any cause to be ashamed."

The Raja of Mahmudabad, a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in a statement to the Press at Allahabad said: The resolution of the Congress Working Committee envisages a Hindu Raj of the Savarkarian type and added, we the Mussalmans make an offer to Mr. Gandhi. Let us have a laboratory wherein we could experiment on our own lines. The conflict of ideologies is proceeding with slaughter and carnage and the end is not in sight.

Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, in a statement to the Associated Press at Hyderabad, criticized Mr. Jinnah's attitude towards Mahatma Gandhi and called upon the Muslim League to co-operate with the Congress and other parties to bring about an immediate revision of the Cripps' proposals such as might wean Mahatma Gandhi from his threatened cause.

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution in Bombay, restating the National Demand in the light of the developments that had taken place since the adoption of the Wardha resolution. The resolution met the criticisms of Sir Stafford Cripps and others levelled against the Wardha resolution and laid down in clear terms that, on the

declaration of India's Independence, a Provincial Government world be formed and free India would become an ally of the United Nations. The resolution made it clear that the Provincial Government would be a composite one representing all important sections of India, charged with the definite duty of defending India against aggression. The resolution provided for the retention of foreign soldiers in India, armed defence by the people as well as resistance by non-violent methods.

Mr. Humayun Kabir, member of the Standing Committee of the All-India Azad Conference in a statement in support of Mahatma Gandhi's demand, observed in Calcutta: "The justice of the demand has won the overwhelming support of Muslims as well as Hindus in this vast sub-continent: only those who are blinded by self-interest or prejudice can deny that Mahatma Gandhi's call has thrilled the country from end to end and brought new hope and courage to millions of despondent hearts."

6th. Sir Stafford Cripps, the Lord Privy Seal, in a statement expressed his views on the developments which took place in India. He said: "Self-government for India is assured as soon as hostilities are over and it becomes possible to re-plan the life of India on a new basis." He also added: "The Secretary of State for India made a statement last week which makes it plain that 'His Majesty's Government stand firmly by broad intentions of their offer in the draft declaration which I took with me to India, and that they reiterate their resolve to give the fullest opportunity for the attainment by India of complete self-Government'. He concluded by saying: "Concerning the attitude of the British Government there can be no doubt".

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Finance Minister, Government of Bengal, presiding at a meeting in Calcutta, on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, the "father of Indian nationalism", stated: "We cannot afford to remain as idle spectators at this critical hour in the history of India. Our appeal must go forth to both parties to cry a halt and to consider before a plunge is finally taken whether any settlement is possible which will satisfy the legitimate anxiety on the part of the British Government to see to the welfare of India and at the same time fulfil the rights and aspirations of the Indian people."

Sir Azizul Haque, High Commissioner for India in London in an interview stated: "I do hope that India as a whole will take a realistic view of the present war and of our own problems and that every attempt will be made to settle our internal problems in the face of our external dangers. I therefore welcome the proposal of a roundtable discussion in India."

Mahatma Gandhi, in an interview in Bombay, answered a number of questions on the new resolution of the Congress Working Committee.

In the Cochin Legislative Council, several important questions connected with the administration of the Education Department were discussed.

7th. Mahatma Gandhi, in a message to the Chinese people, said: "Let China know that this struggle is as much for her defence as it is for India's liberation, for, in that liberation is involved her ability to give effective assistance whether to China or to Russia or even to Great Britain or America".

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President in a letter to Dr. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad, declared that no restriction in the deliberations of the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League, if they met, was envisaged.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, in his first speech as Labour Member, opening the two-day session of the 4th Labour Conference in New Delhi, defined the main objects of the Conference as the promotion of uniformity in labour legislation, the laying down of a procedure for the settlement of industrial disputes and the discussion of all matters of All-India importance as between employer and employee.

The first sitting of the All-India Congress Committee commenced in Bombay. The proceedings began with the singing of the *Bande Mataram* by Desh Sevikas. The Congress Working Committee authorised the Congress President to write letters to President Roosevelt, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and the Russian Ambassador in London.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, issued a statement from Bombay, saying: The recent Congress Resolution of its

Working Committee, although couched in different phrases is substantially the same as the one which was passed in September, 1939. In the resolution that was passed in September 1939, the demand was for a declaration of immediate independence and freedom of India with a Provisional National Government transferring all power of the Government of India, and secondly, the right of the people to frame their own constitution through the Constituent Assembly to be elected by means of adult franchise. The only difference, therefore, between the two resolutions, is that in the first resolution what was implied by the declaration that was sought is now covered under a different language by the adoption of the slogan "Quit India". Muslim India, as I have repeatedly said, stands for complete independence of all the peoples of India. But we turned down the proposal of the Congress because the demand for a National Government to be set up immediately would have meant Hindu Raj or Hindu majority Government".

8th. The All-India Congress Committee passed the resolution as recommended by the Congress Working Committee, by a large majority, only 13 members voted against it. All the amendments to the resolution were either withdrawn or defeated by overwhelming majority. The meeting was addressed, amongst others, by Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, & Pandit Jawharlal Nehru. Mahatma Gandhi, in the course of his speech, clarified certain doubts the members entertained regarding the details of the Congress programme in the event of there being no settlement with the British Government and the beginning of mass struggle.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in a statement in the All-India Congress Committee, before putting the Working Committee's resolution to vote, said that the Congress had been trying about unity, but every time an effort was made the door was closed from the other side. If the Muslim League was willing to negotiate he would persuade the Congress within twenty four hours to start negotiations. But everytime he had attempted a settlement, the door was closed and barred.

A resolution passed by the Governor-General-in-Council stated that the Government would regard it as wholly incompatible with their responsibilities that a demand should be discussed, the acceptance of which would plunge India into confusion and anarchy internally and would paralyse her effort in the common cause of human freedom.

Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sadar Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and the members of the Congress Working Committee, the President and the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee and twenty of the Congressmen were arrested in Bombay and taken by special train to Poona. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was arrested at Patna.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a press statement in Bombay, said : "I deeply regret that the Congress has finally declared war and has launched a most dangerous mass movement inspite of numerous warnings and advice from various individuals, parties and organizations in this country.

The A. I. C. C. office was locked up by the local police at Allahabad.

Mr. C. B. Gupta, M.L.A., President, Lucknow City Congress Committee and Mr. A. K. Roy, member of the Forward Bloc, were arrested at Aminabad.

9th. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery said in London : "By their prompt and resolute action the Government of India have saved India and the Allied Cause from a grave disaster. There may yet be a certain measure of trouble. It is too early to speak with any assurance but I believe there will be no trouble that cannot be dealt with by the Government of India through the police and courts."

10th. The Madras Government, by a notification published in a Fort St. George Gazette Extraordinary, declared as an unlawful Association under Sec. 16 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908 the All India Congress Working Committee.

Mr. S. Satyamurti in an interview in Bombay observed : "The Congress President was arrested before he could write to President Roosevelt, Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek and the Russian Ambassador, M. Maisky ; the United Nations should nevertheless take it that he has written the letter."

Mr. L. S. Amery, in a broadcast message to America, said : "What India is up against is nothing less than a deliberate campaign to sabotage her war

effort and the war effort of all Indians, British, Americans or Chinese who are in Indian soil and with the wholehearted support of the Government of India and of the loyal and responsible elements who form the vast majority of the people of India are today engaged in the struggle for human freedom. You need not fear that India is not fully capable of handling this trouble by herself. The campaign will fail—it must fail, if our common cause is not to suffer irretrievable damage. But the misguided action of the Congress leader will not affect one way or the other the broad purpose alike of the British Government and of the Government of India that when victory is won, India shall without delay have the fullest opportunity to attain to complete control of her own destiny among the free nations of the British Commonwealth and of the world within a constitutional framework of her own devising. That is our pledge to India and to the world. By that pledge we stand."

11th. The working committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha at a meeting in Calcutta, adopted a resolution placing on record its "protest against the policy of repression which has been launched by the Government of India in this crisis without exploring the possibilities of an honourable settlement between India and England although Mahatma Gandhi was anxious to approach the Viceroy and Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt for this purpose before starting any movement."—Sir Manmatha Nath Mookerjee presided.

12th. The *Times* in a leading article on India, said : "Repression unaccompanied by any constructive policy is likely to prove as vain and ineffective in war as in peace—and far more dangerous".

Mr. S. Satyamurti was arrested at Arkonam Junction.

Mr. Tsiang Fe, the Director of the Chinese Political Department, speaking of the attitude of the Chinese Government to the Indian situation, made a suggestion that a Pacific Charter giving assurances about the future of India, China, Burma and Korea might prove helpful. He said : "The Chinese Government is a friend and ally of Britain, while the Chinese people have the warmest friendship for the Indian people. Even at this late hour, I hope some method will be found to improve the situation in India. If there is anything China can do, she will be glad to do it".

Sir James Taylor, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, addresing the eighth annual general meeting of the shareholders of the Bank in Madras said : "The war has entered on a new and crucial phase with the entry of the United States and Japan and the developments following the outbreak of hostilities in the Pacific in December last have brought the enemy to the borders of India. The all important problem before the country during the year has, therefore, been how to increase the tempo of her war effort to the maximum, while still providing her civil population with essential goods and services."

The India Office issued a statement based on the official reports from India. It said that disturbances had been sporadic and limited in character and had in no way affected India's war effort and there were no indications of any widespread mass movement.

A cable was received by Mr. Harry Pollitt for the Communist Party of Great Britain from the Secretary of the Communist Party of India, Mr. Joshi in these words :

"The newly legalized Communist Party of India, greets its British Comrades. In this grave hour in the life of freedom-loving humanity our policy is for Indian national unity for national resistance to Fascism and for a national Government for India. Our fellow patriots have been provoked to their present suicidal course by the imperialist rulers."

13th. The British Labour Party's statement on the Indian situation was jointly issued by the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress. It stated among other things :—"In the light of Labour's declarations of policy in favour of Indian self-government, the recent Cripps' discussions and the subsequent pronouncements of Indian parties and leaders and the grave perils which now threaten India as the result of Japanese aggression in Asia and throughout the Pacific, we feel it necessary to make an earnest appeal to the Indian peoples.....The Labour Movement believes that the establishment of a free India in the post-war world is secure and is not endangered by any possibility of evasion

or procrastination by the British Government. The world knows that there is new agreement on the principle of Indian freedom.

Mrs. Vijaya Laxmi Pandit was arrested at Allahabad under the Defence of India Rules.

The State Department at Washington said that the American armed forces in India were there solely to prosecute the war against the Axis and had been warned to avoid taking any part in internal troubles. The presence of American forces in India was primarily to aid China. In the event of disturbances where they were stationed, they were authorised to resort to defensive measures only, should there our personal safety or that of other American citizens be endangered.

14th. Mr. T. R. V. Sastri, ex-president of the National Liberal Federation, in a statement in Madras, said: "A solution must be found, and must be found without much delay, for the situation that has come about in India."

The Rt. Hon. Sir Shadilal, former Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court and Privy Councillor in the course of a statement in Bombay, said: "Mahatma Gandhi and other members of the All-India Congress Working Committee have been arrested. This was not entirely unexpected, though it was thought that the Government of India would be wise in not taking such a step..... "There can be no doubt that Indians, high or low, realise the racial distinction between Europeans and Indians and feel that the Indians are treated as inferior persons. The Government have not so far taken steps to remove this grievance."

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, being informed of the Indian developments and the arrest of Congress leaders, said at Cairo: "I deeply regret that the All-India Congress Committee lacked courage to turn down the Working Committee's resolution. The enormity of the Congress mistake is even more conspicuous here where thousands of our brave countrymen are risking their lives for the safety, honour and freedom of their country."

15th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a statement from Madras, appealed to Mr. M. A. Jinnah to find a solution for the political impasse. Mr. Rajagopalachari observed: "To err is human and there can be no difficulty in finding out the faults of others or in condemning them in strong terms. It is much more difficult to find a way to compose differences, but therein alone lies hope for this country.....It is not only the Congress but Muslims too that continue in humiliation and danger. The Congress is in prison, with a feeling perhaps that it has done all it could. But the responsibility of the League, which is not in prison, is for that reason, all the greater."

Mr. Mahadev Desai, Mahatma Gandhi's Secretary died of heart attack at Poona.

The executive Committee of the Oudh Provincial Hindu Sabha met at Lucknow, under the presidentship of Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, M.L.A. and adopted a resolution "earnestly requesting Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, to withdraw his resignation in view of critical situation, and to continue to guide the nation."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in a statement issued from Bombay, said: "I have very carefully considered in the light of the past few days' happenings whether it will serve any useful purpose at this stage for any one not belonging to the two big political parties to act as an intermediary between them and the Government. I am not hopeful of a step like this leading to any fruitful results. No intermediary can succeed unless he has the authority to speak on behalf of the Government."

16th. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League met in Bombay at Mr. Jinnah's residence and adjourned after 2½ hours' discussion—The Committee was summoned for the purpose of considering the political situation in the country.

At an urgent meeting of the Andhra Mahasabha Working Committee, held at Bombay, under the presidentship of Maharajkumar Sir Vijaya of Vizianagram, the following resolution was passed: "This Mahasabha views with deep concern the sad state of things that exist owing to the unwarranted and extreme repressive policy pursued by the Central Government and deplores that, whilst a majority of Indians are running the day-to-day administration of the country

it should be possible for the bureaucracy to resort to such tactics which indeed are a negation of the much advertised democracy."

Mr. Arthur Greenwood, Labour Leader, in a broadcast to North America from London, said: "It is painful for me to say it, but Mahatma Gandhi appears to be utterly oblivious of the urgency and gravity of the world situation. With great respect to him, I must say that he has shirked major issues."

The Muslim daily "*Morning News*," in an editorial under the heading, "The Task ahead", observed: "We are satisfied that if the Congress had taken Muslims with it in the struggle it would have silenced visionary critics and interested opponents and brought not only the Privy Seal back to India but the Secretary of State and the Prime Minister to come to a settlement, not only on the altruistic grounds of democracy and liberty alone but to strengthen, fortify and harden the Indian wedge, which is likely to break to pieces the prongs of the Trans-Continental Berlin-Tokyo princer gradually tightening round it."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a special interview in Bombay, stated: "The Muslim League would join a provisional war-time Government if it had equal voice with Hindus and assurance of Pakistan after the war. It would also consider any suggestion for a solution from any authoritative source."

17th. Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Labour, in the Madras Congress Ministry, and President of the All-India Trade Union Congress was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

A Nagpur Communique said: "The Provincial Government has imposed a fine of Rs. 30,000 on Ramtek area in Nagpur District, where on August 13, tahsil and police station and other government buildings were burnt down by a mob of about 5,000 persons. The fine will be collected forthwith."

It added: "The Provincial Government is also considering the imposition of a fine on the town of Umred, also in Nagpur District and the village of Chimur in the adjoining district of Chanda."

More than 2,000 Transvaal Indians, at a meeting at Johannesburg, passed a resolution against the arrest of Indian leaders and calling upon the United Nations to urge the British Government to release the men and allow immediately the formation of a free National Provincial Government of India as demanded by the Indian Congress.

The Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha announced from Bombay that the Hindu Sabha members, including Dr. Syama Prosad Mookerjee, requested Mr. V. D. Savarkar to withdraw his resignation of the presidentship of the Sabha.—All the Provincial, District and State Hindu Mahasabhas also forwarded similar requests.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League issued a statement from Bombay: "The Working Committee discussed the present political situation and the developments which have taken place recently. The Committee appointed a sub-committee to draw up resolutions to be placed before the meeting on the 18th, for consideration."

18th. His Excellency the Chancellor of the Madras University appointed Dr. A. Lakshmanswami Mudaliar, acting Vice-chancellor, to be the Vice-chancellor of the University from August 18.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, in Bombay, had for discussion a draft resolution authorizing Mr. Jinnah, if he thought necessary, to establish contact with Mahatma Gandhi, first to ascertain if the Congress was prepared to agree to Pakistan and, secondly, if the Congress was prepared to join the League in forming a national government.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Premier of Bengal, sent an appeal to the Viceroy to be forwarded to Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt, M. Stalin and Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek stressing that "the permanent interests of world peace and freedom require an immediate settlement with India."

At a public meeting of Indians representing all sections and communities in London, the following resolution was adopted: "Firmly believing that the creation of a free democratic order of all peoples of the world is impossible without an independent India, we, Indians, assembled at this public meeting in London, reaffirm our demand for immediate independence only on the recognition of India's independent and sovereign status."

The Government of Madras in a Press Note, stated : "The Government of Madras are determined to use all the means at their disposal to put a stop to the various acts of hooliganism and rioting that have been taking place recently. Not only has extensive damage been done to Government buildings, to the Telegraph, Telephone services and to the Railways, but the loss by private individuals must also be very considerable. The Government have already called the attention of the District Magistrates to the various powers vested in them by recent war-time legislation and have instructed them to make the fullest use of these powers."

Mahatma Gandhi, referring to the Congress stand, in his reply to an English friend, wrote: "The movement is designed to help Britain inspite of herself. This is a very big, almost arrogant claim. I am not ashamed to advance it because it comes from an agonised heart. Time alone will show the truth or falsehood of the claim. I have no doubt as to the verdict. For, the testimony of the reason may be wrong, but of the heart never."

Mr. Cordell Hull told the Press Conference at Washington that the Government of the United States were naturally giving keen attention to the developments of the Indian situation and would continue to give it all attention feasible under the circumstances.

19th. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League had another informal discussion in Bombay on the draft resolution suggesting contacts between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. After reiterating the League's stand the draft resolution emphasized that the Muslim League was prepared to join any party in the country in the formation of provisional national Government, provided the party or parties concerned agreed to concede the Muslim demand for Pakistan, if in a plebiscite the majority of Muslim voters of a particular zone, voted in favour of Pakistan.

The Central Council of the All-Bengal Muslim Students' League, which concluded its session in Calcutta, passed resolutions expressing confidence in Mr. Jinnah's leadership, deploring the agitation indirectly released by the Congress and its supporters, and expressing the opinion that the negative action by the Government would worsen the situation.

The Transvaal Muslim League sent the following cable to Mr. Jinnah from Johannesburg : "The Executive Committee of the Transvaal Muslim League resolve that they whole-heartedly, unflinchingly and unanimously support the stand taken by the All-India Muslim League and the principles enunciated by it under the eminent leadership of the Quide-Azam, Jinnah, and pray that Pakistan will be an accomplished fact during their lifetime."

20th. His Excellency the Governor-General decided to nominate Sir Muhammad Usman, Sir J P. Srivastava and Sir Jogendra Singh to the Council of State and Sir Edward Benthal, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to the Legislative Assembly. He also decided to transfer Sir Firoz Khan Noon to the Legislative Assembly and to appoint Sir Mahammad Usman to be the leader of the Council of State.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League concluded its deliberations in Bombay after adopting a resolution on the political situation indicating the League's attitude to the question of the formation of a National Government and to the Congress movement.

In an interview, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the League, said : "I want the British Government to make without delay the declaration demanded in the resolution, whether anybody wants it or not. On the declaration being made, we are ready and willing to consider any proposal from any party for the purpose of setting up a provisional Government for the mobilising of war effort, for the defence of India and for the prosecution of the war. There is no limit to the power that may be transferred to this Provisional Government."

Proprietors, Editors and Managers of the nationalist newspapers in Calcutta, who decided to suspend publication of their paper from the August 21st, met at a conference, at the Secretariat, in the room of the Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, on his invitation.

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, addressing the fifth batch of "Bevin Boys" (Indian technical trainees), said : "India can only be free if she is sufficiently united to be at peace within her borders and sufficiently strong to defend these borders against any aggression from without."

21st. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Member for Information and Broadcasting, Viceroy's Council, resigned and his resignation was accepted by the Viceroy.

The Navajivan Press, where Mahatma Gandhi's *Harijan* and allied weeklies were printed, was sealed, and, after a search, old copies of all the weeklies were seized by the police at Allahabad.

The *Leader* in an editorial comment on the latest resolution of the Muslim League, said : "We deeply regret that Mr. Jinnah has failed this country and not seized the opportunity which the situation offered him of bringing peace to it."

Dr. G. S. Arundale, President of Theosophical Society, in a statement in Madras, observed commenting "on the narrow and disruptive outlook of the All-India Muslim League which is no more really representative of the Muslims than the Congress is of India."

22nd. Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, commenting on the latest resolution of the Muslim League, said from Hyderabad (Dn): "Every sincere well-wisher of the Muslim League will deeply regret the resolution adopted by its Working Committee in Bombay. With the Congress off the scene the responsibility for leading the country had devolved on the League, the next largest party in the land. The task before that body was to generate an atmosphere conducive to an honourable compromise between the Congress and the League on the one hand and between these two and the British Government on the other."

A press note issued by the Information Officer, Baroda State, mentioned that on the morning of August 18, the Working Committee of the Baroda State Praja Mandal issued a resolution declaring their intention to obstruct all war efforts in the State. The Government therefore issued a notification declaring the Praja Mandal an illegal organisation.—Eight of their leaders were detained.

Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, who presided at a conference of proprietors, editors and managers of Calcutta newspapers, sent a message to Mr. K. Srinivashan, President of the All India Editors' Conference, New Delhi, urging withdrawal of new Regulation restricting the freedom of the Press.

The Executive Committee of the Journalists' Association of India (Bombay) passed the following resolution : "The Executive Committee of the Journalists' Association of India strongly disapproves of the restrictions recently placed on the Press. In view of the Defence of India Rules which are already onerous enough, these fresh restrictions are an unnecessary and unwarranted interference with the due discharge by the Press of its duty to the people and the State and some of them constitute an indefensible violation of universally recognised and fundamental principles of the journalistic profession."

23rd. Mr. Walter Nash, New Zealand Minister to the United States, on his return from his visit to Britain, reiterated the demand for the creation of a supreme War Council of the United States, Britain, China, Russia and India "if and when Indians understand the situation." He said that regardless of India's future position in relation to the British Commonwealth of Nations, Indians should be represented on the Allied Supreme Council "because they comprise the major bloc of peoples."

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Government of India, speaking at a reception given in his honour by the Depressed Classes Welfare Association, Delhi, said : "I want to put the depressed classes on terms of equality with the other communities in India, I want to place the reins of Government in your hands. You should share in the political power of the country, on terms of equality with the Mussalmans."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a statement from Benares, under the caption "To my countrymen," said : "You should not resort to violence and put non-violence to shame. When such a thing happens, you may take it that you will not find me alive." He added : "Some of us are trying our best to persuade Mahatma Gandhi not to undertake a fast unto death. By avoiding and discouraging acts of violence, you will be helping to save the life of Mahatma Gandhi."

The United Press learnt that Sir Muhammad Saadulla was commissioned by H. E. the Governor of Assam to form a Ministry, following the Viceroy's concurrence to the revocation of the Proclamation under sec-93 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

The United Press further learnt that Sir Muhammad recommended the

following persons for inclusion in his Cabinet. Maulavi Munawar Ali, Mr. Hirendra Chandra Chakravarty, Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury, Khan Bahadur S. Rahman, Khan Sahib Mudabbir Hossain Chaudhuri, Mr. Rupnath Brahma, Mr. Mohendra Nath Saikiya, Miss Dunn, and Mr. Naba Kumar Datta.

At the annual general meeting of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress, under the presidentship of Mr. S. C. Joshi, M. L. C. (Bombay), a resolution criticizing the policy of the Government in regard to the Congress was adopted.

At a meeting of the Poona Journalists' Association, held at Poona, a resolution expressing its profound regret that the Government of India should have thought fit to impose further restrictions on the Press in India by their order of August 10, over and above the comprehensive ones in the Defence of India Rules and recording its emphatic protest against such restrictions and urging the Government to withdraw the order forthwith, was passed.—Mr. J. S. Karandikar presided:

Syed Rauf Shah, President of the C. P. and Berar Provincial Muslim League, in an interview, stated in Bombay that the League Executive had fulfilled its duty to the country and the Muslim community by passing the resolution sponsored by Mr. Jinnah.

The Bombay resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League was welcomed by the Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Party, when it met at the residence of its leader, Sir K. Nazimuddin in Calcutta.

24th. Sir Jogendra Singh, Member, Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, in his speech in New-Delhi, opening the Central Food Advisory Council, said: "From the fund created by the levy of an additional duty on imports of raw cotton, the Government of India had made grants to four Provinces and three States in respect of lands diverted from cotton to food or fodder crops." He added that all applications for grants would receive favourable consideration up to the extent of funds available.

A manifesto issued over the signatures of prominent citizens of Nagpur, including Mr. P. K. Rao, Member, Servants of India Society, Mr. M. Y. Sheriff, ex-Minister and Mr. G. V. Deshmukh, said: "We fully support the Congress demand for immediate transfer of political power from Britain to India. It represents the demand of almost all progressive political parties in India which have a following. The immediate establishment of a National Government can alone make the war a people's war and inspire the people with zeal and enthusiasm for war effort on behalf of the United Nations and defeat the reactionary forces of Nazism and Fascism."

The Council of the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha in a resolution, in Calcutta, demanded the declaration on behalf of the British Government "of India's free status." The Council thought that such a declaration "is essential for mobilizing the immense man power and resources of India against the Axis menace."

The British Communist Party in a letter to Mr. Churchill expressing the "concern of sections of opinion in this country over the Indian situation," reminded the Premier that the Congress resolution declared for armed resistance to Axis aggression. The Congress resolution also threatened civil disobedience. "We deplore this threat of civil disobedience," said the letter, which was signed by Mr. Harry Pollitt, Secretary of the British Communist Party, "and believe that any such policy, inevitably leading to division and internal struggle in the face of Fascist aggression and thus playing into the hands of Fascism, would be suicidal from the standpoint of Indian freedom no less than that of the world cause of freedom against Fascism."

The inauguration of the newly constituted Legislative Council of the State of Cooch Behar was held at Lansdowne Hall.—His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur presided.

25th. H. H. the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, in a statement to the Press in Indore, declared: "The isolationism of Indian States is now a thing of the past, and I earnestly hope that they will associate themselves more directly with national aspirations, as their salvation lies in agreeing to enter without reservation the future Union of India and in whole-hearted co-operation with a National Government when it is set up."

Nawabzada Murtuza Ali Khan, in a press statement in Bombay said: "Mr' Jinnah is ignoring his own county and looks to Britain for the consummation

of Pakistan. If, there is no response to be made by Britain, as she has no time to side-track her war efforts, what is that the Muslim League and its President Mr. M. A. Jinnah proposes to do ?"

Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Defence Member, Government of India, in a speech delivered at the Students' Union, Aligarh University, suggested the division of India into five Dominions which should send delegates to a Central authority to be created to control Defence, customs, Foreign relations and currency and should also have the power of secession and subsequent reaccession.

A Press Note issued by the Madras Government stated : "The situation throughout the Presidency continues to improve".

The Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League adopted a resolution, endorsing the resolution of the Working Committee of the League in Bombay.

26th. Prof. Humayun Kabir, M. L. C., Member of the Standing Committee of the All-India Azad Muslim Conference in a statement to the Press in Calcutta expressed the view that the resolution of the League Working Committee lead nowhere.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, interviewed at Cairo, regarding his meeting with Mr. Churchill, said : "It was a happy coincidence that I happened to be in Cairo, when Mr. Churchill arrived, which afforded me the opportunity of meeting him.....His visit to the Middle East apart from its wider implication in connection with the war effort of the United Nations, was a source of encouragement and inspiration to forces in the Middle East".

Mr. M. N. Roy, in the course of a statement commenting on the Bombay resolution of the Muslim League Working Committee, observed : "The Muslim League Working Committee resolution makes it possible for the Viceroy to set up a Government which will be able legitimately to claim to represent a majority of the Indian people. This possibility has always been there. But a false notion of democratic practice prevented its becoming a reality".

27th. The Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Hewlett, said at a meeting of the India League in London, that the political situation in India had been brought about by faults on both sides, "although I do not agree with the policy of my friend Mr. Gandhi".—The meeting was called to urge Government to reopen negotiations with the Congress.

A Bengal Government communique stated : "With a view to facilitating the movement of food grain over the Railways, the Government of India have issued specific instructions to the General Managers of Railways, that up to Saturday August 29, 1942, they should concentrate on the movement of foodgrains, sugar and salt for internal consumption, by shutting down other kinds of railway traffic, if necessary. It it hoped that local merchants and dealers will try to take maximum advantage of this concession during this limited period".

The question of price control was among the subjects discussed by the Central Food Advisory Council.

The Indian Overseas Department of the Government of India set up a special fund known as the Indian Overseas Evacuees Relief Fund.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who returned to Peshawar from his tour of the Southern Districts, conferred with prominent Khudai Khitmatgars at the Saradayab Centre. He told the Press that the discussions related to the future plan of the Khudai Khitmatgars VIS-A-VIS the general situation in the country.

Mr. Indulal Yagnik, President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, in a statement to the Press in Bombay, made an appeal to the Government to release Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders.

Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyat Coomar Tagore, K. C. I. E. a premier nobleman of Bengal, died at Benares.

Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, representative of the Government of India, on the British War Cabinet, said at Karachi : "It will be open to me to say anything that will further the war efforts".

28th. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar took charge of the Dewanship of Travancore.

Mr. Abdul Latif Farokhi, EX-M.L.A., (central) and Secretary, the Madras Presidency Muslim League, in the course of a statement regarding the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, said : "It has to be regretfully admitted that the policy hitherto pursued by the Congress has not given a correct lead to the country in the matter of securing transfer of power into Indian hands".

Under the collective fines Ordinance, 1942 the Governor of Orissa imposed collective fines amounting to Rs. 6000/- on twelve villages in Balasore District, according to a Gazette Extraordinary.

The Government also imposed collective fines of Rs. 5000/-on the inhabitants of four villages in Cuttack District. Muslim inhabitants of these places were exempted.

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League gave direction to the Muslims in the Province to follow the resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at Bombay in all its indications and to guide themselves vis-a-vis the movement initiated by the Congress in accordance with the instructions contained in it.

A Press Note stated that the Government of India decided to relax with effect from September, 1942, the prohibition of the emigrations of unskilled labourers to Ceylon so far as it affected labourers in Ceylon.

The Madras Government decided to introduce a revised scheme of dearness allowance to Government servants.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, Travancore, replying to felicitations on his assumption of office, observed: "To me it is a matter of intense sorrow that on this occasion the greatest and most organised political party in India should have chosen what to me appears to be not only a difficult but barren path—a path of opposition.

29th. Mr. Devadas Gandhi, Managing Editor, Mr. Devi Prashad Sharma, Printer and Publisher of the *Hindustan Times*, and Mukut Behari Lal, Editor of the *Hindi Hindustan*, were discharged by the Addl. District Magistrate, New Delhi.

At a meeting of the Proprietors and Editors of the fifteen Indian owned newspapers of Calcutta, English and Vernacular, which had suspended publication on August 21, as a protest against the restrictions imposed on the Press by the Government, it was decided that they would resume their publication on the morning of August 31.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha began its session with Mr. V. D. Savarkar, in the chair.

Srimati Rameshwari Nehru, Vice President of the All India Harijan Sewak Sangh and ex-President of the All India Women's Conference, was arrested at Lahore, under Rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Mr. Syed Mohammed Hussain, Secretary of the Muslim League Party in the Council of State and a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League, issued the following statement to the Press from Allahabad: "The decision reached by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League after four day's deliberation at Bombay has failed to give any lead to the Muslims at a juncture when it was so urgently needed."

30th. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier who had a long talk with Mr. Churchill in Cairo, said that the British Premier was full of appreciation of the magnificent work done by Indian soldiers in the various theatres of war. While Mr. Churchill greatly regretted the unfortunate attitude taken by the Congress, he had nothing but praise and admiration for the war effort of India. Sir Sikander left Mr. Churchill fully satisfied that India would get a square deal.

In the vacancies caused by the resignations of Sir Muhammad Usman, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Sir J. P. Srivastava, consequent on their appointment as members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, Sir K. V. Reddy, Mr. R. P. Masani and Pandit Rajnath Kunzru, respectively, were appointed Members of the National Defence Council.

The Central Government cancelled its order of August 8 so far as it applied to editors, printers and publishers in the province of Delhi. The order of August 8 prohibited the printing or publishing by any printer, publisher or editor of any factual news relating to the mass movement sanctioned by the A. I. C. C. or measures taken by the Government against that movement, except news derived from official sources or the news agencies or a correspondent registered with the District Magistrate.

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, held a discussion in New Delhi, initiated by Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee, on the political situation, and eventually appointed a Sub-Committee to draft a resolution embodying the greatest common measure of agreement revealed in the course of the discussion.

Mr. Abbas Ali Kamal, Vice-President of the Provincial Muslim League, C. P., in the course of an interview at Nagpur, said: "In the present hour of crisis, we in India must close our ranks and reserve all our differences for the future. After the present Congress movement started, all the Congress leaders are in jail and some one must take the initiative in solving the political deadlock. I appeal to Mr. Jinnah, leader of the next biggest political party in the country, to encourage selfless leaders like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to take the initiative in bringing about an understanding between the Congress and the Muslim League without which the freedom of the country will be greatly jeopardised."

Khan Abdul Samad Khan, President and six other members of the Working Committee of the Anjuman-e-Vatan of Baluchistan were arrested in Baluchistan under the Defence of India Rules.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, which met in New Delhi, adopted a resolution which demanded an immediate declaration of India's independent status and immediate negotiations by the British Government with principal parties in India in order to solve the political deadlock. The resolution further demanded the formation of an Indian National Government, which, it asserted, would declare its determination to fight the common enemy. The Committee asserted that if the British Government did not respond to its demand, the Mahasabha would be compelled to revise its programme and devise ways and means whereby Britain and her Allies "will realise that India, as a self-respecting nation, can no longer be suppressed."

In accordance with the decision of the Government of India, the Indian Standard Time was advanced by an hour.—(The New Standard Time being 6½ hours ahead of Greenwich Mean Time, instead of 5½ hours as hitherto).

Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad, former Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in a Press statement at Moradabad, criticized Sir Ferore Khan Noon's scheme for dividing India into five dominions.

Eleven of the fifteen Indian-owned newspapers of Calcutta, which had suspended publication on August 21 as a protest against the restriction imposed on the Press by the Government, reappeared.

September 1942

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, issued a statement from Bombay, instructing the Hindu Sabhaites who happened to be members of municipalities and local bodies, legislatures or committees or those who might be serving the army, navy, air-force or working in the amunition factories to stick to their posts and continue to perform their regular duties.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement from Bombay, congratulated the Muslims for completely keeping themselves aloof from the mass civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress.

Mr. Churchill made a statement about India, in the House of Commons. He said that the course of events in India had been improving. The principles of the declarations made by the Government which formed the basis of Sir Stafford Cripps' motion must be taken as representing the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in reply to Mr. Arthur Greenwood, said in the House of Commons: "Mr. Gandhi had made it clear that his action was going to be something more serious than any of his previous movements. The Government of India took the only action which any responsible government would take in the circumstances."

A meeting of the Indian Christians, in Calcutta, resolved that Britain should recognize and declare the independence of India immediately.

A meeting of Europeans in Calcutta under the presidency of Mr.

Arthur Moore, passed a resolution urging the British Government to announce its readiness to transfer full power to a National Government and provide immediate facilities for its formation.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in reply to questions in New Delhi, declared : "My fundamental point is that we do not want under the stress of the war emergency, to be stampeded into forming a Provisional Government which would be of such a character and composition as would prejudge, prejudice or militate against the Moslem demand for Pakistan."

Dr. Shayma Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and other members of the Hindu Mahasabha in a statement demanded an immediate consultation with Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of the Indian National Congress.

Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, moving the official motion in the Central Legislative Assembly, on the situation in the country, declared : "On the basis of all the information at present available, we cannot absolve the Congress from responsibility for these very grave events."

Mr. Vernon Bartlett, M. P., at a meeting of the Commonwealth Movement in London said that the new movement proposed the reopening of negotiations with the Indian Congress for military reasons.

In the Central Assembly, in reply to Mr. A. N. Chattopadhya's questions about the health of Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, the Home Member said that Mr. Bose had been a diabetic patient for some time before his arrest and the health of such persons could never be satisfactory.

Lala Hari Ram Seth, in a statement from Lucknow said : "It appears that the Government has refused permission to the Mahasabha sub-committee to interview Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders to discuss the political situation in the country. This is most unfortunate."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, informed the House that a representation was made to the Central Government by him and his colleagues to reconsider their decision regarding Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose.

The Council of State commenced its autumn session. The Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a manifesto from Bombay, asking the Government to give up its repressive policy, to release Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders.

The Central Legislative Assembly discussed the Muslim League resolution on Khaksars and finally passed it without any division.

A resolution adopted by the All-India Akali Conference expressed the view that the Congress demand for an immediate declaration of the status of India as an independent sovereign state and the formation of provisional National Government should be accepted.—Master Tara Singh presided.

At a meeting in New York, under the auspices of the India League of America, it was urged that President Roosevelt and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek should "recognize the interest of the United Nations in the Indian dilemma and use their good offices to ask the British Government to open up new conferences."

1st. Mr. Abdul Latif Farookhi, Secretary, Madras Presidency Muslim League and Member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, in the course of a

statement in Madras, said: "Though the Muslims are solidly behind the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League regarding the Constitutional deadlock and cannot agree with all that the Hon. Mr. Syed Mohamed Hussain, Secretary of the Muslim League Party in the Council of State has said in his recent statement criticizing the resolution of the Working Committee of the League, there is a general feeling among the Muslims that a way should still be found to end the present deplorable state of affairs.— As the situation is daily deteriorating and as the Congress leaders are unable to act on account of their being behind prison bars, it will be regarded as an act of generosity and not a climb-down on the part of the Qaid-e-Azam if he proposes to see Mr. Gandhi for a settlement".

Dr. S P. Mukherjee, Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, at a Press Conference in New Delhi, said : "In this supreme crisis in the history of India, the Hindu Mahasabha has given a lead for the solution of the Indian deadlock, which is not actuated by any party or sectarian consideration. "The main demand of the Hindu Mahasabha is that India cannot be governed today by a mere policy of repression ; that the initiative for ending the present deadlock should come from the British Government itself ; that the deadlock can be ended only if the British Government decides to part with power in accordance with a well-adjusted scheme for fighting the common enemy ; and that a representative National Government must be established without delay, so that the man-power and the vast resources of India can be effectively organized under its auspices".

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing the Students' Union of the Agricultural College at Coimbatore, refered to two of his disillusionments. The first, he said, came in 1921 after the Versailles Peace Treaty and the second came after the second Round Table Conference, which was attended by Mahatma Gandhi, on behalf of the Congress.

2nd Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore addressing a Press Conference at Trivandrum, said that he regarded the entry of students into the agitation that was taking place, the most unfortunate thing that happened in Indian history for the last 50 or 60 years.

The Committee of the All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry at a meeting in Bombay, under the presidency of Sir Sultan Chinoy, passed a resolution, stating *inter alia* : "While realising the necessity of checking all irresponsible and subversive activities, the Committee strongly feels that public confidence cannot be restored by the adoption or continuance of repressive measures, and earnestly urges upon the Government the need for a generous gesture by opening negotiations with the main political parties in India with a view to ending the present deadlock and renewing and strengthening the country's war effort."

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, returned to Lahore from his visit to the Middle East.

3rd. As a first step in their plan to enter into negotiation with the principal political parties in the country, the committee of seven members appointed by the All India Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee addressed a letter to the leaders of various parties, including the Depressed Classes, Moslem League, Sikhs and Indian Christians, and sent each of them a copy of the Mahasabha resolution passed in Delhi and inviting their support for the demands made in it.

General Sir Archibald Wavell, Commander-in-Chief, in a broadcast from New Delhi, declared. "Taking it all round, we begin the fourth year of this war with much better prospects than we did the fourth year of the last war."

Mr. Arthur Moore, broadcasting a talk from Calcutta observed: "There is only one way of answering and defeating the challenge of Hitler ; and it is by super-patriotism ; by realising the brotherhood of man, and claiming the earth as our mother country,"

At the meeting of the Working Commitee of the Provincial Muslim League, C. P. and Berar, with Mr. Rauf Shah in the chair, at Nagpur, it was unanimously resolved to support the Bombay resolution of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee.

4th. "*Zam zam,*" the leading Muslim paper of Lahore, wrote: "We are very sorry to note that the Muslim League resolution contains more an indictment of the Congress Party, when most of its leaders are in jail, and as such

cannot reply to the charges. The resolution says that the League is prepared to open negotiations with any party on the basis of equality, provided the demand of Pakistan is accepted in advance. We are constrained to say that the whole policy of the League is that there should be no settlement during the war and the status quo is to be maintained and that is the reason why it adopts all sorts of dilatory tactics."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, issued a statement from Bombay. He said : "I issue this definite instruction to all Hindu Sabhaites in particular and all Hindu Sanghatanists in general who happen to be members of the municipalities and local bodies, legislatures, or Committees or those who may be serving in the army, navy, air force or working in ammunition factories or holding any post or position of vantage in Government service that they should stick to the posts and continue to perform their regular duties in the various capacities."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, addressing a Press Conference at Lahore, declared : "In this tragic hour when the enemy forces are standing on the frontiers of India, in a menacing attitude, it is the duty of all patriotic sons of India to close their ranks and to stand shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the country's emancipation."—Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Rai Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna were also present at the Conference.

The Government of Madras issued the following Press Note : "This province is short of many essential commodities such as rice, millets, pulses, sugar and wheat. If the requirements of this Province are to be adequately satisfied, it is essential that the limited transport facilities now available in the prevailing war conditions should be put to the maximum possible use."

Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadir, President of the Peshawar Congress Committee, in a statement at Peshawar, expressed the view that the Congress would have no objection to accepting any scheme for the future Government of India, provided it had the approval of both the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

5th. A Conference held by the India League in London, urged the Government to negotiate with Indian leaders on the basis of recognition of India's independence and transfer of power to a Provisional Government of National Unity, formed by Indians themselves. This would enable India to organise herself fully and effectively for her own defence and to become a powerful ally of the United Nations.

A meeting of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress was held at Nagpur, with Mr. V. R. Kalappa in the Chair.—The Council passed a resolution urging the Government to carry on negotiations with the political organizations to secure the early establishment of a National Government both at the Centre and in the Povinces, thus enabling free India to organise complete and effective defence of the country.

6th. Mr. Jinnah, in a statement issued from Bombay, congratulated the Muslims for completely keeping themselves aloof from the mass civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress, and said : "I wish to impress upon Muslims to carry out the Muslim League's instruction and pursue their normal life peacefully, and completely dissociate themselves from the Congress move."

Sir Nalini Ranjan Chatterjee, former Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court died at Panchra in the Birbhum District, Bengal.

Mr. Clement Attle, Deputy Prime Minister, in a speech at Aberdeen, said : "We had made many mistakes in our treatment of the Indian problem, but we had given India more than a century of internal peace and good Government and had in the last 25 years made immense progress towards Indian self-Government. Further progress was held back by disagreement among Indians and by difficulties of introducing democracy into a country of 300 million people, "at all stages of civilisation."

7th. Mr. N. R. Sarker, Commerce Member, Government of India, in his speech at the opening of the Sixth Price Control Conference in New Delhi, discussed factors governing the successful administration of Price Control.

Sir Mahomed Usman, in unveiling the portrait of Mr. G. H. Hodgson, the Vice-President of the Anjuman, said in Madras : "The present political deadlock in the country cannot be solved unless the importance of the Muslim League and the just claims of the Muslim League are recognised".

Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya was arrested at Basavangudi at Bangalore, under Sec. 26 of the Defence of India Rules.

8th. Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee had an hour's interview with His Excellency the Viceroy in New Delhi. The discussions, so far as their main heads came to public knowledge, ranged over a wide field, and the main features of the demands were : 1. India to be declared independent. 2. The British Government to initiate negotiation for the formation of an Indian National Government to which power should be transferred. 3. The Indian National Government to be composite in character, including representatives of important parties. 4. Abolition of the India Office as a corollary to such transference of power. 5. Provincial Governments to be set up on a similar basis. 6 The Indian National Government to declare its resolve to fight the Axis power and not to conclude a separate peace with these Powers. 7. The Indian National Government to have a common war policy with the United Nations. 8. The Commander-in-Chief to continue to have operational control. 9. The Indian National Government to pursue a policy of militarization and industrialization of India. 10. The future Government of India to be determined by a constituent assembly to be set up by the National Government. Any minorities which so desire will have the right to refer disputed power to international arbitration.

A number of girl students picketing the houses of Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, were arrested in New Delhi.

9th. H. H. the Maharaja of Indore, pleading for communal goodwill and understanding, in the course of a statement in Bombay, warned that if the different groups persisted in their attitude, the result could only be civil war. The Maharaja said : "I have followed with keen interest the deliberations of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha and the resolutions passed by their Working Committees from time to time. These have filled me with dismay and grave apprehensions ; if these groups persist in their attitude, they are heading for a civil war".

10th. Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu, K. C. I. E., Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University died at Thyagaroyanagar, Madras.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press from Bombay, made an earnest appeal to all patriotic parties and all prominent leaders in India to join hands with Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Working President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. Mr. Savarkar said : "It has ever been the policy of the Hindu Mahasabha to bring together all those parties and prominent leaders who stand for a genuinely National and democratic Government, irrespective of taste, creed or class and get themselves consolidated on a common platform. It was with this intention that the majority of the Hindu Sabha leaders participated, although in their individual capacity, in the Non-Party Leaders' Conference which was expected later on to have the way to an All-Parties Conference".

A demand that the British Prime Minister should settle the Indian problem was made in a joint statement issued by the leaders who were engaged in the Delhi political talks. The appeal asked for a declaration of immediate transfer of real power to Indian hands postponing all controversial issues. Copies of the leaders' statement were cabled to Mr. Churchill and forwarded to the Viceroy.

Mr. Churchill made a statement in the House of Commons about India. He said that the course of events in India had been improving and this on the whole was reassuring. The principles of the declaration made by the Government which formed the basis of Sir Stafford Cripps' motion must be taken as representing the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament.

The Secretary of State of India, Mr. L. S. Amery gave, in the House of Commons, an account of "the whipping order" issued in India. Mr. Amery said: "In India the penalty of whipping or rather caning—it is administered by a light rattan cane and not by a "cat"—has long been authorised, as in this country, for such crimes as robbery with violence.....I see no reason to interfere with the discretion of the India authorities in this matter."

11th. The House of Commons held a debate on India. Mr. Arthur Greenwood, leader of the Labour Party, in opening the debate said : "We urge the

Government to make it clear that free and friendly discussions will be resumed on the abandonment of Civil disobedience." Replying to the debate, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India said : "Mr. Gandhi had made it clear that his action was going to be something more serious than any of his previous movements. The Government of India took the only action which any responsible Government would take in the circumstances. Its action had saved India from a great disaster. The Congress scheme of sabotage was a carefully planned scheme of attack. It wanted to paralyse India's war effort and make it impossible to defend India". The Secretary of State reiterated in the Commons that the Government would welcome any effort to establish Indian national unity.

A meeting of the Indian Christians, held in Calcutta, under the presidency of Mr. S. C. Mukherjee, President of the Indian Christian Association, resolved that Britain should recognise and declare the independence of India immediately.

Mr. Samuel Grafton wrote in a New York journal on India : "We are talking about freedom, but we should perform some concrete acts like letting Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru out of jail and quit appeasing the Spanish Dictator, General Franco."

The Raja of Mahmudabad, member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee, addressing a meeting at Peshawar said : "If Mr. Gandhi wrote to Mr. Jinnah conceding to the Musalmans the right to have their own independent sovereign States in the areas where they were in a majority, the Muslim League would at once join hands with the Congress in presenting a joint demand to the British Government."

A statement issued by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. Moonje, Raja Maheswar Dayal, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Rao Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna, Member of the Hindu Mahasabha Special Committee, said : "The statement of Mr. Churchill betrays commentable lack of statesmanship and will cause deep resentment throughout India. The British Government has obviously failed to appreciate the grave realities of the present situation".

A meeting of Europeans in Calcutta, under the presidentship of Mr. Arthur Moore, passed a resolution urging the British Government to announce its readiness to transfer full power to a National Government and provide immediate facilities for its formation.

Sir Walter Citrine, Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, speaking on India at the T. U. C. Conference at Blackpool, said that it seemed easy for some people to hoodwink themselves and assume a unity that did not exist in India. "There is not even trade union unity," he said. "One federation supports the Government and the other denounces it. What about the 40 million Muslims ? What about the 70 million untouchables ? These are people who needed thinking about. To say that they would be content to have their destiny placed in the hands of the Congress is utter nonsense."

Mr. Edward Hunter, writing in "*World Telegram*" New York, urged the United Nations to formulate some proposals for solving the Indian problem.

An important meeting of Labour Members was called in London, to discuss the line that the Party should take in the debate opened on Mr. Churchill's statement on India by Mr. Greenwood, leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons.

12th. Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, Sind Premier, and President, Azad Moslem Board, in a statement, said : "Mr. Churchill's juggling with figures and attempt to minimize the widespread discontent in this country may deceive the British public, but it will surely not deceive those who know the real situation in India."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, met Mr. Jinnah in New Delhi and had a talk with him on the political situation in the country.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press on Mr. Churchill's statement said : "There was nothing unexpected in the speech delivered by Mr. Churchill in the British Parliament. It could have been written for Mr. Churchill some weeks ago by any one conversant with Britain's political psychology. Mr. Churchill assured the members of the British Parliament that there was nothing serious about the Indian situation to cause them any worry. Thrice blessed be they if they all retired pleased with the sense of self-complacency and security."

13th. Mr. J. C. Setalvad, President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, in a statement in Bombay, said : "The statement made by Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons is extremely reactionary and has created a feeling of great disappointment and resentment among all classes of people. Such statements are not likely to bring India and England nearer."

Dr. George S. Arundale observed in a statement in Madras that Mr. Churchill came out very badly from his speech in the House of Commons which was "not only in the worst possible taste, but highly dangerous both to the internal situation in India and to that comradeship between India and Britain which is so essential to the successful prosecution of the war."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. B. S. Moonjee, Dr. N. C. Chatterjee, Mr. Mehrchand Khanna and Raja Maheswar Dayal, in a statement to the Press in New Delhi, said : "We feel that our efforts have now reached a stage which demand an immediate consultation with Mr. Gandhi and the leaders of the Indian National Congress."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, replying to questions at a Press Conference in New Delhi, declared : "My fundamental point is this that we do not want, under the stress of the war emergency, to be stampeded into forming a Provincial Government which would be of such a character and composition as would prejudge, prejudice or militate against the Moslem demand for Pakistan."

At a Press Conference in New Delhi, a number of points about the strength of Moslems not belonging to the Moslem League were elucidated by Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, Premier of Sind and President, Azad Moslem Conference, Dr. Shaukatulla Ansari, Secretary of the Conference and Mr. Mohamed Zahiruddin, President, All-India Momin Conference. On the issue of Pakistan, the Sind Premier said : "No one among the Moslems is opposed to independence, but large numbers of them are certainly opposed to Pakistan.

The jute position as well as the food situation in Bengal were discussed at a meeting, in Calcutta, of the Working Committee of the Progressive Coalition Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Mr. Mehrchand Khanna and Raja Maheswar Dayal issued a statement in New Delhi, saying on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha Committee : "The definite momentum that the Hindu Mahasabha demand has received from various political parties emboldens us again to call upon the British Government to take the initiative without any further delay."

The Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry in a statement in New Delhi, on the political situation, expressed grave concern and anxiety at the situation as it developed after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal addressed a joint session of the Provincial Legislature at the Assembly House, Calcutta. His Excellency in his speech said : "The legislature has been convened for this short session mainly to enable honourable members to consider the present situation in the Province and the measures which have been taken by Government for its security and well-being."

The Government of Bombay notified the raising of a loan of Rs. 3,50,00,000 at three per cent maturing on September 18, 1955. The object of the loan was to repay a part of the loans taken from the Central Government.

The Central Assembly began its session in New Delhi, with Sir Abdul Rahim, President, in the chair.—A vigorous denunciation of the Government of India's policy in the matter of the development of India's geological resources was made by Mr. K. C. Neogy on a motion made by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar for election to the Advisory Committee attached to the Utilization Branch of Geological Survey of India

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari issued a statement from Madras, in which he said : "It is a matter for regret that Sir Stafford Cripps has again made the allegation that Mahatma Gandhi intervened and made the Working Committee break off from negotiation while the latter had been agreeable to a settlement. Gandhiji is in prison and cannot again contradict this baseless story that will go into Hansard. I was present from beginning to end during these talks, and I can say authoritatively that Mahatmaji who was absent from Delhi during the latter stages, was not responsible for anything that took place."

15th. In the Central Assembly Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, moving the official motion on the situation in the country, declared : "On the basis of all the informations at present available we cannot absolve the Congress from responsibility for these very grave events."

A Conference of Indian-owned newspapers, which suspended publication, following the imposition of certain restrictive order by the Provincial Government consequent on the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders, was held in Bombay, under the presidentship of Mr. Ramnath Goenka, Editor of the *Indian Express*. About 50 representatives of suspended newspapers attended the Conference.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Premier made a statement on the political situation in the province.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, three attempts were made on behalf of the Muslim League Party to have the House adjourned. All the adjournment motions were, however, disalloved by the President.

Mr. Vernon Bartlett, M. P, speaking in London, at a meeting of the Commonwealth Movement said that the new movement proposed the reopening of the negotiations with the Indian Congress for military reasons.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan accompanied by Mr. Arbab Abdur Rahman, M.L.A., and Khan Amir Mohd. Khan, M.L.A., left for Abbotabad. Khan Aligul Khan, President of the F. P. C. C. also proceeded to Abbotabad from Peshawar.

Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Vice-President of the Harijan Sewak Sangha and three other lady Congress workers were arrested at Lahore, under the Defence of India Rules.

Raja Maheswar Dayal, General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, at a Press Conference at Lucknow, said : "The essence of the demand of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha is firstly, the grant to India of the status of an independent country now, with necessary adjustments during the war for the defence of India and not after the war, and secondly, initiation of negotiation by the British Government with the principal political parties in India for the immediate formation of an Indian National Government."

16th. His Excellency the Viceroy refused the Hindu Mahasabha Committee's application that they might be allowed to discuss the political situation with Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders in detention.

The Orissa Ministerialist Party at a meeting at Cuttack, presided over by the Maharaja of Parlakimedi (Premier), unanimously passed a resolution supporting the efforts of the Hindu Mahasabha to bring about a solution of the political deadlock in India.

The Central Assembly resumed the discussion on the political situation. The speakers were Mr. N. M. Joshi, Maulana Zafar Ali, Mr. N. M. Dumasia, Mr. C. P. Lawson, Mr. Frank Anthony and Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. Mr. Joshi and Sardar Sant Singh pleaded for the setting up of a National Government, while Mr. Lawson (European group) gave reasons which in his view stood in the way of forming such a Government.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. M. R. Jayakar in the course of a joint statement from Indore, expressed "much concern and great disappointment" at Mr. Churchill's speech on the Indian situation.

In a written reply to Mr. A. N. Chattopadhya's questions about the health of Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, the Home Member said that Mr. Bose had been a diabetic patient for some time before his arrest and the health of such persons could never be entirely satisfactory.

Sj. Hirendra Nath Dutta, a leading figure in the literary and cultural life of Bengal, died in Calcutta. He was the Vice-President of the Theosophical Society and was the senior-most member of the Incorporated Law Society of the Calcutta High Court.

17th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, discussions on the political situation were resumed.—Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, who opened the debate, declared that the Congress and the Moslem League did not differ on the main issue of independence and National Government. The difference was in regard to the composition of the National Government ; the Moslem League demanded equal partnership and the right of self-determination, while the Congress demanded majority rule.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly devoted the whole of its sitting to the first reading of the Rural Primary Education (Amendment) Bill, 1941.

The opposition moved two amendments, one for the circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion and the other for referring it to a Select Committee.—Both the amendments were lost by large majorities.

At the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, made a statement giving a short resume of the events that had taken place in the administration of the province since the Council last met for the Budget discussion.

Lala Hari Ram Seth, member of the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, issued a statement from Lucknow, which said : "From press reports it appears that the Government has refused permission to the Mahasabha sub-committee to interview Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders to discuss the political situation in the country. This is most unfortunate."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. Chief Minister, informed the House that a representation was made to the Central Government by him and his colleagues to reconsider their decision regarding Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose. He further informed the House that several representation were also made to the Central Government on his and his colleague's behalf to get Mr. Bose repatriated to Bengal or to some other healthy station near Bengal suited to him and also to his family and to secure for his family an adequate allowance.

Syed Sakhawat Husain, Convener, Lucknow Azad Muslim Board, in a statement to the Press at Lucknow said : "Mr. Churchill's statement on India has caused general disappointment throughout India. Mr. Churchill harps on lack of unity among us. It is evident to-day that India is united so far as the demand for the transfer of power from British hands is concerned. Progressive sections in Britain and America are also agitating for India's right to independence as a part of the United Nations' war efforts.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, three members of the Government and four party spokesmen took part during the final stages of the debate on the political situation. Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member declared : "I have never regretted the decision which, I along with all my colleagues, took on August 8, because, placed as we were, we had to choose between complete abdication of our responsibilities as a Government and surrender to the challenge thrown out to us. And now, after all that has happened, we feel convinced that our decision was right."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the necessity of controlling the prices of foodstuffs and other essential commodities was stressed.

Mr. Arthur Moore, in a statement in Calcutta, said : "Throughout the Allied world there is a passionate desire that internal strife in India shall cease, the quarrel with Britain be ended and the energy of the country directed against the common enemies of India and China—the Japanese and Germans. This can be done.....All that is required is that the British Government shall say that it is willing to transfer to such a Government, if it can be formed, the same powers as the Canadian and Australian Governments enjoy and shall then invite Mr. Jinnah to form such a Government."

The Bengal Legislative Council adopted a non-official resolution expressing the opinion that the Government of Bengal should take possible steps to secure the release of Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, in detention, in the Trichinpoly Jail.

Sir M. Zafrulla Khan, the Indian Agent, lectured on India under the auspices of the Sino-British Cultural Association in Chungking.—He surveyed the Indian situation giving both the Hindu and Muslim views.

19th. At a meeting of the British Indian Association, Calcutta, a resolution was adopted, requesting the Government of India to call "a conference of all the recognised parties with a view to exploring possible avenues of ending the existing political deadlock".—The Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan presided.

Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, President of the All India Depressed Classes Association, in a statement on Mr. Churchill's speech, said : "Mr. Churchill has given a photographic survey of the situation in India arising out of the Civil Disobedience Movement, saying nothing more than is true, not less than is necessary. I am not able to see anything in the reported speech which is offensive or in bad taste."

20th. Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, General Secretary of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, in an interview in Bombay, said : "The Sub-Committee of the

Hindu Mahasabha which has been exploring the possibilities of bringing about a rapprochment among the various parties in order to end the deadlock in the country, will continue its task irrespective of the setback it received by the Government of India's refusal to grant the Committee permission to see the Congress leaders in prison."

The two Indian members of the War Cabinet broadcast about the Indian war efforts, from London. The Jam Saheb of Nawangar said that over 50,000 Indians were enlisting each month. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar said that India's factories were working to their maximum capacity. The textile industry not only clothed the Indian troops but supplied much for the Middle East Army and Australia. Ordnance factories had also expanded greatly.

Sir M. Visveswaraya, presiding over the second quarterly meeting of the Central Committee of the All India Manufacturers' Organization in Bombay, stressed the need for constituting a post-war reconstruction board to make adequate preparations for reconstruction work after the war.

The Working Committee of the All India Nationalist League, adopted a resolution in New Delhi, viewing with concern the growing deterioration in the internal situation of the country, particularly since the meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Bombay on August 7 and 8.

The death occurred at Chandpur of Mr. Hardayal Nag. He was 90 years of age.

21st. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the President ruled out of order an adjournment motion tabled by Sardar Sant Singh to discuss the alleged merciless beating "of a businessman of Delhi named S. N. Janhar in the Connaught Circus, Delhi, on the 21st September, by the police, who arrested him and who, the motion alleged, also administered a beating to Mr. Janhar's wife and his driver, when they tried to intervene."

The Council of State commenced its autumn session. Sir David Devadoss presided.

In a manifesto issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India from Bombay, an appeal was made to the Government to give up its repressive policy, to lift the ban on the Congress organizations and open negotiations with the Congress and other parties in India, especially the Muslim League for the establishment of a provincial national Government.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, several members including three former Ministers and the leader of the European party, participated in the general discussion on the statement made on the opening day of the session by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier, regarding the political situation in the province.

The Government of India issued instructions to the Regional Controller of Railway Priorities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and to the Railway Administration concerned, desiring them to continue to give special attention to the movement of foodstuffs during the month of September.

22nd. In the Council of State a debate on the political situation in the country was initiated by Sir Mahomed Usman, Member for Ports and Air.—Sir Mahomed referred to the serious acts of sabotage, violence and looting and the destruction of Government and private property during the disturbances following upon the passing of A. I. C. C. resolution at Bombay. Sir Mahomed Usman said, the Government had to take stern measures.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in an interview in Madras, said: "There is nothing to equal Mr. Moore's recent statements in bringing out the salient features of the present situation, examined from the point of view of politics as well as Allied strategy.....It is the universal feeling in India, and all that has recently happened confirmed it, that at the present moment the British Government at home and the Viceroy in India have decided to take whatever risks are involved in carrying on till the end of the war under an autocratic system without the help of a popular Government".

The Central Legislative Assembly rejected by 41 votes to 19 the adjournment motion moved by Mr. Jamdadas Mehta to discuss "the anxiety created in the public mind by the unsatisfactory reply given by the Finance Member to the request to give an opportunity to this House for influencing the decision of the Government of India on matters arising out of his recent financial mission to England".

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the alleged grievances of the Muslim community in respect of appointments in the A. R. P. Service were mentioned by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy (Muslim League).

23rd. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the President took up an adjournment motion tabled by Mr. Govind Deshmukh to discuss "the move of the Durban City Council to expropriate Indian lands in Durban to be allocated to European or coloured housing schemes to be sanctioned by the Union Government".

The Assembly devoted the whole of the day's sitting to a further debate on the Muslim League resolution on Khaksars moved by Raza Ali and finally passed it without any division.

The Council of State continued the discussion on Sir Mahomad Usman's motion to consider the political situation in the country. Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das, Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mohta, Sardar Bahadur Sobhan Singh, Sir K. R. Menon, Mr. Mohammed Hussain, Mr. R. R. Haddow and Saiyad Md. Padshah participated in the discussion.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly by 108 to 45 votes rejected the special motion tabled by the Muslim League Party disapproving the "non-application by the Government of the Communal Ratio rules to the appointments made in the various A. R. P. Services and the Fire Fighting Services, resulting in the complete exclusion of Moslems and the Scheduled Castes from those Services". The European party did not take part in the voting.

Mr. J. N. Sahni, Convener of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference issued the following statement to the Press from New Delhi: "Statements have been made by the Home Member in the Central Assembly and by Sir Mahomed Usman in the Council of State calculated to create the impression that an agreement had been reached between the All-India Editors' Conference and the Government.....I wish to make it clear that no agreement has hitherto been reached or accepted by the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference or the Central Press Advisory Committee acting in its behalf".

A Conference with his co-workers was held by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan at Peshawar. Talks which were held at the residence of Mr. Mohammed Yunus, related to the political situation in the country and the Khudai Khidmatgar programme. Several Congressmen, including Mr. Bhanjuram Gandhi, ex-Finance Minister, met him individually and had talks with him.

24th. The Council of State continued the discussion on the political situation. Sir Jogendra Singh, Member for Education, Health and Lands said : "I have listened to the debate with deep concern and a feeling of frustration.....No Government can rejoice in these fateful days if it is compelled to maintain law and order, when all its energies should be directed in preparation to meet the perils, which it may be, at any moment, called upon to face."

The Central Assembly took up discussion of Mr. K. C. Neogy's resolution recommending the appointment of a Committee of the House to inquire into allegations of "excuses committed by the police and the military" in dealing with the disturbances in the country.—The debate had not concluded when the House was adjourned *sine die*.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Rural Primary Education (Amendment) Bill was the main subject for consideration.—The measure sought to remedy certain defects which came to light in the course of the working of the Bengal Primary Education Act of 1930.

Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press at Lucknow, said : "I can now confidently assert that there is absolute unanimity in India on the demand for the immediate establishment of a National Government and the transfer of free power here and now to India subject to the necessary adjustments for efficiently fighting the war. Further detailed discussion between the Indian parties can be fruitful only then and I am certain that in that event all the parties will agree to join in the formation of a National Government."

25th. The Council of State passed five official, and one non-official Bill as passed by the Central Legislative Assembly. It also rejected by 20 votes to 11, Mr. Hossain Imam's resolution urging that "for the present agreement for the apportionment of war expenditure between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India, a new basis be framed in consultation with the representatives of the parties in the Central Legislature." The official Bills included two Bills to amend the Civil Procedure Code,

a bill to amend the Rubber Control Act, another bill to amend the Indian Companies Act and the Repealing and Amending Bill.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly, by 97 votes to 43, rejected a resolution moved by Mr. A. R. Siddiqi (Muslim League) expressing the view that "the Government have failed in their duty to the cultivators of Bengal by not taking any steps to secure a fair and reasonable price for jute."

The Bengal Legislative Council considered non-official Bills. One of these, the Advocate's Robes Bill, sponsored by Rai Brojendra Mohan Maitra Bahadur (Progressive Coalition) aimed at achieving uniformity in robes for Advocates of the High Court.

26th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Bombay, expressed the view that the special committee appointed by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha succeeded in "producing a national demand on some of the most crucial and fundamental issues which cannot but convince everyone that India as a nation demands with a united will and voice a declaration on the part of the British Parliament that she should be recognized here and now as an independent nation."

Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, Premier of Sind renounced his titles of "Khan Bahadur" and "O. B. E." as a protest against the British Government's policy. The Sind Premier, when asked whether the renunciation of his titles, "Khan Bahadur" and O. B. E. was a direct result of Mr. Churchill's speech, said: "It is the cumulative result of the feeling that the British Government does not want to part with power. Mr. Churchill's speech shattered all hopes".

The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India, in a resolution passed in New Delhi, "condemned the disturbances that have taken place in the country particularly when the enemy is knocking at the doors of India."

Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader, in his presidential speech at the third All-India Akali Conference at Waheela Kalan in Lyallpur District uttered strong condemnations of acts of violence,—characterising an "armed rebellion" as idiotic with not the slightest chance of success. Master Tara Singh said: "I do not believe in the funny doctrine of non-violence as preached by Mahatma Gandhi, but I am not a fool to ask you to commit the violence of piercing your own heart. I, therefore, advise you in your own interest and in the interest of your country not to be fools to be carried away by momentary enthusiasm".

27th. India's cultural contact with China from the past was recalled by several speakers when a portrait of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore was unveiled at the Darbhanga Library Hall of the Calcutta University and formally presented to China through Dr. C. J. Pao, Consul-General for China, by Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee presided.

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha passed a resolution calling upon its branches to implement the lead given by the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and appealing to all political parties in India to support the demand of the Mahasabha for the recognition of India's independent status and for the immediate formation of an interim national Government.

An appeal to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, "to exert the tremendous influence that he wields in solving the present dangerous deadlock", also the urgency for immediate Congress League unity and the formation of a provisional National Government to defend India against foreign aggression was made by a memorandum submitted to him by a large number of local members of the Muslim League (Bombay) and other prominent members of the Muslim League.

The Central Kisan Council, in a resolution in Bombay, demanded the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders and the formation of a provisional National Government to fight the Axis menace. The Council also deplored the prevalence of mob violence and appealed to the Kisans and the people to turn away from the path of sabotage and terrorist and disruptive activities "which lead not to the weakening of the bureaucracy but to the ruin of our own people."

28th. In the Council of State, Mr. C. C. Jones, in reply to Raja Yuvaraja Dutta Singh, said that the expenditure on defence and on supply brought to account

in the books of the Military Accountant General was of the order of Rs. 1½ crores a day. How much of this would be charged to India and how much to His Majesty's Government, could not be estimated until the revised estimates for the current year were drawn up. It was not possible to say what portion of the one and half crores mentioned above related to the American and Chinese forces in India. There was no Australian army in India.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, two special motions relating to the incidents in Dacca and Behrampore jails were discussed. The motions were in connexion with the Chief Minister's statement on the political situation in the province.

A resolution adopted by the All India Akali Conference expressed the view that the Congress demand for an immediate declaration of the status of India as an independent sovereign State and the formation of a provisional National Government should be accepted.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, in a letter to the Mahar Recruitment Board, said: "If but the spirit that enthuses the militarization movement is the spirit actuated by the motive of defending our motherland and our people from threatened alien aggression, the first duty of every Indian now is to enter the Army Navy and the Air Force.

M. Frank. R. Anthony, President-in-chief of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of India, addressing the annual general meeting of the Bombay branch of the Association, emphasised the loyalty and love of the Anglo-Indian Community towards India as their mother country. He affirmed that though the Community would not subscribe to any political stunt or any big hegemony of any particular party, their desire was to see India ruled by a real National Government.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in reply to a Press representative, said: "If Britain came forward with an irrevocable declaration transferring power here and now to the Indian people, I can say this much that Mahatma Gandhi would call off the Satyagraha Campaign.

29th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a war commentary in London, said that the problem of India's future was one of difficulty, but it could be solved, and he believed it would be solved. He said that a constitution imposed on India by any one element could not live, but that was precisely the aim which Mr. Gandhi and a handful of his associates who controlled the Congress machine had set before themselves. He added: "It is to enforce that aim that they recently decided to launch a campaign of mass sabotage intended, by its paralysing effect, to bring the Government of India to its knees. That would spell disaster not only for the immediate war effort, but for any great formation for India's future freedom and unity. Defeat of the present attempt to seize control of India in the interests of a party is an essential part of any attempt at a solution. That a solution will be found I have no doubt".

In the *New York Times*, prominent Americans stressed to President Roosevelt and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek that "they recognize the interest of the United Nations in the Indian dilemma and that they use their good offices to ask the British Government and the Indian National Congress and other leaders to open a new Conference with a mutual determination to find a way of action which will most speedily bring India into the ranks of our Allies by beginning now a programme of her independence".

The Council of State rejected by 23 votes to 9, Pandit Kunzru's resolution asking that the restriction imposed on the Press should be modified so as to take a fuller account of the rights of the Press and the public, and that, in particular, pre-censorship of news reports and statements should be abolished except in so far as it might be necessary for military purposes.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, made the announcement that the Government were going to appoint a Committee, consisting of men who enjoyed public confidence, to make a thorough enquiry into the Dacca jail incident in which several persons lost their lives and a number of others were injured.

Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, endorsed the proposal from Mahatma Gandhi that President Roosevelt should intervene in the British-India dispute.

30th. A meeting was held in New York, under the auspices of the India League of America. The meeting urged President Roosevelt and Marshal

Chiang Kai-shek to "recognize the interest of the United Nations in the Indian dilemma and use their good offices to ask the British Government to open up new conferences with a determination to find a way of action which will speedily bring India a programme for her independence".

Mr. Riley (Labour) asked Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons, if in view of the rejection by the leading parties in India of the British Government's proposals the Government was prepared to consider a modification of those proposals with a view to furthering a possible settlement of Indian problem.

Mr. Amery in a written answer said : "The British Government remain most anxious to further a settlement of the Indian problem. In the absence, however, of a sufficient common measure of agreement among Indians themselves, which is the real obstacle of a settlement, they do not consider that any modification of their proposals would contribute to the desired result."

Under the auspices of the Bengali Muslim Samiti, at a public meeting in Calcutta, a resolution urging immediate declaration of independence for India by the British Government, establishment of provincial National Government in the Centre and Provinces, creation of an Indian people's National War Front, was passed. Mr. Humayan Kabir, M. L. A. presided.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly was adjourned *sine die*. The time of the Bengal Legislative Council was mainly taken up with the consideration of the Rural Primary Education (Amendment) Bill (as passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly).

At a special general meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, held in Bombay, a resolution was adopted urging the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders and the establishment of a " real representative National Government at the Centre."

October 1942

Mr. Otman Woo, Representative of the Islamic Federation in China observed that Muslims in China had full sympathy with India's aspiration for independence though it was to be regretted that at a time when China wanted help to see through the war there should be a conflict between the people and the Government.

Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Agent-General to the Government of India at Chungking, in an interview said that during his stay in China, he tried to the best of his ability to interpret India to China.

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha in a resolution expressed the opinion that the British Government had no intention of parting with power or of facilitating the National Government in India.

Mr. C. R. Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary for the Dominions, replying to the debate on India, said that though every one wanted a settlement of the Indian problem, one must face it in a spirit of realism.

Mr. Allah Baksh, Sind Premier, was removed from office by the Governor, Sir Hugh Dow, as he no longer possessed the Governor's confidence.

Mr. Allah Baksh, following his removal from the office of Premier of Sind, in an interview at Karachi, said : "Under the Constitution, as it stands, the Premier remains the Premier only if he has the confidence of the Governor, and not merely if he has the confidence of the Legislature".

A unique function in furtherance of inter-communal harmony

is held in Lahore when the Id was jointly celebrated by all mmunities.

Mr. Amery was asked in the House of Commons if it was pposed to complete the Indianisation of the Viceroy's Council, to ich the Secretary of State replied that no such change was itemplated.

Mr. M. Rathnaswami, C. I. E. was appointed Vice-Chancellor the Annamalai University.

His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at a Durbar at Rawalpindi, d a tribute to the Punjab for maintaining peace and order and itinuing steadily with the war effort.

In the House of Lords, the Duke of Devonshire, the Under-cretary of State for India, opening the debate on the India and rma (temporary and miscellaneous) Bill, replied to the "political tation and exhortation from outside India" on the subject of vernment's Indian policy.—He reiterated the British Government's itude and said that the next move must come from India.

Mr. L. S. Amery denied in a broadcast to America that Stafford Cripps had offered India an immediate National vernment but was overruled from London.

Mr. Amery stated in the House of Commons, regarding the lianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council that the retention the three European members was not due to race.

His Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the addresses of lcome at Quetta, said: "Let me say how great a pleasure it s been to me before the close of my Viceroyalty to have been e to visit Baluchistan, to see for myself the progress of reconstruction e, and the invaluable contribution that the province is making the prosecution of the war".

Mr. Amery, in reply to a question regarding the Viceroy's usal to allow Dr. S. P. Mukherjee to see Mahatma Gandhi, said at he was not prepared to ask the Viceroy to permit interviews th the Congress Leader".

Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader, stated at Amritsar that was in full sympathy with Mr. C. Rajagopalachari "in his whole-arted and earnest efforts to effect a settlement between the vernment and the people".

The Seventh Session of the Orissa Assembly commenced in ttack.—Swami Bichitrananda Das made a statement why the ngress members could not participate in the session.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement in New Delhi, said: "To s Congress or Hindu India, Pakistan is an anathema. To slim India, it is an article of faith.....Unless fundamentals s agreed upon, details cannot be tackled and there could be no tlement or dissolution of the deadlock".

. In the House of Commons, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India was asked as to what representation he had received from influential persons or organizations in India respecting facilities for legitimate communication with Congress prisoners, the whereabouts of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and if Pandit Nehru could receive correspondence.—Mr. Amery replied: "I have received no such representation. Pandit Nehru is permitted to correspond with his family on family matters. I am not prepared to disclose his present whereabouts."

The Bengal Legislative Council resumed further discussion on a motion tabled by the opposition criticizing the statement of the Chief Minister on the political situation in the province.—The motion which was introduced by Khan Bahadur Saiyed Muzzamuddin Hossain (Moslem League) was to the effect that, in the opinion of the Council, the Chief Minister's statement so far as it related to the question of the supply of foodstuffs and of the essential commodities was disappointing.

Mr. Rajagopalachari, in a statement on the deadlock in India, declared : "Let the British Parliament act on the moral responsibility that has been so often claimed, and direct the Viceroy to scrap his fear and prejudice and choose men well-known to command the allegiance of vast bodies of men of various communities in India, whether they be in prison or not, and declare that they form his cabinet for governing India during the period of the war."

A number of Muslim members of the Progressive Coalition Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly formed themselves into a new party to be known as the "Independent Muslim Assembly Party," within the Coalition Party itself.

Mr. L. S. Amery, asked for information regarding machine-gunning of disorderly crowds in India from aircraft and invited to order cessation of such methods, said in the House of Commons : ".....During the recent disturbances mobs were five times machine-gunned from the air and after an aeroplane crash, which occurred on September 18 in Bihar, in which the pilot was killed and the crew of the aircraft were murdered by a mob, it was found necessary to use aircraft to check sabotage by mobs.....The measures taken by the Government of India to restore order in the circumstances, the seriousness of which is, I think, still imperfectly appreciated in this country, have my full support. I am not prepared to interfere with the Viceroy's discretion in the matter."

Mr. Otman Woo, Representative of the Islamic Federation in China, said : "Muslims in China have full sympathy with India's aspiration for independence though they consider it very unfortunate that conflict had arisen between the people and the Government at a time when China wants help to see through the war."

A message from Sir P. C. Roy asking Indians to achieve permanent unity among the different communities was read at a meeting in Calcutta, under the auspices of the Calcutta Muslim Samiti. Sir P. C. Roy said : "We shall be failing in our duty if we do not try to solve the burning problem of the hour—the sinking of communal differences."

2nd. In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca explained on behalf of the Government, the position regarding the supply of foodstuffs and other essential commodities in Bengal.

3rd. The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference met at the Cama Institute, in Bombay, under the presidentship of Mr. K. M. Srinivasan, Editor of the "*Hindu*."

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, replying to a joint address of welcome at Ferozepore, said : "If Muslims demand the right of self-determination it is not wise for any party to hold up the political progress of the whole of India by resisting that demand."

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha with Mr. V. D. Savarkar in the chair held a discussion on the political situation with special reference to the resolution passed by it on August 31.—The General Secretary of the Mahasabha, in a statement, referred to hints in certain quarters suggesting failure of the negotiations and said that such was not the case.

Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Agent General to the Government of India at Chungking, arrived in Calcutta from Chungking and in an interview said : "During my stay in China, I tried to the best of my ability to interpret India to China. Now that I have returned to India, my stay there though brief might enable me to interpret to some extent China to India. I shall count myself very fortunate indeed if I can make any contribution to that end."

4th. The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference resumed its deliberation in Bombay.—The main resolution before the Committee was one dealing with the difficulties arising from the imposition of the recent

restrictions both by Provincial Governments and the Central Government and demanding their withdrawal, and the withdrawal of pre-censorship envisaged in the last meeting in Delhi.

5th. Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor of the *Hindu*, presiding over the second session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference in Bombay declared: "There is no question of our willing submission to any proposal which, in our opinion, is derogatory to the dignity of the profession or in any way prevents us from functioning as responsible newspapers."—A resolution taking "strong exception to the series of restrictions imposed on the Press" was passed.—The resolution was moved by Mr. S. A. Brelvi ("*Bombay Chronicle*") and seconded by Mr. I. M. Stephens (Calcutta "*Statesman*".)

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, at its meeting in New Delhi set up a sub-committee of five to draft its main political resolution. The Committee recorded its warm appreciation of the services rendered by the Working President and other members of the special committee, particularly on their "success in producing a common demand for a National Government."

Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, in a statement at Hyderabad, said: "Mr. Amery's Caxton Hall speech on India's future should serve as an eye-opener to the Muslim League, particularly because Mr. Amery is looked upon by its executive as its friend and guide."

6th. The "*Times*" in a leading article strongly urged the immediate and complete Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha in a resolution, expressed the opinion, "that the statement of the British Premier and the Secretary of State for India and the refusal of the Viceroy to grant permission to the members of the Special Committee to interview Mahatma Gandhi made it clear that the British Government have no intention of parting with power or of facilitating the National Government in India.".

Mr. G. L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in a statement issued to the Press in Calcutta, said: "India's defence today is an integral part of the strategy of the United Nations and the financial responsibility involved in this strategy must rest on Britain and her independent Allies".

The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference concluded its session in Bombay, after adopting the new constitution of the Conference, electing a new standing committee and passing a number of resolutions protesting against the way in which censorship worked and the telegraphic delay in the transmission of press messages and the arrests and detention of working journalists.

The Jam Saheb of Nawanagar and Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, India's representatives on the war Cabinet, addressed members of the Empire Parliamentary Association at the House of Commons, on "India to-day and to-morrow". The Secretary of State for India and Burma, Mr. Amery presided.

Rajkumari Amrit Kuar was arrested at Kalkan (Lahore.)

7th. A message from His Majesty the King-Emperor carrying his deep appreciation of the Council's sympathy in the bereavement His Majesty had sustained by the death of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent was read by the Deputy President (Khan Bahadur Abdul Hamid Chaudhury) at the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council.

The Azad Muslims' plan for India's future constitution was disclosed by Premier Allah Bux, President of the Azad Muslim Conference, at a Press Conference in Delhi, as envisaging linguistic provinces with the right of self-determination to the point of secession but "in the context of Indian freedom."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and members of the Hindu Mahasabha Special Committee made an appeal to President Roosevelt and Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek to intervene and help in the formation of a National Government for India and in the declaration of Indian Independence, in a cable sent to the two leaders of the United Nations.

8th. In the House of Commons, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, reiterated Britain's pledge of freedom to India. Mr. Amery declared: "There could be no question of the Government of India negotiating with the Congress or allowing others to do so until the Congress abandoned its present policy." Mr. Amery's statement was made on the India and Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill.—The amendment proposed by the Independent Labour Party rejecting the Bill was defeated by 360 to 17 votes.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in an interview in Bombay said : "If Britain makes up her mind today she could give a most satisfactory provisional National Government to India without incurring the least risk to defence. In this sense the British Government is responsible for the continuance of the present deadlock. It is unnecessary to examine the question historically, for that is not the present issue."

9th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a telegram to Mr. Churchil, said: "The Hindu Mahasabha succeeded in producing national demand on fundamental points, namely the immediate recognition by the British Parliament of India as an independent nation, National Coalition Government during war time leaving the Commander-in-chief free in military operational matters as the Allied War Council dictates and all constitutional and controversial details to be decided by a post-war All Party Conference."

Mr. C. R. Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary for the Dominions, replying to the debate on India, said that though every one wanted a settlement of the Indian problem, one must face it in a spirit of realism. He said : "The British Government stood by the whole of their offer but you could not break up an organization like the Government of India in the middle of a struggle as grave as that of the present war and throw it over to some body else."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, inaugurating the new Council of the Trivandrum Corporation, observed : "I wish to assure the Mayor and the Corporators of Trivandrum and through them the wider public composing the members of the local bodies throughout the State, that as far as possible, even when the government comes to the conclusion that a particular resolution, financial or otherwise of a local body is not very wise or very expedient in its own interest, Government would not normally interfere."

Prof Tan Yun-Shan, Director of Visva-Bharati Cheena Bhavana, addressing "the great Ally, the British authorities, in the course of a statement from Santi Niketan, observed : "For everybody's sake and for many reasons you must first declare India independent and free immediately, then form an Indian National Government as soon as possible. This is the aspiration not only of the Indian people, but also of the peoples of the United Nations. Even your own British people, most of them, I dare say, have the same desire too."

10th. Mr. Allah Baksh, Sind Premier, was removed from office by the Governor, Sir Hugh Dow, as he no longer possessed the Governor's confidence.—The Governor invited Sir Ghulam Hussian Hidayatullah, Home Minister, to from a Cabinet and he accepted His Excellency's invitation.

Mr. Allah Baksh, following his removal from the office of Premier of Sind, in an interview at Karachi said : "There is no point in not recognizing under the constitution, as it stands, that the Premier remains the Premier only if he has the confidence of the Governor, and not merely if he has the confidenee of the legislature."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and members of the Hindu Mahasabha Special Committee, in a statement in New Delhi , said : "There is hardly any prospect of an immediate change in the stubborn attitude taken up by the Government."

The determination of the Chinese people to preserve their national freedom and to defeat the forces of Axis aggression found expression at a public meeting held in Calcutta, to celebrate the 31st. anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, speaking at a reception given by the East India Association in honour of him and the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, the two Indian representatives on the War Cabinet said : "I want India to know that no secrets are kept from us at the War Cabinet."

Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Defence Member, in a public speech at Peshawar, said : "I have no doubt in my mind that complete self-Government is ours for the asking. I know that the offer made through Sir Stafford Cripps by His Majesty's Government was genuine. I assure you that after my five year's stay in England I know of nobody there including members of Parliament who would not like to see India achieve full Dominion Status."

11th. H. E. H. the Nizam, in an appeal for Hindu-Muslim unity, which was issued unofficially, said: "This is a fit occasion for all people of different creeds and communities who have been living together in amity and peace, in the State for centuries, to establish world-wide reputation for toleration, mutual love, to bury differences and stand together once more and present a united front for the defence of their country, and thus ensure an even brighter future."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, issued a message from New Delhi to the Muslims on the occasion of the Ramzan Id: "I wish Mussalmans a happy and prosperous Id, Ramzan and Idul-Fitar, as all other Muslim festivals are the Universal festivals of Islam. "Idul-Fitar" is a symbol of unity and brotherhood—divine and economic. Let us on this great and auspicious day take a solemn vow for establishing our rightful place in the present, and also in the future order of the world, according to the light of our Islamic heritage."

Sir Firoz Khan Noon, addressing the staff and students of Islamia College, Peshawar, made an appeal to the Muslims of the Frontier Province to unite politically with the Muslims of the rest of India.

12th. H. H. the Maharaja of Nawanagar, in an interview with Mr. George Slocombe, in London suggested the creation of a completely Indianised and fully Executive Viceroy's Council, with Whitehall not interfering in home and financial affairs.

An unique function in furtherance of inter-communal harmony was held in Lahore when the Id was jointly celebrated by all communities. The function, which was organised by the Muslim Club, was attended by the Governor, the Ministers, the District Commander and prominent members of all communities. A feature of the gathering was the presence of a large number of servicemen.

13th. The House of Commons passed through the Committee Stage and gave the third reading to the India and Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous) Bill. The Bill was then sent to the House of Lords.

Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, in an open letter to Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, said: "For the Hindu Mahasabha to align itself with the Congress in regard to the Communal Award and the Poona Pact would be a betrayal of India."

Mr. Bertrand Russel, in a radio debate in New York, advocated the setting up of a four-man Commission representing respectively the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and China to negotiate with the various Indian parties for a settlement of the Indian problem.

14th A communique from Government House, (Karachi) said: "His Excellency the Governor this morning accepted the resignations of Mr. Nichaldas, Vazirani, Rao Sahib Gokuldas Newaldas, Pir Illahi Bux Nazali and Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada from his Council of Ministers. Later, Pir Illahi Bux was sworn in as a member of the Cabinet of Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatullah, whom His Excellency entrusted with the task of forming a Ministry.

The Dussehra session of the Representative Assembly (Mysore) commenced at the Jaganmohan Palace, with Pradhana Shiromoni N. Madhava Rao, Dewan President, in the chair: The Congress Party was conspicuous by its absence with the exception of two members.

15th. Mr. L. S. Amery, replying to a question in the House of Commons regarding the displacement of the Moslem Premier of Sindh, Mr. Allah Baksh recalled the Communique issued by the Governor of Sind on October 10. Mr Amery added: "I had of course, been consulted on the situation created by the Premier's publication made in September of his letter to the Viceroy and had agreed as to the impropriety, in the light of it, of his continuing in office, but the final decision to dismiss him was taken by the Governor only after a personal discussion which, owing to the Premier's absence from Sind, could not take place until October 10."

Mr. Amery was asked in the House of Commons if it was proposed to complete the Indianization of the Viceroy's Executive Council by the appointment of Indians to the three portfolios still held by Englishmen.

Mr. Amery: "No such change is at present contemplated."

The India and Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, which was passed by the House of Commons was introduced in the House of Lords and given its formal first reading.

Speaking at a joint meeting of the East India Association and the Royal Empire Society in London, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, stressed the need for a much greater study of the Eastern Languages, particulaly those of India. Whether from the trade point of view or the more important aspect, namely, international understanding, a study of these languages was important, Mr. Amery added: "I hope that after this war, we shall think of these matters in a different spirit from that of the rather materialistic 19th. century."

A Gazette notification was issued at Karachi, stating: "The Governor, having found it necessary to do so, has terminated with effect from the forenoon of October 10, the tenure of office of members of the Council of Ministers headed by Mr. Allah Baksh."

16th. It was officially stated that the Government of India decided to continue giving special attention to movements of foodstuffs, sugar and salt for internal consumption during the month of October, as was done during the month of September.

In the Representative Assembly, Mysore, eleven official bills were passed. Of these, four related to disqualifications of legal practitioners whose Sannads were suspended or dismissed by the High Court, from being members of the District Boards, City, Minor and Town Municipalities.

17th. Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy, C. I. E. was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University.

The Mysore Representative Assembly passed the Mysore Prisons Bill, after a full dress debate.—The Dewan-President presided.

18th. Admiral Sir Herbert Fitzherbert, Officer Commanding the Royal Indian Navy, addressing a Press Conference in Madras, said: "I am glad to be able to say that our losses in ships are being more than met by new construction in America and the United Kingdom. We are on the right side." He expressed the hope that India would one day have a navy sufficiently strong to defend her vast coast line.

Sir Jawala Prasad Srivastava, Civil Defence Member of the Viceroy's Council, at a Press Conference at Cuttack, said: "My own view is that there is no danger of a Japanese invasion, but bombing is quite easy. They may do it to paralyse production and imperil the morale of the people."

19th. Khan Bahadur Khuhro and Mr. M. A. Guzdar, League nominees, were sworn in as Ministers in Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah's Coalition Ministry (Sind).—Twenty-nine out of the total strength of 34 Muslim members of the Assembly joined Sir Ghulam Hussain.

His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at a Durbar in Rawalpindi, paid a tribute to the Punjab for maintaining peace and order and continuing steadily with the war effort. His Excellency said that, by their steadfastness and commonsense, Punjabees were helping to bring nearer victory and the day that India would enter her promised day.—His Excellency said: "In every battlefield where forces are fighting Punjabees have won laurels, and foremost among them are the martial classes of Rawalpindi".

Mr. B. G. Horniman in an address to the Progressive Group in Bombay made an appeal to all educated people in the country to stand by the Press in its efforts to secure and maintain the freedom of the Press.

Press Censorship in India was the subject of discussion at a meeting of the Council of the Empire Press Union under the presidency of Col. J. J. Astor, in London.—The Council considered a communication from Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, stating that it was not practicable to inform the senders of press cables from Britain on every occasion when messages were cut and suppressed in India by the Government of India.

Sir Robert Reid, China Relation Officer of the Government of India, was received by Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek at Chungking.

20th. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, in an interview at Karachi said that he had not signed the Moslem League pledge and had not agreed to any conditions. He declared: "I am an Indian first and a Moslem afterwards."

A Press Note issued by the Director of Information, Bombay, stated: "The most important work done by the Bombay Provincial Board of Primary Education in 1941-42, according to the annual report, was a detailed scheme submitted to the Government, for the introduction of compulsory elementary education in the Province."

In the House of Lords, the Duke of Devonshire, the Under Secretary of State for India, opening the debate on the India and Burma (temporary and miscellaneous) Bill, which was given a second reading, replied to the "political agitation and exhortation from outside India" on the subject of Government's Indian policy. He reiterated the British Government's attitude and said that the next move must come from India.

21st. Mr. Bertrand Russel, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* from New York, pointed out the excitement existing in wide circles in the United States in regard to the Indian problem and reiterated his suggestion—a four-man Commission representing Britain, United States, China and Russia, to negotiate with Indian leaders.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in the course of a talk to Press representatives at Delhi, urged the British Government to establish a provisional national Government in India immediately. He outlined a fresh scheme for the formation of such a Government and expressed the opinion that neither the Congress nor the Moslem League would reject an offer based on his scheme. He would put forward his scheme in reply to the Duke of Devonshire's statement in the House of Lords that no specific proposals had been advanced.

Mr. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in his Vijaya Dasami Day message to the Hindus said : "A glorious future awaits you. Only betray not yourselves."

Sir Edward Benthall, War Transport Member, in an interview in Calcutta, made a suggestion to spread all civil demands for the movement of main export crops, such as jute and tea, over a longer period than usual and not to make any extraordinary new demands upon transport services, in order to enable the authorities to meet all requirements in due course.

Mr. Lalji Mahrotra (an ex-Mayor of Karachi and President of the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association), Seth Haridas Lalji (Secretary of the Karachi Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber) and Seth Sukhdev (Member of the Karachi Cotton Association and ex-Member of the Karachi Port Trust were arrested under Sec. 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, denied in a broadcast to America, the allegation that Sir Stafford Cripps had offered India an immediate National Government, but was overruled from London.

22nd. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah's Coalition Ministry was completed in Sind, with the appointment of two Hindus, namely, Dr. Hemandas Wadhwani and Rai Saheb Gokaldas Mewaldas.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, addressing a public meeting at Peshawar declared : "The Congress has no wish or desire to help or assist Japan and Germany. On the other hand, we want to fight them. For three years we scrupulously avoided embarrassing the British, but the experience of this war has shown that it is only the people of a land who can effectively resist modern aggressors. We, therefore, want that the defence of our country should be given to the charge of the people of India".

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said in the House of Commons, regarding the Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council that the retention of the three European members was not due to race. The Viceroy had been concerned to secure efficiency and continuity and was satisfied that the existing Council contained those best qualified to fulfil their respective offices. No particular appointment was held on account of race.

Mr. Edgar Granville asked in the House of Commons, if the Government would consider the setting up an Allied War Council in India inviting representatives of the United States, Russia and China to serve with those of Britain and China to secure full strategic co-operation, under an unified command of General Wavell, of those powers concerned in India's defence.—The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee replied in the negative.

His Excellency the Viceroy, concluding his reply to the addresses of welcome presented to him by the Shahi Jirga and the Municipal Committee at Quetta, said : "My time in India is drawing to an end—in a few months now, I hand over to my successor. Let me say how great a pleasure it has been to me before the close of my Viceroyalty to have been able to visit Baluchistan, to see for myself the progress of reconstruction here, and the invaluable contribution that the Province is making to the prosecution of the war".

23rd. The letter sent by Mahatma Gandhi to General Chiang Kai-Shek before launching the Civil Disobedience movement was published by Mr. Louis Fischer in the *Nation* in New York. Mahatma Gandhi wrote : "Because of the feeling I have towards China and my earnest desire that our two great countries should come closer to one another and co-operate to their mutual advantage, I am anxious to explain to you that my appeal to the British Power to withdraw from India is not meant in any shape or form to weaken India's defence against the Japanese or embarrass in your struggle. I would not be guilty of purchasing the freedom of my country at the loss of your country's freedom..... Whatever action I may recommend will be governed by the consideration that it should not injure China or encourage Japanese aggression in India or China".

The Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League met at Patna, under the presidentship of Khan Bahadur Ismail.—While unequivocally endorsing the Bombay resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, the Committee reiterated its confidence in Mr. Jinnah's leadership and assured him that the Muslims of Bihar would stand united for the achievement of their cherished goal of Pakistan. The Committee, in another resolution, urged His Majesty's Government to be more precise and definite in the declaration of their policy towards Indian Muslims.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Amery, in reply to a question regarding the Viceroy's refusal to allow Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Working President of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, to see Mahatma Gandhi, said : "I am not prepared in the present circumstances (to ask him) to permit interview with the Congress Leader".

Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, announced that he had joined the Muslim League.

H. E. the Commander-in-Chief paid a visit to the training base of the Chinese forces in India.

Maulavi Mutabri Hussein Chowdhury, interviewd at Shillong, said: Any Japanese attempt to invade India is bound to fail".

24th. Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, in a statement to the Press at Amritsar, commenting on Mr. Rajagopalachari's plan for ending the Indian deadlock, said : "I am in full sympathy with Mr. Rajagopalachari in his whole-hearted and earnest efforts to effect a settlement between the Government and the people. We have an opportunity, which we can not afford to lose. Now is the time to get united and attain Independence. I feel we cannot solve the communal problem without the active and sincere help of the British, nor can the British ignore our support in the Total War. Mutual agreement is the best thing for every body."

The Maharaja of Bharatpur announced certain constitutional reforms in the Bharatpur State including the formation of a Representative Assembly to be known as the "Brij-jaya Prithinidhi Samiti.

25th. His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab, Sir Bertrand Glancy, addressing a durbar at Mianwali, paid a tribute to the districts' contribution to the war effort.

Mr. D. Khaitan, presiding at the tenth annual general meeting of the Indian Sugar Mills' Association at Cawnpore, said that the Sugar Control scheme of the Government of India was a failure as neither had the price of sugar been controlled nor its distribution regulated.

In the Mysore Representative Assembly, Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, Minister for Law, stated that the Government of Mysore were not at all anxious to keep any students in jail, But some guarantee was necessary if the students were to be released.

26th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari issued a statement from Madras. "The immediate reactions to my proposal are encouraging. I hope we shall not fall into the trap of controversy over little details and the petty anxieties of particular interests. This is just what the British Government hope may happen before they are called upon to say anything. They are watching and waiting just for this. We should beware.

The Maharaja of Kashmir promulgated an Ordinance providing for the imposition of collective fines when it appeared that inhabitants of the affected

area were concerned in offences prejudicially affecting the defence of the State, public safety or the efficiency of the prosecution of the war.

Sir G. H. Hidayatullah and the other Muslim Ministers in the Sind Cabinet, gave the Hindu Ministers a solemn assurance that they would not do anything affecting minority interests without consultation with their Hindu colleagues.

Sir Jogendra Singh, Member, Education, Health and Lands, addressing the eighth annual Marketing Officers' Conference in New Delhi, said that it was generally hunger of the body and the mind which changed ones will to live at peace into will to war. Short stomachs made short devotion. By increasing production and securing even distribution of their products, they served their soldiers, sailors and airmen, who were giving away their lives in far-flung battle fields. It was they who gave them sheltered security. They were truly the maker of the New India; they claimed no sectional or communal privileges. They only knew how to do and die.

Under the auspices of the Bengal Muslim students' Anti-Fascist Conference, an All-Bengal Muslim League Students' Anti-Fascist Conference was held at Faridpur. Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, former Bengal Minister, opened the Conference. Mr. Abdus Salem, Chairman of the Reception Committee exhorted Bengali Muslim students to present a united front against the menace of Japanese attack on their province.

27th. Sir Robert Reid, China Relations officer of the Government of India, in an interview in Calcutta, paid a tribute to the excellent morale of the Chinese people. Sir Robert described his experiences and the conditions he found in China's war-time capital.

Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra, President of the Bengal Legislative Council died at his residence in Ballygunge, Calcutta.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested in Peshawar for attempting to enter Mardan District in defiance of an order prohibiting him from doing so.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (Canada) urged the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King to take steps through the United Nations to reopen negotiations for "Self-Government for India now as well as after the war".

28th. Mr. Churchill replied to Mr. Savarkar's message urging the acceptance of India's national demand as expressed in the resolution of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee. The reply, which was communicated through the Viceroy, expressed Mr. Churchill's appreciation of the Hindu Mahasabha's endeavours to promote unity among the various elements in India.

The eighth annual conference of marketing officers, which concluded its session in New Delhi, made a number of recommendations regarding the control and distribution of foodstuffs. It recommended the setting up of a representative control body with power to make recommendation to the provinces which could arrange priority for the transport of foodstuffs from one area to another. A unified organization for the purchase of civil and military requirements was also suggested in a resolution.

Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, commenting on Mr. Rajagopalachari's plan for ending the Indian deadlock, said, in a statement to the Press at Amritsar: I am in full sympathy with Mr. Rajagopalachari for his whole-hearted and earnest efforts to effect a settlement between the Government and the people. We have an opportunity which we cannot afford to lose. Now is the time to get united and attain independence. I feel we cannot solve the communal problem without the help of the British nor can the British ignore our support in this total war. Mutual agreement is the best thing for every body".

The seventh session of the Orissa Assembly commenced. Only three Congress members out of a total strength of 29 attended, namely, Swami Bichitrananda Das, Deputy Leader, Mr. Jagannath Misra, Secretary of the Party and Srimati Sarala Devi.—Mr. Das made a statement why the Congress members could not participate in the session.

Mr. Wendell Wilkie in the course of a broadcast to the American people, declared: "India is our problem. If Japan should conquer that vast sub-continent, we will be the losers. In the same sense, the Phillipines is the British problem. If we fail to deliver by force of arms the independence we have promised the Filipinos, the whole Pacific world will be the loser."

Mr. Wilkie's reference to India in his broadcast was the subject of a number of questions : Mr. Cordell Hull, United States Secretary of State, was asked at a Press Conference in Washington. Mr. Hull said that the United States Government was, of course, interested in the Indian situation which it was closely observing and watching for opportunities to give full attention feasible under the circumstances.

29th. The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha at its meeting in Calcutta, reached a decision to start work immediately in Midnapore for the relief of distress.

A new plea to President Roosevelt "to attempt to bring about conciliation between British and Indians was made by a new National organization called "The American Round Table" which was headed by Mr. Guy Emery Shipler, Editor of the leading Protestant publication '*Churchman*'.

Bertrand Russel and his wife, writing to the *Manchester Guardian*, said that they doubted whether the English people sufficiently realised the excitement in the United States over the Indian deadlock. They declared that something should be done to reassure not only India but the United States and other Allies of Britain.

Sir M. Azizul Haque, Indian High Commissioner in London, in a speech to the East India Association said that he looked forward to the time when Indians would be most valued partners, workers and collaborators in the British Commonwealth.

30th. At a Press Conference in New Delhi, Dr. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, explained the Labour policy of the Government of India. He said that, besides undertaking direct responsibility for labour welfare and providing facilities for training a great number of technicians, the Government of India were introducing certain new beneficial principles. This included compulsory arbitration between employees and labour and enforcement of their wages and conditions of service.

Mr. K. M. Munshi, ex-Home Minister, Bombay, in a press statement, declared : "Japan can be fought by Britain only with India as an interested partner and not as an unwilling serf."

A number of influential Muslims of Tellicherry sent a signed memorandum to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, appealing to him to solve the political deadlock in the country.

With reference to Mr. Vernon Bartlett's scheme suggesting complete Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said : "We should discover effective means to make the war an Indian people's war, and for this something more positive is required than the mere principle of no taxation without representation, or the trusting of a few respectable Indians. What Mr. Bartlett wants guaranteed is India's full co-operation against the common enemy. This can and must be achieved by trusting the people rather than by an elaborate mechanism of distrust."

31st. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in a statement to the Press in New Delhi, said : "The All-India Muslim League has made its position abundantly clear more than once. The position to-day, however, is that to the Congress or Hindu India, Pakistan is an anathema. To Muslim India it is an article of faith, and it concedes equal freedom and independence to Hindu India, where the Hindus are in a majority, and unless fundamentals are agreed upon, details cannot be tackled and there could be no settlement or dissolution of the deadlock."

November 1942

A Gazette Extraordinary issued from New Delhi announced "the cancellation of the Home Department Notification of August, prohibiting the publication of news of the present disturbances except news derived from official sources, three news agencies or a registered correspondent."

The Education Code in Bihar was amended with a view to preventing students and teachers from taking part in politics, in the interest of discipline and study.

In the Punjab Assembly, the Government were asked re. the ban on the Khaksar movement. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier, replied that the Punjab Government had no objection to the removal of the ban, provided the leaders of the Khaksar movement agreed to certain conditions.

In connexion with the Punjab Premier's statement in the Punjab Assembly, re : Khaksar movement, Allama Mashrique, the Khaksar leader, in a press statement, said *inter alia* : "For duration of the war social service by the Khaksars would be performed in their individual capacity, and that there would be no drills, no carrying of implements, no wearing of uniforms or badges or symbols."

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, at the open session of the Punjab Muslim League announced that the Punjab Government had recommended to the Government of India the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organization.

Mr. John Sargeant, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, discussed with Chinese Educational authorities various ways of strengthening the cultural contacts between China and India.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in his opening address to the Council of the All-India Muslim League, restated the League's position regarding Pakistan and its attitude towards proposals for a provisional Central Government.

The Azad Muslim Board congratulated its President, Mr. Allah Bux for renunciation of his titles.

A notification in the Orissa Gazette Extraordinary prohibited the printing or publishing by newspapers, unless officially announced, (1) any report of interruption of any kind to road and railway communications, (2) any report of acts of sabotage and (3) any report of strikes.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, at a press conference, said, "The Viceroy has been pleased to refuse me to see Gandhiji."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing the second session of the All-India Muslim students' Conference, at Jullundur, repeated the Muslim League's offer to mobilise the Mussalmans to keep the enemy out of India's doors and form a provisional Government to which real power should be transferred.

In the Assam Assembly, Maulavi Abdul Rahman asked a number of questions regarding the abnormal rise in the price of commodities.

Mr. Ammon (Labour) asked Mr. Amery, in the House of Commons, if he would accept Mr. Rajagopalachari's offer to visit England and invite him to London to discuss the political situation in India.

Mr. Amery, in a written reply said, inter alia : "The Government see no advantage in Mr. Rajagopalachari visiting this country.....The Viceroy has seen Mr. Rajagopalachari during the last few days."

The Hon'ble Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee tendered his resignation of office as a Minister of the Government of Bengal.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, in a statement, said : "That Ministers while possessing great responsibilities for which they are answerable to the people and the legislature, have very little powers, especially in matters concerning the rights and liberties of the people."

The Rural Primary Education Bill, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly, was passed by the Legislative Council.

Sir C. V. Raman, delivering the address at the Convocation of the Madras University, said : "The true wealth of a nation does not consist in the stored up gold in its coffers and the banks..... but in the intellectual and physical strength of its men, women and children."

1st. Dr. Ambedkar, Labour Member, Government of India, issued a statement on the question of the solution of India's political deadlock. Dr. Ambedkar deprecated the tendency on the part of certain politicians to appeal to statesmen from outside to intervene to solve the constitutional impasse. He said he preferred Indians making their own settlement which was their own responsibility.

Dr. G. S. Arundale, in a interview on Mr. Rajagopalachari's scheme for solving the political deadlock, said : "So long as there exists the separate nation theory in Muslim League circles there can be little prospect of forming a National Government."

Sir G. Hussien Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, gave an assurance that fair treatment would be meted out to all parties in the province.

A "Gazette" Extraordinary issued from New Delhi, announced "the cancellation of the Home Department notification of August 8, prohibiting the publication of news of the present disturbances except news derived from official sources, three new agencies, or a registered correspondent. This notification applied to printers, publishers and editors in Bombay, Bengal, the Punjab, Central Provinces, the United Provinces and Orissa. In other provinces and centrally administered areas the notification has already been cancelled".

2nd. A Bengal Government Press note, issued in connexion with the havoc caused by the cyclone which swept several parts of the province on October 16, said : "A heavy cyclone from the Bay passed over several districts of Bengal, on October 16. It began about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning on the 16th. and spent itself in the early hours of the morning of the 17th."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, when he spoke at a public meeting in Madras, announced : "The Muslim demand will not be prejudiced by what I have suggested—the formation of a provisional Government. I, together with Mr. Jinnah, desire that the British Government should agree to his right of self-determination".

The Speaker of the Orissa Assembly strongly advised the Government to bring forward only such business as they thought was necessary to carry on the administration and avoid introducing controversial measures beyond the preliminary stage. The observation was made on a point of order raised by the Raja of Khallikote, who wanted that the "House should refuse to transact any business until it became more representative".

Mr. S. D. Upadhyaya, the Private Secretary of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, was arrested in Allahabad, for detention under Sec. 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

3rd. Bhai Paramanand, Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press in Lahore, said "I should like to advise the Hindus to beware of Mr. Rajagopalachari's move".

Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a press statement in Lucknow, said : "The special committee of the Hindu Mahasabha has succeeded in proving a surprising unity behind the demand for the establishment of a National Government. Let the British Government announce its intention to accept this demand on its own condition that all political parties agree to join in the formation of such a national and composite Government and I have no doubt, whatsoever, that they will all join in doing so".

The Education Code in Bihar was amended with a view to preventing students and teachers from taking part in politics, in the interest of discipline and study.

The Allahabad University Union was dissolved by the University authorities following certain activities by the Union which "seek to destroy all academic life".

A Conference of all newspaper editors of Calcutta and Howrah was held at "*Statesman*" House, Calcutta. A resolution was adopted re : the Cyclone havoc in Bengal :—"This meeting of the editors of Bengal expresses heartfelt sympathy for the sufferers in the recent cyclone, and appoints a sub-committee

for collection of funds for the relief of sufferers and expect whole-hearted co-operation from the press and public".

In a manifesto issued by the Communist Party of India in connexion with the "National Unity Week," an appeal was made to the people of India to rally all their forces to fight the Fascist menace.

In the Punjab Assembly, a series of questions were asked about the arrests and detention of Congress leaders in the Punjab, but the Government declined to give any information on the floor of the House. The Premier, however, assured the members that information on the subject could be supplied privately for their personal benefit.

The Punjab Assembly passed the Press and Registration of Books (Punjab Amendment) Bill and the General Sales Tax (Second Amendment) Bill.

Sir Jogendra Singh, speaking at the I. C. S. Probationers' Camp (Dehra Dun), referred to the reputation of the Service, which had spread all over the world and said: "The secret of its success has been that its members, in no sense supermen, have set up a standard of integrity and devotion to duty which has been rarely surpassed."

A joint meeting of the Managing Committees of the Karachi Indo-Merchants' Association and the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber, at Karachi, adopted a resolution, urging the Government of India, the British Government and the United Nations to take the initiative in bringing about a speedy solution of the political deadlock by releasing Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders and by establishing a truly National Government.

In the Orissa Legislative Assembly, replying to a question, Pandit Godavaris Misra said that more than one newspaper were getting subsidy from the Government, but the Government were not prepared to disclose the names of papers or the amount given as subsidy.

The Orissa University Bill was taken up by the Assembly on Mr. Godavaris Misra's motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee.

General Smuts received the two Indian members of the British war Cabinet and the Pacific Council, the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member of the Viceroy's Council. General Smuts received first hand information from them of the political and general situation in India.

4th. Under the auspices of the Young Men's Crescent Society, Triplicane, a public meeting was held to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of Akbar the great. Sir Alladi Krishna Swami Aiyar presided. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and others addressed the gathering.

Mr. W. A. Burns, Deputy Chairman of the Calcutta Port Trust, was selected to represent India on the Anglo-American Technical Mission.

In the Punjab Assembly, the Government were asked what opinion they had communicated to the Government of India on the removal of the ban on the Khaksar movement. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier, replying, said that although details of the correspondence between the provincial Government and the Government of India could not be divulged, it was known that the Punjab Government had no objection to the removal of the ban, provided the leaders of the Khaksar movement agreed to certain conditions, viz, that for the duration of the war members of the movement would not practise drill, would not wear uniform and would conform to all the restriction that apply to volunteer organization in the province.

The Bengal Legislative Council had a brief sitting when after a reference to the death of Rai Bahadur Monmatha Nath Bose, Deputy Leader of the Progressive Party, the Council adjourned as a mark of respect to his memory.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member, in an interview in London, said: "There is a very great necessity at the moment for establishing a National Unity Front, the object of which should be to impress upon the leaders of the different elements of national life the need for sinking all differences".

5th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, discussion on the (Rural) Primary Education (Amendment) Bill, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly, was resumed. The Bill sought to remedy the defects found in the working of the Primary Education Act of 1942, by providing representation of women in the Central Primary Education Committee and of other local and special interests.

At a meeting of the directors of the Provincial National War Front, in Bombay, reference to India's defence position was made by Mr. Hossainbhoy Lalji.

Khan Bahadur M. A. Khuroo and Mr. M. H. Guzdar, Sind Ministers, addressing a Press Conference in Lahore, expressed the view that Mr. Jinnah was satisfied with the explanations submitted to him regarding the circumstances in which the Muslim League had accepted office in Sind.

6th. His Excellency the Viceroy telegraphed to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, conveying his deepest sympathy to the cyclone-stricken people in Midnapore and 24 Parganas Districts.

H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore held the Birthday Durbar at Trivandrum.

The Bengal Legislative Council considered non-official resolutions.—A resolution on the subject of development of industries in the province was moved by Khan Bahadur S. M. Hosain, Leader of the Opposition.

7th. In connexion with the Punjab Premier's statement in the Punjab Assembly regarding the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar movement, Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader in a Press statement, said : "The Punjab Premier stated in the Assembly that the Punjab Government would remove the ban on the Khaksar movement, provided a clear and unambiguous pronouncement was made by me that for the duration of the war social service by the Khaksars would be performed in their individual capacity, and that there would be no drills, no carrying of implements, no wearing of uniforms or badges or symbols. As this is the first definite utterance of the Premier regarding the Khaksar movement in the Punjab, I make the pronouncement in clear and unambiguous terms that the above programme will be adhered to for the duration of the war and discrepancies, if any, will be removed within one month of the lifting of the ban by the Government. Social service requiring the presence of more than one Khaksar at one place will be refused after the ban is withdrawn."

On the occasion of the 25th. anniversary of the Russian Revolution, a public meeting was held in Calcutta. Speeches were made, emphasizing that a Fascist victory would mean the enslavement of different nations of the world for centuries to come and that Indian freedom was dependent on the victory of the Soviet Union.—The meeting was organized by the Bengal Radical Democratic Party.

His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, declaring open the Srichitra Exhibition at Trivandrum, observed : "I do honestly and sincerely believe that we have now reached a turning point. I do not say that we are going to win the war before Christmas or before Easter, or may be not by this time next year, but I do believe that the turning point has been reached."

Mr. John Sargeant, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, discussed with the Chinese educational authorities various ways of strengthening the cultural contacts between China and India. Among these was the possibility of the exchange of research students between the two countries.

8th. The Muslim League Working Committee passed two resolutions on Sind and collective fines in New Delhi.

The Government of Bombay forfeited Rs. 11,395-6-0 belonging to the All-India Congress Committee from Messrs. Bacharaj Company Ltd., with whom the money was deposited.

9th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in his opening address to the Council of the All-India Muslim League, restated the League's position regarding Pakistan and its attitude towards proposals for a Provisional Central Government. Mr. Jinnah referred at the outset to attempts to misinterpret the League's attitude and to characterise the League as "allies of British imperialism obstructing the path of freedom in India." "These efforts are disgraceful," he declared.

The Council of the Muslim League ratified without discussion four resolutions of its Working Committee passed in April, August and on the 9th. November, including the Bombay resolution.

The Azad Muslim Board Conference at its meeting in New Delhi passed a resolution, in which it was stated : "This meeting of the Azad Muslim Board congratulates its President, Mr. Allah Baksh for renunciation of his titles in protest against the present Indian policy of the British Government and strongly condemns the unconstitutional and unjustified action of Lord Linlithgow and the Governor of Sind inspite of his enjoyment of the confidence of the majority of the members of the legislature, and notes that this action has further exposed the hollowness of the British contention that autonomy was conferred on the provinces by the Government of India Act of 1935."

10th. In the Punjab Assembly, Sardar Bahadur Ujjal Singh referred to the speech of Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons, in which he stated that the leading Congressmen arrested under the Defence of India Rules were being treated with the highest respect and given every comfort.

The Central Provinces Government in a communique announced its decision in regard to the publication of news by the Press. "The Press will revert to the former procedure, according to which, the Press of its own accord on the advice of the Government, imposed restrictions on itself with the assistance of the Government Press Advisory system."

A notification in the 'Orissa Gazette' Extraordinary prohibited the printing or publishing by newspapers, unless officially announced, (1) any report of interruption of any kind to road and railway communications, (2) any report of acts of sabotage and (3) any report of strikes or interruption of work in factories.

The Speaker of the Orissa Assembly put into effect his ruling given on Nov. 2 advising the Government to avoid introducing controversial Bills.

The Azad Muslim Board in a resolution passed in New Delhi, calling upon the people of India to concentrate all their efforts on the consolidation of inter-communal unity and trust, declared that it was the special responsibility of Muslims and their organizations "to expose the hollowness of the British plea that Indian Muslims do not want independence and a National Government."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Khan Bahadur Hashemali Khan, Minister, said that the question of filling in the slit trenches in Calcutta had been considered but it had been rejected.

His Majesty the King, in the course of his speech proroguing Parliament, said : "My Government in the United Kingdom have declared to the Princes and people of India their desire to see India assume full freedom and independence within the British Commonwealth of Nations on the basis of a Constitution framed by Indians themselves immediately after the termination of hostilities. In the meantime, representative Indian political leaders were invited to co-operate fully in the Government of their country and in the prosecution of the war. I regret profoundly that hitherto they have not been willing to accept this offer. I sincerely hope wiser counsels may prevail and that a speedy and successful conclusion of the difficulties may be brought about through a wider measure of agreement between the Indian peoples themselves."

In a tribute to the Indian Army the King said : "It is growing in strength month by month and has displayed its heroic valour upon many fields of battle. We are proud that more than a million men are already voluntarily engaged in our Indian Land, Sea and Air Forces, and we place our full confidence in their courage and fortitude in the days of struggle that lie before them."

11th. The 24th. anniversary of the restoration of Poland's independence was commemorated in Calcutta, by the local Polish Community.

His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, issued an appeal in connexion with the relief of the cyclone stricken people of Midnapore and 24 Parganas districts.

A deputation elected by the All-India Muslim League Council waited on Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member, Government of India, regarding restrictions on Haj pilgrims. Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, was also present at the interview which took place in New Delhi.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the question of relief measures taken by the Government for the cyclone-stricken people of Midnapore and 24 Parganas districts was raised.

12th. H. E. the Viceroy granted an interview to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in New Delhi. Mr. Rajagopalachari at a Press Conference, said : "The Viceroy has been pleased to refuse me permission to see Gandhiji." He added : "Mr. Jinnah knows that I was going to ask the Viceroy's permission to see Gandhiji. Mr. Jinnah knows the result also. I believe, he is as dissatisfied as myself."

His Excellency Sir Henry Clow, Governor of Assam, when he addressed a joint session of the Provincial Legislatures, made a reference to the momentous changes which had taken place during the year, bringing Assam nearer the war.

His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal returned to Calcutta after making a preliminary tour of the areas affected by the cyclone in Midnapore.

The suggestion that the British Government should get a Royal Proclamation issued or a short Bill passed, conceding independence to India, but postponing its execution till three years after the war, on the analogy of the Irish Home Rule Bill or the Phillipine Independence Act, was made in a statement to the Press, signed by prominent Indian Christian leaders in Bombay.

14th Mr. N. R. Sarker, Commerce Member, delivering the Convocation Address of the Agra University, observed : "The war enhances the importance of our problems and increases the urgency of studying them without delay. We need not only to maintain the outlay in attention and money on our educational system, but also to maintain a customary and penetrating study of our educational problems, a study of which will, at suitable stages, issue in sound and concise proposals for the reconstruction of our educational system."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah went to Jullundur to preside over the annual session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation. Thanking the Muslims of Jullundur for organising a royal reception in his honour, he said : "The key to Pakistan is in your hands and if you use it properly, you can achieve your goal.

Mr. K. M. Munshi, in a statement on the refusal of the Government of India to accord permission to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to see Mahatma Gandhi, said : "I expected nothing else from the Viceroy. The British policy at present pursued does not want a settlement with India. In such a settlement they sense a liquidation of the Empire for which they are fighting",

Mr. Frank R. Anthony, President-in-Chief of the Anglo-Indian Association, speaking at a dinner at Jubbulpore, said : "To my fellow-Indians who blame us for our seeming indifference to India and things Indian, I say this : "Not we but the system of education imposed on us and over which we have had no control has been to blame' ".

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, India's representative on the British War Cabinet sent a message from London to his countrymen in the Far East who were under the domination of the Japanese :—"From what I have seen during these two months in Britain, I am convinced your trials will soon be over and you will be free to join the great confederation of nations whose only desire is to live in peace and freedom".

The National Defence Council met in New Delhi. His Excellency the Viceroy presided. The Commander-in-Chief of India reviewed the war situation with special reference to the victory in the Egyptian desert and the opening of a second front in North Africa.

15th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing the second session of the All-India Muslim Students' Conference at Jullundur, repeated the Muslim League's offer to mobilise the Mussalmans to keep the enemy out of India's doors and form a provisional Government, to which real power should be transferred, provided the British Government made a declaration, and the other parties agreed to it on the right of Muslims to self-determination and guaranteed and pledged themselves to give effect to the verdict of a Muslim plebiscite regarding the Pakistan scheme.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in an interview in Allahabad said : "I deeply regret that Mr. Rajagopalachari should have been refused permission to go and interview Mr. Gandhi".

16th. The Madras Government, in consultation with the provincial Press Advisory Committee, issued revised Press instructions.—The instructions incorporated the formula contained in the resolution passed by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference held in October, in Bombay.

In the Assam Assembly, Maulavi Abdur Rahman asked a series of questions regarding the abnormal rise in the price of commodities, and inquired about the steps the Government had taken to counteract it.

At a public meeting at Calicut, it was resolved to open a provincial branch of the Hindu Mahassbha for Kerala with district and local branches.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Government of India, in an interview in Bombay, said : "That there was no necessity for forming a National Government in India at the present juncture, that the present political situation in India was the result of mutual distrust between the majority and minority

22756

communities in this country and that it was better to wait for the termination of the war for settling the future of India".

17th. A meeting of the editors of suspended newspapers of Madras was held at the "*Indian Express*" office to consider the Press communique and instructions issued by the Government of Madras.

Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister of Development, Punjab, speaking at a meeting in Lahore, held in connexion with the celebrations of Guru Nanak's birthday, said: "Of what use is that freedom which, we are told we will get, provided we all agree to the vivisection of India? It is better to remain in slavery than to enjoy the so-called freedom".

In the Assam Legislative Assembly, acting upon the suggestion of the Speaker, Mr. Amjad Ali held over the discussion on the motion for a reference of the Goalpara Tenancy Amendment Bill to a Select Committee.

Sir K. Nazimuddin in the course of his presidential address to the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference at Lyallpur, observed: "The Pakistan scheme is not only in the interests of India as a whole, but actually the non-Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces will be far better off than under one Central Government for the whole of India".

Mr. Ammon (Labour) asked Mr. Amery in the House of Commons if he would accept Mr. Rajagopalachari's offer to visit England and invite him to London to discuss the political situation in India. Mr. Amery, in a written reply, said: "The Government warmly welcome the endeavours of Mr. Rajagopalachari or of any other leader of Indian opinion to promote an agreed settlement of the Indian problem, but any such agreement must come about in India between the Indian Parties. The Government, therefore, see no advantage in Mr. Rajagopalachari visiting this country. As Mr. Ammon will be aware, the Viceroy has seen Mr. Rajagopalachari during the last few days".

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan at the open session of the Punjab Muslim League announced that the Punjab Government had recommended to the Government of India the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organization as Allama Mashriqui, the leader of the movement, had declared that Khaksars would abide by the conditions laid down by the Punjab Government.

18th. A Press Note issued from New Delhi, stated: "At its first meeting, held last August, the Central Food Advisory Council considered the increase in the slaughter of cattle resulting from large scale increase in the demand for meat due to the exigencies of the war and recommended that, to prevent permanent damage to the cattle wealth of the country, the slaughter of working bullocks in a good state of health below the age of ten years, cows in milk and pregnant cows should be prohibited." The recommendation was accepted by the Government of India as regards the supply of meat to the defence forces.

The British Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, in a broadcast to the United Nations, from London, said that this was still a "people's war" and added, "Britain has offered to the people of India full liberty to make their own constitution for themselves, even if it means complete independence. Whatever destiny they want for their country after the war, they can have, provided only nothing is done during the war to prejudice victory for the United Nations. Can you tell me any other example in history of a ruling power making such an offer on such a scale, with so much at stake, to a subject people? What do you make of it? I make of it one more proof that the British people are looking to the future with exactly the same motives and purposes as brought them into the war."

The Orissa University Bill was referred to a select committee by the Orissa Legislative Assembly, on the motion of the Education Minister, Pandit Godavaris Misra.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in an interview in Bombay, observed: "There is nothing disappointing or new in the refusal of the Viceroy to grant permission to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to see Mahatma Gandhi, but it is inevitable. When Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, who sought permission on behalf of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and other organizations to see Gandhiji was refused permission, it was a foregone conclusion that Rajaji's request would be turned down similarly."

The general reference made by Mr. Jinnah in his Jullunder speech to the formula for granting self-determination to all communities was further

clarified by him while inaugurating the Punjab Provincial Muslim Leauge Conference at Lyallpur.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, presiding over the prize distribution ceremony of the Sri Chitra Exhibition, said : Travancore's natural resources are well-nigh limitless. Its resources in the matter of intelligent labour are equally limitless. What is wanted is organisation, harmonising of capital with labour, or social outlook, a welding of the heart and brain in order to educate capital and labour, landowner and peasant, in the common task of making this country worthy of her great sovereign, and apt for the achievement of his great ideals."

19th. The Punjab Muslim League passed a resolution recommending to the Government of India to lift the ban on the Khaksar organization in view of Allama Mashriqui's declaration to obey the conditions imposed by the Punjab Government and the Home Member's statement in the Central Assembly that the Khaksars were not connected in any way with fifth column activities of the enemy. The resolution was moved by Mr. Ghulam Samad, member of the Punjab Assembly, and seconded by Prof. Inayatullah who urged the immediate removal of all restrictions calculated to cripple the Khaksar movement. A resolution endorsing the Bombay resolution of the All-India Muslim League, and expressing full confidence in the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, was unanimously carried at the session of the conference on the 18th. Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin presided.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. Chief Minister made a statement regarding the police firing at Kisoregunj, Mymensingh, in connexion with a Durja Puja immersion procession on October 19.

The *Manchester Guardian* wrote : "When Government is looking round for ways of being helpful in India—and its should seek them—it should settle this tiresome question of the Atlantic Charter.

Sir Purushottam Das Thakurdas, commenting on the Viceroy's refusal to grant permission to Mr. Rajagopalachari to see Gandhiji, said : "That the Executive Council, consisting of many Indian members, should be a party to this refusal is very puzzling."

Mr. G. L. Mehta observed : "The refusal of the Viceroy to permit Rajaji to interview Mahatma Gandhi in prison is significant as an index to the present outlook and policy of the Government of India."

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah, at a tea party given to the Press at Karachi, said : "I was not dying for the Ministry. You can take it from me, if I had not succeeded in forming the Ministry, you would have had a suspended constitution in this Province (Sind)."

The Sind Government recommended to the Government of India that the ban on Khaksars be removed on the same condition as in the Punjab.

The Assam Legislative Assembly passed all demands for grants under General Administration (Rs. 20,63,200) Land Revenue (Rs. 16,93,700), Civil Defence (Rs. 14,83,000) and Administration of Justice (Rs. 7,50,000).

The Governor of Bengal prorogued the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

20th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, replying to a question in connexion with the firing in Dacca Central Jail on August 31, announced that the Government proposed to hold an enquiry by experienced judicial officers and take suitable action on their report.

Sir Mahamed Zafrulla Khan suggested two alternatives as a likely solution of the Indian problem. "First," he said, "the All-India Congress should agree to Mr. Jinnah's demand for the establishment of Pakistan in North East and North-West areas. Secondly, let Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and their colleagues admit that there is 'a reasonable basis for the Moslems' fear and 'let them suggest the adoption of an agreement providing for the protection of the rights of Moslems and other minorities' before asking for the withdrawal of the British. In either case, there would be a reasonable hope for an early settlement."

21st. The following communique was issued from Government House, Calcutta. "The Hon. Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookherjee has tendered his resignation of his office as a member of His Excellency the Governor's Council of Ministers, and His Excellency has been pleased to accept this resignation with effect from the afternoon of 20th. November, 1942."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, at a Press Conference in New Delhi, made the suggestion that the Governor General should place himself at the head of an Indian National Government and call a Conference of all parties including the Congress to reach a settlement. "If," said Sir Tej Bahadur, "the Governor-General calls such a conference of all parties including the Congress, very probably he would insist upon the Congress withdrawing Civil disobedience, and in my opinion, the Congress should, in the interest of peace and harmony, definitely call off Civil disobedience."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, at a Press Conference in Lahore, said: "If Maulana Abul Kalam Azad could issue instructions from jail to the Sind Congress party regarding the formation of a Ministry in Sind there is nothing to show that Mr. Gandhi will not be allowed to declare from jail the abandonment of the civil disobedience movement."

22nd. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in an interview in New Delhi, said: "I am taking immediate steps to call a meeting of the standing committee of the Non-Party Conference, which is likely to be held at Allahabad on December 12. In addition to the members of the standing committee, we are inviting Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, some of the representatives of the Indian Christian Community and the Depressed Classes and Master Tara Singh, the Sikh leader."

Master Tara Singh, referring to Mr. Jinnah's statement in Lahore that, if necessary, Muslims should fight with the sword, for the assertion of their rights, issued a statement in New Delhi, in which he observed: "Those who threaten to establish Pakistan with the sword should join me in requesting the English to clear out of the country after the war, leaving us free to settle among ourselves. It will then be time for holding out such threats; for, I believe, when the leaders and the people are faced with a choice between permanent peace and war, they will be more reasonable and there will be less of bluffing."

23rd. In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Revenue Minister Mr. P. N. Bannerjee was asked by the Raja Bahadur of Nashipur if compulsory evacuation of the civil population in Calcutta was contemplated. The Minister's reply was: "No, not at present."

The House next took up the third reading of the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education (Amendment) Bill (as passed by the Assembly)—the measure sought to remedy certain defects in the Primary Education Act, of 1930.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee issued a statament in Calcutta, in which he observed *inter alia*: "My experience as a Provincial Minister for eleven months justifies me in stating, clearly and categorically, that Ministers while possessing great responsibilities for which they are answerable to the people and the legislature, have very little powers, especially in matters concerning the rights and liberties of the people. The Governor has chosen to act, in many vital matters, in disregard of the wishes of the Ministers and has depended on the advice of a section of permanent officials, who are indifferent to the interests of the province. If the British Prime Minister or the Secretary of State has the courage to direct an inquiry into the manner in which popular rights have been disregarded against the advice of responsible Ministers, the hollowness of their claim that Dominion Status is already in action in India will stand exposed."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, at a public meeting at Ajmer, said: "If any one believes that India can secure freedom as a result of Japanese invasion, he lives in a fool's paradise."

The Hon. Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister for Development, in the course of a statement in Lahore, said: "The Punjab holds the key and a communal settlement in this Province will end the entire communal programme in India."

Speaking at a crowded and distinguished gathering of the British and Indians in London in celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Akbar the Great, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, appealed for tolerance, understanding and unity as the basis of India's political future and greatness.

The death occurred of Sir Mohamed Yakub, Reforms Adviser to the Nizam's Government and a former Member of the Council of State.

24th. The Rural Primary Education (Amendment) Bill, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly, was passed by the Bengal Legislative Council, after which the Council was prorogued.

A Punjab Gazette Extraordinary announced that the Government of the Punjab prorogued the Punjab Legislative Assembly.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, made an appeal to the public for generous help to the Cyclone stricken people of Bengal.

The Sind Provincial Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, at a meeting at Karachi, adopted a resolution viewing with dismay "the action of the Punjab Government, which, despite its popular character, thought fit to pass, what this meeting must characterise as retrograde, orders in the face of the reasonable resolution passed by the A. I. N. E. C. at Bombay."

The first supplementary statement of expenditure of the Government of Bihar for 1942-43, authorised by the Governor, showed that the year started with an increased ordinary balance of Rs.10¼ lakhs.

25th. Under the Defence of India Rules the making or publishing in Bengal of any unauthorised newspaper, or any unauthorised news-sheet as defined in the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) ordinance was prohibited by the Governor of Bengal. The use of any Press for making such documents was also prohibited.

Sir Jogendra Singh, Education Member of the Government of India, addressing a meeting of Delhi students, said that Mr. Jinnah could not deny non-Muslims of the Punjab the same right of self-determination which he claimed for Muslims. He added that if Mr. Jinnah meant Pakistan seriously he should have it without delay and not block the way of India's progress, but its boundary would be the river Chenab.

The Orissa Legislative Assembly was adjourned *sine die*, after disposing of two official Bills.

At a meeting of the Nationalist Muslim students of Lucknow, a resolution deploring the "negative policy" of the Muslim League and appealing to the leaders to take the initiative in ending the political deadlock, was passed.

H. E. Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay, addressing the Ahmednagar District War Committee, in Bombay, said: "Every Army man from Egypt that I have met looks upon the fourth Indian Division as one of the finest fighting units in the whole British Army, and in that famous units there are Maratha troops."

The Maharaja of Kapurthala appealed for unity among Indians. "I feel sure," said His Highness in an appeal, "that my brother Princes will use their great power and influence to secure harmony among the various classes and communities in the country and help to secure in a peaceful manner an honourable position for India among the nations of the world."

26th. A memorandum stating the views of the Bengal Congress (suspended) Assembly party on the situation arising out of the resignation of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, was submitted to Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier, by Mr. Santosh Kumar Bose, Minister for Public Healh and Local self-Government, and Mr. Pramatha Nath Bannerjee, Revenue Minister, Bengal.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India was asked in the House of Commons if correspondence from private persons in Britain could be sent to the detained Indian leaders, whether those leaders were or would be permitted to communicate with private persons in Britain and whether they would be permitted to make any public declaration.—Mr. Amery replied: "I understand the detained Indian leaders are permitted to correspond only with the members of their families only on domestic matters. I cannot say if the present restrictions will be relaxed. Whether any public declaration by the leaders could be permitted would presumably depend on its character."

Sir C. V. Raman, delivering the address at the Convocation of the Madras University, said: "The true wealth of a nation consists not in the stored up gold in its coffers and the banks, not in the factories, but in the intellectual and physical strength of its men, women and children."

27th. Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Jaipur, in the course of his Convocation Address at the Patna University, said: "If there is any real message that I have for you, especially to the young men with whom our future rests, it is that, throughout this country, we must not, in any sense whatever, be separate: ours must be the virture, ours the power and glory of a single nationhood."

Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council addressing the professors and students of the Osmania University in

Hyderabad, (Deccan), stressed the need for loyalty to one's friends, country and Government and sincerity among men.

The annual meeting of the Parsi Central Association and the Political League took place in Bombay. Sir Cowasji Jehangir presided. He said *inter alia* : "To make futile but well-advertised attempts at conciliation, which only cause disappointment to the public and tend to widen the breach, are not in the best interest of India."

A declaration that the Parsis did not claim any safeguard in any new constitution for India, was made in a statement issued under the signatures of over 600 Parsi citizens of Bombay. The signatories included Mr. D. N. Bahadurji, former Advocate General of Bombay, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, ex-Minister, Dr. P. C. Bharucha, Mr. P. B. Godrej, Mr. K. F. Nariman, and other prominent lawyers, doctors and businessmen.

28th. A Press Note form Calcutta announced a change of policy of the Government of Bengal regarding Press censorship in the Province, in view of the withdrawal of the Government of India's order of August 8, prohibiting the publication of news, relating to the disturbances occurring subsequent to that date and in connexion with the Congress resolution and Government action consequent upon it.

In consultation with the Provincial Press Advisory Committee, the Bengal Government decided to accept the recommendation of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference on the matter.

Mr. Allah Bux resigned the leadership of the National War Front in Sind.

29th. A Communique issued from New Delhi said : "His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. William Patrick Spens, to be the Chief Justice of India in succession to Sir Maurice Gwyer."

Sir S. Radha Krishnan, Vice-Chancellor, addressing the Convocation of the Benares Hindu University, said : "We must wake up from the sleep of centuries and hold our heads high."

Mr. Frank Anthony, President-in-Chief of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, addressing the local branch in Allahabad, said : "We are opposed to the vivisection of this great motherland of ours. We want with all true lovers of India, to see India a happy and united nation under a really Nationalist Government where the different minorities are fully recognized and catered for."

30th. At the sixth meeting of the Provincial War Committee held at the Government House, Lucknow, presided over by Sir Maurice Hallett, the Governor, resolutions were passed requesting His Excellency the Governor to send a message of congratulation to General Alexander, on his "remarkable achievement" and denouncing the civil disobedience movement and appreciating the effective and timely action taken by the Government to restore peace and tranquillity.

December 1942

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, was asked in the House of Commons if Sir Stafford Cripps had taken full notice of the treaties between the Crown and the Princes of India. Mr. Amery's answer was in the affirmative.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, presiding over the Standing Committee of the Labour Conference, made a general survey of wartime labour legislation.

Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, made a statement in connexion with the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organization.

Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerjee, former acting Chief-Justice of Bengal and a well-known Hindu Mahasabha leader, died in Calcutta.

His Excellency the Viceroy's term of office was extended for a period of 6 months.

His Excellency the Viceroy, in his address to the Associated Chambers

of Commerce in Calcutta, emphasized the essential geographical unity of Calcutta.

The question of paper shortage in India was raised at the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce (Calcutta). A resolution was moved which "urged the Government to allow at least 30% of the mills' total production to be supplied to the general market."

Calcutta had its first enemy air raid of the war on the 20th. December.

The Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League passed a resolution criticizing the Viceroy's speech at the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta.

Sir Sikankar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, died of heart-failure at Lahore.

The Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, Commerce Member, Government of India, said at Allahabad : "The building up of bigger industries would be the only solution of the economic problem facing Bengal and Bengalees and that alone would restore to them their rightful position."

The Government of India cancelled the ban on the Khaksar organization.

The Punjab, Bombay & U. P. Government lifted the ban imposed by them on the Khaksar organization.

At the session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Cawnpore, a resolution offering felicitations to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on his 82nd. brithday was passed.

1st. The Standing Committee of the Labour Conference concluded its two day session in New Delhi. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar presiding, made a general survey of war time labour legislation and expressed itself on the terms and conditions of service in regulated employments.

Replying to Mr. L. S. Raja's representation that members of the Legislative Council detained in prison should be given facilities to attend the session of the Mysore Legislative Council, Mr. D. H. Chandrasekhariah, President of the Council, stated that he had referred the matter to the Government and that he would take further action.

2nd. Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Jaipur, in the course of his Convocation Address at the Dacca University, said : "At no time has it been more true of Europe than to-day that he who controls education controls the ultimate springs of power."

The Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, addressing the East India Association (London) on the future of India, said that he did not propose to plunge into the deep water of political controversy or speculate immediately about the future. Rather was it his purpose by reviewing the past, to emphasize the consistent attitude of the Princely Order towards constitutional change.

3rd. Mr. Amery was asked in the House of Commons whether the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps had taken full notice of the treaties between the Crown and the Provinces of India, whether these treaties remained valid in their integrity, and whether he would undertake they would not be changed by any constitution-making body without the assent of the parties concerned. Mr. Amery said : "The question no doubt refers to the various treaties, engagements and sanads defining the relations of the Crown and the Rulers of Indian States. The interpretation of the original terms of certain of these engagements has, as is well known, been affected over a long period by usage and sufferance, but subject to that qualification, the answer to all the three parts of this question is in the affirmative."

The Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, addressing the East India Association (London) on the "future of India and the Princes," said : "There is no need for one to tell you what treaties, 'sanads' and engagements mean to the Princes. They are the *sine qua non* of our existence. We regard the rights, privileges and dignities arising out of them as matters of vital concern. We have stated clearly and unequivocally that, while as an order we endorse the demands for the Constitutional advance

of India, any scheme to which the States are expected to be party must effectively protect their rights arising from treaties, 'Sanads' and engagements or otherwise ensure the future of existence, sovereignty and integrity of the States thereunder guaranteed."

The ex-Premier of Sind, Mr. Allah Baksh, in a press interview at Karachi said : "It may be that in certain situations Pakistan suffer from worse tyrannies than Hindustan of the future, but if it means just an emphatic caveat against the rising tendencies towards centralisation which conceals itself under the name of "Akhand Hindustan' and other slogans then I am with it."

In the House of Commons in replying to questions, Mr. Amery said that he was still awaiting information from the Government of India regarding the number of persons under detention.

4th. A Communique from New Delhi stated : His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of Col. Rt. Hon. David John Colville, M. P., to be the Governor of Bombay in succession to Sir Roger Lumley, G.C.I.E., whose term of office expires on March 17, 1943."

A Committee with Nawab Yar Jung Bahadur as Chairman was set up by the Working Committee of the All-India States Muslim League to consider the position and status of the Indian States in future constitutional changes in India and to submit proposals which may incorporate as basis the policy of the States League."

The Commerce Department, Government of India, was flooded with representation, or protests from commercial firms, printing houses and educational authorities urging reduction in the Government demand in connexion with paper.

5th. Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, issued a statement in connexion with the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organization. He said that he stated on November 5, that discrepancies among Punjab Khaksars concerning the performance of individual social service, daily drills, carrying of implements etc. would be removed by him within a month of the lifting of the ban by the Government. The Punjab Premier, according to a Khaksar who interviewed him on December 1, thought that the period would be 2 months, and this was causing delay in lifting the ban.

6th. The death occurred at his Calcutta residence of Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerjee, former acting Chief-Justice of Bengal and a well known Hindu Mahasabha leader.

Appreciation of the "courageous and partiotic" stand taken by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee. in resigning his office as Minister of the Government of Bengal was recorded in a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Council of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha.

At a representative gathering of Indians at the Dorchester House Hotel, it was unanimously agreed to start an "Indian Community Club" in London.

7th. The Government of Madras decided to continue the land revenue concessions.

The following announcement was made from 10 Downing Street, London. "H. E. the Most Honourable the Marquess of Linlithgow, P. C., K. T., G. M. S. I., G. M. I. E. with the approval of the King Emperor, at the special request of H. M's Government, who place on record their high confidence in him, has consented to a further extension of his term as Viceroy and Governor General of India for 6 months, namely until October 1943".

Lord Halifax, in a speech referring to India at Baltimore, said : "I realise that opinion in this country is greatly concerned about India. People sometimes speak as if the whole problem could be simply stated in terms of one people struggling to be free and another people struggling to keep them down. But if that were true, there would be no problem, for the offer brought by Sir Stafford Cripps this summer would have settled it. The offer was rejected. The mission failed. It did not fail because, as has been suggested at some stage in the negotiation, Sir Stafford Cripps was overruled from London. That is a complete fabrication. It failed because the various parties were unable to reach an agreement among themselves. But the offer stands."

8th. Mr. J. C. Setalvad, Chairman, Indian Merchants' Chamber, in an address welcoming Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, the Commerce Member to the Government of India, who visited the Chamber in Bombay, said : "The present

political situation in the country is exercising the minds of the commercial community. My Committee have unreservedly condemned the acts of sabotage and violence which have resulted in loss of life and property. But the continued policy of repression is not going to lead to any satisfactory solution of the present deadlock".

9th. H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore, delivering his address at the 12th Convocation of the Annamalai University held at Annamalainagar, observed: "Upon the education of our people depends our fate as also on the creation of a new spirit of courageous comradeship amongst all Indians as a part of world fellowship. May this University and its sister foundations help adequately to equip the new generation to fulfil the tremendous but glorious obligation that are already crowding upon them".

A Press Note issued from Lahore stated: "In accordance with an announcement recently made by the Premier of the Punjab, the Punjab Government have recommended the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organization on condition that an unreserved undertaking was given on behalf of the organization about the abandonment of military drill, carrying of belchas etc."

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, at a party given in his honour in Bombay, gave an assurance that he was doing everything possible to secure stocks of newsprint and that he had already sent "3 or 4 frantic telegrams to the U. S. A. and Canada to release newsprint".

10th. Mr. Amery, answering a request in the House of Commons for information respecting the disturbances in India, said: "Apart from an attack on a police Station in Bihar there has been no report of mob violence during the last fortnight. Sabotage in minor forms and other symptoms of lawlessness persist in Bengal and Bombay, and one case of derailment with loss of life is reported from Assam".

The unity of India was discussed when the Adviser to the Secretary for India, Sir Gilbert Wiles, addressed members of the East India Asociation. Sir Gilbert spoke on the financial relationship between the Central and Provincial Governments in India and said that if the scheme of federation proposed as far back as 1858 had then been accepted the subsequent history of India might have developed on very different lines—not towards unity. As it was the idea of centralization prevailed.

The High Commissioner for India, Sir Azizul Haque, in a broadcast to Indians in Great Britain, said: "Never before was any country so well organised in all aspects of economic, social and national life, as Britain is today. Indians in this country have also toiled and sweated and bled. I have no doubt when this nightmare of war is over these two peoples, who have shared all these things, will work together for the peace of the world. I see among the people of Great Britain a genuine, deeprooted sympathy for India and Indians and a keen desire to place the future of India on a plane of equality in the great Commonwealth".

11th. Mr. William Phillips was appointed President Roosevelt's Personal Representative in India.

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares University, strongly criticized the totalitarian creeds which "produce mass men who are deprived of any kind of inward life and privacy of spirit" in delivering his lecture on "the need of religion today," as "Kamala Lecturer" of the Calcutta University.

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Commerce Member, addressing the Maharastra Chamber of Commerce in Bombay made an earnest plea to the business community to condemn and scotch "black-markets" and to look to public interest, while looking to their own interest.

In the proceedings of the Mysore Legislative Council, in a non-official resolution moved by Mr. T. Tare Gowda and amended by M. S. Narayana Rao, recommending to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja to release all political prisoners either detained or convicted and to grant amnesty to the latter class of persons, so that a proper atmosphere might be created leading to an effective and united stand against foreign aggression, and discussions thereon figured prominently.

12th. The British Indian Association, Calcutta, submitted a representation to the

Government of India on the "grave situation that threatens the province of Bengal in the matter of steep rise in the price of rice and of apprehended famine conditions in Bengal."

The Mysore Legislative Council devoted most of its time to non-official business. Mr. D. H. Chandra Sekharia, President of the Council, was in the chair.

Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the U. P., addressing a police parade at Cawnpore, declared: "The Police Force of this province has already done extremely well; I will support them as far as I can, but I want the public also to support them and to co-operate with them in defeating the movement, inaugurated by the Congress, which if it were to succeed would be disastrous."

Mr. N. R. Sarker, in a statement at a Press Conference in Bombay, said: "If we are to tackle the food problem adequately, the sincere co-operation of all the food producing areas is essential; and only if all the provinces regard this problem as an all-India one can it be grappled with success."

13th. A deputation headed by Mr. Hosainbhoy Lalji, M. L. A. (Central), and representatives of businessmen, industrialists and Labour arrived in New Delhi to wait on the Commerce and Overseas Members in connexion with the East African Import Corporations.

14th. The Standing Committee of the Non-Party Leaders' Conference concluded its sittings at Allahabad.

Addressing a private gathering of prominent citizens of Allahabad, Mr. Rajagopalachari referred to the Non-Party Leaders' Conference and said "something will come out of it I believe. It is not a question of optimism or pessimism but one of determination. You should want something done and not only to know what has been discussed. If something comes out of this conference within 2 months as I believe it will, then you will know that we have been able to do something."

Master Tara Singh, Akali Leader, issued a statement clarifying the demand for an Azad Punjab from Amritsar. "I wish to get rid of the present communal domination established over us, at all costs. The Hindus also feel this communal domination bitterly, but they are so divided that they cannot make up their mind. Many of them, in their anxiety to appear to be Nationalists, cease to take a realistic view of the situation. We favour the readjustment of the boundaries of the Punjab. I wish that in the Punjab proper, no community should dominate over the other. I can certainly promise to consider seriously any other plan which can promise anything better."

Dr. M. R. Jayakar, in reply to a question put to him at an address given by him at Allahabad, said: "Some Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council whom I know personally are very Nationalist in their sentiment. If they are unable to achieve much there must be other reasons for it."

A Press Note from New Delhi stated that a conference to discuss the food situation in the country was held under the Chairmanship of Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Commerce Member, and was attended by representatives of all provinces and important States.

The reasons for the 'abnormal' rise in the price of rice in Calcutta were being investigated by the Directorate of Civil Supplies, Government of Bengal.

15th. The Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry met in Calcutta under the Presidentship of Mr. Gaganvihari Lal Mehta.—The situation resulting from the shortage of foodstuffs was discussed. It was suggested that the Government of India should be requested to take measures to stop exports of foodstuffs from India and with the help of H M's Government to import sufficient supplies of wheat from Australia.

16th. A Bengal Government Press Note on the rice situation in the province, said: "The Government are in a position to state that the recent abnormal prices are not warranted by the present stock position."

The Society of Friends (London) in a peace for conciliation in India, urged the removal of the ban on conversations between the interned Congress Party leaders and responsible third parties. The Society "earnestly ask for the co-operation of our fellow Christians in promoting steps to an understanding and in impressing upon the Government that the policy of the closed door is contrary to Christian public opinion".

Sir Chhoturam, Revenue Minister, Punjab, in a Press statement at Rawalpindi, said : "With due deference to the intellectual eminence of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Rajagopalachariar and other prominent members of the Non-Party Conference, the reported decision of the Conference to submit to Mr. Jinnah for his approval a formula conceding in some form the principle of Pakistan will be deeply resented by all parties which have hitherto opposed any such concession".

17th. H. E. the Viceroy, in his address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce, (Calcutta) emphasised the essential geographical unity of India. The Viceroy said : "Geographically India for all practical purposes in one. I would judge it to be as important as ever in the past, nay, more important, that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the right and legitimate claims of the minorities, whether those minorities be great or small." Lord Linlithgow added : "It is because agreement cannot be reached between the conflicting interest in this country as to who is to take over the responsibilities which Britain is only too ready to transfer to Indian hands that the deadlock has arisen. It is from no reluctance on our part to transfer them."

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League at its meeting in Calcutta, Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin presiding, adopted a resolution strongly condemning the "repressive policy" of the Bengal Government in suspending the publication of the *Azad* for an indefinite period, and calling upon the Muslims of Bengal to observe Dec. 24 as "Azad Day" by holding protest meetings in villages, unions and towns.

Mr. R. R. Haddow, presiding at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, observed : "It is the wish of the British Community in India to continue to be of service to the country and to assist in its progress both in regard to Agriculture and Industry."

Mr. R. S. Nimbkar, Labour Welfare Officer to the Government of India, addressing a meeting of jute, oil and petrol workers at Goalpara, said that the Government of India definitely desired that workers in industries should receive adequate dearness allowance and profit-shaving bonus to compensate for the rise in the cost of living. He appealed to all employers to fall in line with the policy of the Government of India.

The Punjab Government served an order under the Defence of India Rules on the proprietor of the "*Daily Protap*" and his son restricting their activities.

18th. Sir A. R. Dalal, in his presidential address at the tenth annual general meeting of the Employers' Federation of India, in Calcutta, said : "Without wishing to apportion blame to any side, employers in common with others who had the welfare of the country at heart, would cordially desire to see an end to the political deadlock, statemate and stagnation which, while impairing the was effort, boded no good in the post-war world to the relationship between the different parties concerned in this unfortunate dispute".

The question of paper shortage in India was raised at the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, when Mr. R. W. Mellor on behalf of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce moved a resolution on the subject. The resolution after referring to the order served on paper mills in India by the Controller of Printing and Stationery, drew attention to the "Disproportionate reservation made for Government purposes and the entirely inadequate provision for civilian consumption, in particular for essential war requirements of commerce and industry, and urged the Government to allow at least 30% of the mills' total production to be supplied to the general market."

19th. A meeting of all Newspaper Editors in Bombay City and Province was held at the Journalists' Association. About 35 newspapers, including those in Ahmedabad, Poona, Surat and Hubli, were represented.

Mr. Niharendu Dutt Majumdar, M.L.A, General Secretary of the Labour Party of India was arrested on a charge of violating an order issued under the Defence Rules.

20th. Calcutta had its first enemy air raid of the war under a waking moon, bombs being dropped in areas outside the town.

The decision to call an All-India Muslim Conference in Calcutta for the organization of a properly constituted All-India Democratic or Progressive

Muslim League was unanimously taken by an emergent joint meeting of the Working Committee of the Nikhil Banga Bengali Mussalman Students Society.

Causes of the sudden rise in the price of rice in Bengal were discussed at a Conference between Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier and representatives of millowners and traders in rice.

21st. A Press Note issued by the Government of Bengal, said: "By an order coming into force at once the export of rice or paddy from the Rajsahi Division has been prohibited except under permit; simultaneously a similar restriction has been placed on the export of rice or paddy from the Calcutta industrial area."

His Excellency the Viceroy sent the following telegam to the Governor of Bengal congratulating Calcutta on the manner it took its first air raid: "I am glad to learn that the city's defences have proved so effective; that damage and casualties are light and that morale is light. Yours is the first capital city in India to suffer in this war a baptism of fire and her citizens have proved an admirable example of steadiness and fortitude. Well done Calcutta!" His Excellency the Governor sent the following reply: "I am most grateful for your Excellency's heartening message to the people of Calcutta. It cannot fail to inspire them in maintaining the admirably steadfast front which they displayed at the first onset of danger."

22nd. Mian Abdul Haye, Minister for Education, Punjab, addressing the Convocation of the Punjab University, outlined a scheme for post-war educational reconstruction.

Mr. R. S. Nimbkar, Labour Welfare Adviser, Government of India, in a broadcast talk from Calcutta, observed: "This is a war of free workers against slave labour and we must fight it to the end."

23rd. Mr. M. S. Aney, Member for Indians Overseas, Government of India, arrived at Chittagong. The object of his visit was to inspect camps set up for Indian refugees.

The carrying of any sword, dagger, spear, bludgeon, lather, gun or other offensive weapon by person in any public place in the town or suburbs of Calcutta up to Oct. 1943, was prohibited by the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.

Mr. Jinnah sent Rs. 1,000 as his personal contribution to the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Cyclone Relief Fund for the sufferers of Midnapore and 24 Parganas with a message of sympathy in their plight. He appealed to Bengal Muslims to do all in their power to help the sufferers.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, in an interview said: Mr. Rajagopalachari could not have forgotten that a large majority of the Princes had always been in favour or Federation or any other kind of union which would ensure strong and unified central direction in the matter of economic, agricultural and industrial policy, customs, tariffs etc. as well as defence, external affairs, emigration and immigration. Many Princes did not approve of and would not join the particular scheme which was recently put forward because of the special features relating to that scheme. The Princes and their advisers were alive to the importance of preserving that unity of the Central Government which could well exist with great liberty of action within their proper sphere in the case of units but without which India could never be well governed."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, in the course of a statement in Bombay, said: "I appreciate the emphasis the Viceroy has laid at least on the geographical unity of India and the fervent appeal he has made to maintain this ancient integrity of our country on grounds of practical policy also. Reasonable safeguards to minorities must be given, and the League of Nations has already shown us the way in one of the most authoritative works formulating what reasonable safeguards of minorities really mean. But the Viceroy, perhaps inadvertently, uses the term, "fully satisfactory to the minorities", instead of clarifying the safeguards that are reasonable."

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, India's representative on the British War Cabinet, said that the people of India were keen to have their political status assured and that the differences between them arose from various viewpoints regarding the methods whereby that status could be attained.

A Government of India communique said: "Sir J. P. Srivastava, Member for Civil Defence, had talks to-day with Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Minister-in-charge for co-ordination of Civil Defence Measures in Bengal, and

Mr. Pramatha Nath Bannerjee, Revenue Minister, Bengal, at which important matters arising out of Sir J. P. Srivastava's recent visit to Calcutta were discussed in detail."

24th. The Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League passed a resolution criticizing the Viceroy's speech at the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, in which he emphasized India's essential geographical unity. The resolution said that the Viceroy's statement amounted to a "denial of the fundamental right of the Muslims to self-determination."

The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber sent a telegram to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy regarding scarcity of foodgrains.

A Press communique from New Delhi, stated : "The Government of India have, in consultation with the Government of the Punjab, set up a Government purchasing agency, which will be entrusted with the task of buying wheat in that province on behalf of the Central and the Punjab Governments. The Central Government will purchase on behalf of the deficit areas in India and of the Army."

Mr. G. L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, in the course of a statement in Bombay, observed : "The recent speeches of the Viceroy and the President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce constitute a footnote to the utterances of the British Prime Minister and other spokesmen of the British Government on the future of the Empire and the present discontent and deadlock in India."

25th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, speaking at a reception given to him by the Delhi Provincial Muslim League, on the occasion of his 66th. birthday, declared that no amount of agitation or mis-representation could deter the Mussalmans of India from their cherished goal of Pakistan, nor could the Indian or British Government deter them from their determination to achieve their goal, which had become as article of faith with them.

Dr. P. V. Naidu, President of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Madras said : "The Viceroy's memorable speech in regard to the need for the maintenance of India's territorial integrity and political unity has been rightly appreciated by eminent and distingnished national leaders all over India. The Viceroy's statement has not come a day soon. It has come out in the right time and in the right direction."

26th. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, died suddenly of heart failure at Lahore. Sir Sikandar was aged 50.

The Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Commerce Member presiding over the 20th. session of the Bengal Sahitya Sammelan at Allahabad, said : "The building up of bigger industries would be the only solution of the economic problem facing Bengal and Bengalees and that alone would restore to them their rightful position."

Sir J. P. Srivastava, Member for Civil Defence, Government of India, issued the following statement to the Press : "I find that there are wild rumours current in regard to the extent of damage caused by recent bombings of Calcutta and also their effect on the morale of the people. Mr. Ibbotson, Director General for Civil Defence, has been in Calcutta since day before yesterday and is watching the situation there on behalf of my Department. In a telephone conversation with me, yesterday and this afternoon, he assured me that damage to life and property is infinitesimally small, and that the Japanese have failed woefully to cause any panic. There is no truth whatsoever in the reports that Calcutta is emptying out both by road and rail."

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the Indian Academy of Science commenced at Bangalore before a gathering of distingnished scientists and scientific workers from various parts of India. Sir. C. V. Raman presided.

The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. M. R. Jayakar, in his presidential address to the All-India Educational Conference, said, *inter alia* : "The war, as we all deplore, has led to a considerable curtailment by the Government of their support and help to education. Grants have been cut down, useful institutions have been commandeered (witness the case of the Benares Hindu University) and lastly students guilty of emotional excesses, as they always are in different parts of the world, have been treated as incipient criminals and

punished in a way which is bound to harden them. This stinting is unfortunate. In other countries the war has not interfered with educational reforms."

28th. The 19th. session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at Trivandrum, Sir Jogendra Singh, Education Member, Government of India, presided. The President, in his address to the session, gave a call to Indian Princes to do everything to maintain the integrity of India and to help achieve the Federation of India.

Master Tara Singh, presiding over the Akali Conference held at Sema in Ferozepur district, said : "As long as the present Pakistan proposal continues unmodified, I have to be its chief opponent. If the demand for Pakistan in its present form is accepted, I am the chief sufferer and not the Hindus."

The following communique was issued from New Delhi, re : "Ban on Khaksars." :—"Since the resolution regarding the Khaksars was discussed in the Central Legislative Assembly on September 22 and 23,1942, the Government of India have been in consultation with the Provincial Governments regarding the possibility of removing the ban which, at the instance of the Central Government, was imposed by them on that association under the Criminal Law Amedment Act in June 1941. Allama Mashriqui has now issued a statement to the Press and has communicated its contents to all branches of the Khaksar organization. In the light of that statement, all Provincial Governments have agreed to cancel the ban on the Khaksar organization. The Government of India are taking similar action in the Chief Commissoner's Provinces and have also cancelled the order under the Defence Rules restricting the Allama's residence to the Province of Madras."

29th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in his presidential address at the twenty fourth session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Cawnpore, voiced the unflinching determination of the Hindu Mahasabha to oppose the All-India Muslim League's demand for Pakistan. He observed : "Just as in America, Germany, China and every other country not excluding Russia, so also in Hindusthan, Hindus by the fact that they form an overwhelming majority, are the nation, and the Muslims are but a community, because like other communities they are unchallengably in a minority. Therefore, they must remain satisfied with whatever reasonable safeguards other minorities in India get and accept as reasonable in the light of the world formula framed by the League of Nations."

The Madras Government were evolving a scheme of their own for production of standard cloth in sufficient quantity through handloom weavers. It was stated that a few mills, had already undertaken to provide yarn for the purpose.

The Punjab, Bombay and U. P. Governments lifted the ban imposed by them on the Khaksar organization.

30th. Mr. K. Srinivasan, President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference issued the following statement from Madras : "In accordance with the resolution of the standing committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, passed at its meetings, held in Bombay on the 18th., 19th., and 21st., December, I have fixed Jaunary 6, 1943, for the observance of the hartal throughout India for a day. It is requested that managements abstain from publishing newspapers bearing that date. The co-operation of all newspapers in India is solicited to make the day of protest a success.

It was announced that all the Ministers in Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's Cabinet in the Punjab resigned. Later, the Governor granted an interview to Major Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, and requested his assistance in forming a new Council of Ministers. Malik Khizar Hyat Khan accepted the invitation.

The Governor re-appointed Malik K. Hyat Khan Tiwana as a Minister and in consultation with him, also reappointed all the other Ministers.—Sir Chhoturam, Sir Manoharlal, Mian Abdul Haye and Sardar Baldev Singh.

At the open session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Cawnpore, a resolution offering felicitations to Pandit Madan Mahan Malaviya on his 82nd birthday was passed. Mr. Savarkar, who moved the resolution, paid tributes to the services of Pandit Malaviya whom he described as the founder, inspiration and guide of the Mahasabha organization.

India in Home Polity

July—December, 1942

India in Home Polity

Introduction

Human conduct and affairs are judged by their tendencies, and not by the episodes that may crowd into them. Tested by this standard, the Allied Powers appear to see a chink of light through the gloom of the last month of 1941 and the first six months of 1942. Stalingrad, battered and wrecked, yet stood and by this "local victory" stood as the symbol of Germany's defeat in her campaign of 1942. In north Africa, from the Egyptian El Alamein, General Montgomery was sweeping before him the ever-victorious *Afrika Korps*; his forces had reached Tripoli by the last day of the last week of 1942. It was expected that Field-Marshal Rommel would make a stand there just to keep this harbour and supply base for the reception of the reinforcements that were being flown over to him or being carried in ships through the sea lanes of the central Mediterranean. Forced out of it he could confront the Allied Eighth Army at the Mareth Line —"the little Maginot of pill boxes and cement forts strung along the hills in southern Tunisia"—from the Gulf of Gabes 20 miles inland. But this was not to be. Before General Montgomery's troops was the long African coast in Marshal Rommel's rear—Tunis, French north Africa and Spanish Morocco. A threat appeared there, and the German General had to make haste before he could be squeezed between the Allied armies hastening from the east and the west. On the 8th of November his rear began to hum. On the dawn of that day U. S. A. troops landed along the whole coast line of French north and west Algeria and Morocco. The principal ports of French Africa—Algiers and Oran on the Mediterranean, and Casablanca, Rabat (capital of Morocco), and Dakar on the Atlantic—began to fall into Allied hands. This made the position of the European Axis Powers untenable in north Africa; their foothold there began to collapse; their 10,000 miles frontier from Sicily to Murmansk was opened to Allied attack.

Hopeful prospects for Allied Powers

The Commander-in-chief of this expedition was Lieut. General Dwight Eisenhower of the U. S. A. Army. Part of the invasion forces had sailed direct from the United States; part used Britain "as a way station." This expedition has been regarded by the world as a particular U. S. A. job, the first major offensive action taken by the great republic. The British Prime Minister handsomely recognized this fact when he declared that in this venture the President of the United States of America was the Commander-in-chief, and he was his "ardent, acting lieutenant." This lieutenancy, however, was not inconsiderable. For the original landing of troops for this new campaign Great Britain provided two-thirds of the war-ships and transports, and 150 *Spitfires*. It has since come out that this invasion was being planned since June, 1941, in the days when General Auchinlek was being pressed towards the Egyptian border and Mr. Churchill was on his third visit to Washington, and the surrender of Tobruk with her more than 25,000 Allied soldiers had exposed Allied deficiencies before

N-W. Africa expedition—a U. S. A job

all the world. It is not possible for the lay-man to realize and appreciate the huge amount of organisation required for the movement of such an Armada from a distance of three to four thousand miles of Atlantic waters infested by German submarines. It took a year to organize it. In June, 1942, the Commander-in-chief of the expeditionary force came to Britain to prepare his "amateur army of mechanics, salesmen, bar-tenders, boxers, bond salesman, cowboys, lawyers" for the great adventure. The strategic possibilities of this invasion have revealed themselves as we write (August, 1943)—Signor Mussolini has been removed from his position as ruler of Italy which for all practical purposes has been lost to the Axis side; two-thirds of the Mediterranean have been made free for the movement of the Allied navy and merchant ships; 12,000 miles of Allied voyage around Africa with troops and supplies have been saved, equivalent to the saving of hundreds of Allied ships that the Axis submarines might have sunk.

Was it a "second front ?"

And the talk was not wholly unjustified that the promised "second front" had come. But the strictness of the Russian definition of a "second front" had yet to be satisfied. The Soviet ambassador in London had given it in these terms —"the withdrawal of 40 German divisions will be enough." His chief, M. Stalin, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, was more specific :

"If it (the second front) had been opened, drawing off 60 German divisions and 20 of Germany's allies, it would have been the beginning of the end of the Hitlerites. The British campaign is diverting 4 German and 11 Italian divisions ...Because there was no second front, Russia was facing 172 German divisions."

U. S. A. preparations

But the eight months of 1943 have been more fruitful. And U. S. A. strategy in this front has justified itself. Naturally her Press has taken the world into confidence with regard to the vast and quiet organization by their country that had preceded this move. Confining their attention to their own country, they have told us the story of the pre-Pearl Harbour and post-Pearl Harbour movement of their forces to the ends of the earth.

Long before Pearl Harbour the U. S. had been making preparations to establish a base in Liberia, if need should arise. Pan-American Airways, with U. S. Army and Navy approval, had contracted with the Government of President Edwin Barclay for a clipper base in the tropical country where rubber and coffee grow wild. A huge air-field larger than needed for commercial flying was built. The U. S. A. Firestone, Tire & Rubber Co.'s model rubber plantation is the country's biggest industry.

1941—U. S. troops moved to Greenland on April 9; on April 23—to bases acquired from Britain in Newfoundland, Labrador, Bermuda, Jamaica, Trinidad and other Caribbean islands; on July 7—to Iceland; on November 23—to Surinam (Dutch Guinea).

After Pearl Harbour, U. S. forces spread themselves geographically at an even faster pace. December 22 (1941)—Australia; January 3 (1942)—Northern Ireland; February 19—Dutch East Indies; February 23—Burma; March 4—England; March 17—New Caledonia; March 20—India; late June—Middle East: June 23—New Hebrides and the Fijis; August 7—the Solomons. Units had also filtered into Africa and China.

From military head-quarters at Washington it was given out that

more than 8,00,000 U. S. soldiers were serving over-seas. The expansion of the fighting forces of the republic has been phenomenal. In 1939 they were—1,74,000 ; in mid-1940—200,000 : in early 1941—9,51,000 ; December (1941)—16,00,000 ; in 1943—the requirements are said to be—75,00,000—33,00,000 in the Ground Forces ; 20,00,000 in Training and Supply Services ; 22,00,000 in the Air Forces. This huge expansion is backed by a budget figure for 1943 which will be reaching astronomical proportions—30,000 crores of rupees.

Huge expansion of her fighting forces

It is a notable fact that preparations by the U. S. A. for this invasion were not unknown to the European Axis Powers. A Paris radio had told the world :

The Axis aware of this African move

"Important U. S. troop contingents have landed in Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Liberia, French Equatorial Africa, Belgian Congo and South Africa. We have information that a U. S. General will soon be in command of all enemy forces in Africa."

The question has been asked—why with this knowledge the European Axis Powers did nothing to intercept the convoys that carried U. S. troops from their home country and from Britain ? Interpreters of these events have appeared to find the key to this inactivity in two extracts made from two speeches of Herr Hitler—one made on the 1st of October (1942), and the other on the day the U. S. invasion of north-west Africa took place.

Axis on the defensive

"We have prepared for ourselves a very simple programme. In the first place, under all circumstances, we must hold whatever must be held.....Let the others attack as much as they wish wherever we have no intention to advance. We must.....wait to see who tirest soonest."

"We cannot from week to week look for big victories. That is impossible. The decisive thing is to fortify and hold the position taken. You may believe that what we have we hold so fast that no body will ever take it away from us."

We do not know what the European Axis Powers hope to gain by the defensive role they have elected to adopt in their fight in Europe. They have lost in Africa the Italian territories from which they had hoped to drive a pincer movement to the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea, there to join up with their Asiatic partner in aggression. They must be aware, and they have not tried to keep it secret from their own people, that their eastern adventure, in Russia, has miscarried, that the enemy they had to contend with there has proved himself stronger than they had hoped for. Lieutenant-General Dietmar, commentator of the German High Command, was the mouth-piece of this recognition. In successive statements made during the last months of 1942, and the early months of 1943, he tried to impress this fact on their minds. As early as the first week of October 1942), he said :

German defeats in Russia

"The war against the Soviet Union is a fight against the most powerful military organization in the world....."

"There is no other enemy in the world with such artful skill in delaying decisions.....Masses present a difficult problem both to the German High Command and to the German Army....."

"The German Command and Army were sorely tired by the Russians' unexpected and seemingly improbable tactics, especially at the beginning of the campaign. The Soviet soldier is far more strongly attached than any other soldier to the system in which he finds himself. The authority of the Soviet leadership is limitless."

Since those words were uttered, further reverses have come upon the forces fighting against Russia under German leadership. Between the Volga and the Don whole armies have sunk—the Sixth Army and the Fourth Tank Army—more than 3,00,000 strong. Their Commander-in-Chief Field Marshal Paulus has been captured with 13 German and 2 Rumanian generals. The fall in February (1943) of Kursk and Byelgorod, two of "the four bastions" on which the whole of the German front depends, the other two being Orel and Kharkov—drew forth a lamentation that discredited Herr Hitler's confident assertions made three or four months ago. And General Dietmar must have summarized the whole of the experiences of the failure in the Stalingrad front in these words :

Announced to the German people

"For the first time we are experiencing the entire tragedy of the reverse."
"For the first time an entire German Army has ceased to exist. What we used to inflict on others has happened to us. It is still difficult to realize. We feel it like a sharp pain."
"The time has not yet come to answer the question how it all happened."

The experiences of the German Army in the Russian front were not the only factor that depressed the morale of the Reich. The campaign of bombing opened by British and U. S. planes on the industrial centres of Germany played not an inconsiderable part in creating and strengthening the effects of this depression as the confession of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* showed : "We are only beginning to feel total war in the west. Home has unavoidably become part of the front". The planning of the various elements of an all-out air offensive against Germany became the subject of wide discussion in the Press of Britain and the United States. It came to be increasingly recognized that "through no other course can American mass production strike so quickly so hard a blow at the actual heart of the enemy" than by the concentration of Anglo-American air power on him. One such plan that we have seen deserves publication as a step towards the understanding of Allied air tactics in this war. The objective of this preparation for attack was the disruption of the life of "31 key-cities of Germany and their suburbs" which constituted "the core of German war production." These were 8 in western Germany—Essen, Cologne, Dusseldorf, Frankfurt, Mannheim, Stuttgart, Saarbrucken, Frederichchafen, ; all these cities and towns are at a distance of 300 to 400 miles from London. There were 15 in central Germany at a distance 600 miles from London—Bremen, Hanover, Kassel, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Munich, Rosenheim Linz, Hamburg, Magdeburg, Dessau, Halle, Leipzig, Chemnitz, Pilsen ; the rest—8 in number—were in eastern Germany at a distance of about 900 miles from London—Kiel, Rostock, Stettin, Berlin, Posen, Lodz, Liegnitz, Breslau. The bombers that were to shatter these centres of German war production belonged to the following classes whose names have become familiar to newspaper readers—B—17—4-engined Boeing "Flying Fortress"—with a radius of 1,000 to 1,200 miles and an average bomb-load of 3 tons ; B—24—4 engined Consolidated—with power same as the former ; B— 25—2-engined North American (used in the Tokyo raid)—with a radius of 800—1,000 miles and a bomb-load of 2½ tons ; B—26—2-engined Martin—with power same as the above ; British

Bombing of Germany

heavy and medium bombers—the 4-motored Sterling, Lancaster, Halifax and Wellington—with the same average radius and in some cases with much larger bomb capacity. It was also estimated that to release 30—50,000 tons will require about 15,000 bombers per calender month, assuming ten operations night. The present loss-rate of 4 per cent will require replacement of 600 bombers per month. Loss of pilots, crews, etc., at this rate for six months might total 25,000. It was hoped that the joint Anglo-American out-put of planes and crews will exceed the above replacement by the end of 1942.

We have not yet seen this "all-out" attack. And since these plans were featured, about twelve months have passed. And Germany's discomfiture in Russia and north Africa should not blind us to the fact that she has been able to hold on to her gains in the Ukraine where round about the Don Basin and the Dneipropetrovosk area in that country, within about 300 miles, there are huge deposits of coal and iron—the essentials of modern warfare. The Russians might have wrecked their factories or carried away their machineries and set them up beyond the Urals, as we have told in the last volume of the *Annual Register*. But they could not have destroyed or carried away the wealth that the earth here hid under her. These regions produced approximately 78 per cent of the total coal production of the Soviet Union of which 50 per cent was of coaking quality ; approximately 60 per cent of the total pig iron of the Soviet Union came from this region which contained about 55 per cent of the total number of blast furnaces in the Union. German engineers, technicians and industrialists who had helped the Soviet Union to build up her industries knew all that was to be known of Russia's natural wealth, and since the fortunes of war brought them here they could not fail to make the best use of it.

Russia's natural wealth under German possession

At the same time it would not do to forget that it was the far-seeing and intensive exploitation of Russia's natural resources that have enabled her people to stand erect under the hammer blows of Germany for about twenty four months. Estimates that have been made available to the world give us a clue to the mystery of her miraculous resisting power. She produces one-third of the world's wheat ; one-half of the world's oats ; 80 per cent of the world's rye ; occupies the first place in the production of sugar beet in Europe ; her oil production is greatest in Europe—out of the Baku-Batum districts together with the Caucasus came 90 per cent of her petroleum products. In a book published by the Bureau of International Research, Harvard University and Radcliffe College, entitled *The Strategy of Raw Materials*, we have the following :

Russia's self-sufficiency

"It would appear that on the basis of percentages of self-sufficiency the Soviet Union enjoys 100 per cent in coal, iron, petroleum, maganese, mica, chromate and potash ; 90 per cent in sulphur and pyrites ; 85 per cent in phosphates ; 80 per cent in mercury, and 60 per cent in zinc."

It has been suggested that it was this incalulable wealth of

Russia that must have tempted the German rulers to attack Soviet Russia on June 22, 1942, breaking their pact with her; that without control over such resources it was not possible for them to wage the "total war" they were engaged in. This strategy of raw materials apart, there were other considerations that must have influenced them to launch on this fateful venture. One of these considerations or driving forces must have been what has been called the "historical gravitation" of Germany towards the Persian Gulf with a view to try conclusions with British imperialism in Asia. The present war has re-emphasised the importance of this strategy, specially since Japan's eruption into this war on December 7, (1941). Her successes in the Pacific and Indian Ocean areas had made easy the adoption of the strategy that would join up the European Axis powers with their partner in aggression from the Far East. It was contemplated, as shown in volume II. of the *Annual Register* of 1941, that after driving Britain from north and east Africa, the combined forces of the European and Asiatic Axis Powers would pinch from the east and the west India which has become the arsenal of the Allied Powers and their base of operations against Japan. These calculations have miscarried by developments in south Russia and north Africa—from certain points of view more by those in Russia.

Why Germany drove towards the Caucasus

Russia's success at the end of 1942 was won at terrible cost. Stalingrad which symbolized this success and suffering was kept on a food ration of 125 grams—about a slice and half of bread; from starvation, cold, diseases, and German bombs more than 10 lakhs—one-third—of its population died. U. S. correspondents have sent harrowing details of these sufferings. A million dead men heaped the battle fields of south Russia; millions more were wounded, captured or missing. During World War I., Verdun had called for the sacrifice of 7,38,000 Frenchmen and Germans. Stalingrad was a bigger horror. The Russians acknowledged the loss of 6 lakhs in three months; declared that 4,80,000 Germans had been slain; the Germans claimed 10 lakhs of Russians as captives since the spring, raising to 50 lakhs the number of their Russian prisoners since June, 1941. Russia's appeal for a "second front", a U. S. correspondent reported in the first week of August (1942), had once been "measured, and patient and deferential to the internal politics of her allies"; but by the time of his report, it had become "hoarse and despairing, like the shout of an exhausted swimmer." Even after Mr. Churchill's visit to Moscow in the third week of August, a dispatch from Moscow could write: "There might be war in Britain, in north Africa, in China, in the Pacific; to Russians, deep in their awful present, the global war was an unreal *alibi* for inaction in western Europe." And in their exasperation they did not think kindly or generously of the difficulties of their allies. Correspondents of Allied countries sensed a feeling of hostility which they put in terms of power politics: "Stalin would certainly want to win before he was exhausted so that he could be strong at the peace table. He would certainly not want to wear himself out against Germany while Britain and the U. S. took it easy and grew

Russia's sacrifices & sufferings

strong." Mr. Churchill's visit to Moscow must have been undertaken with a view to remove causes of this desperate feeling.

Lend-Lease materials—U. S.-Soviet agreement

There was dissatisfaction also with regard to the delivery of war materials promised by Britain and the U. S. A. The parting message of the Soviet leader to Mr. Wendell Willkie, President Roosevelt's "special envoy" to Turkey, Russia and China, was a pointer to this : "Tell the Americans, if you like, that we need all the products they can send. But I would suggest that you under-state the case rather than give any one the impression that you are encouraging Americans to assume a patronising attitude towards us", said he. Soviet officials in London, however, admitted that Britain had met her pledges during the nine months ending June, 1942 ; but the United States had delivered in New York to Soviet officials 75 per cent only of her promised help. Whether or not these had been delivered to Russian ports was another matter when one considered that 4,000 miles of Atlantic and Artic Sea waters lay between, and that these were infested by German submarines. An estimate has told us that from October 1 (1941) to the end of 1942, Britain and the United States had sent to Russia more than 6,000 tanks, 5600 planes, and 85,000 motor vehicles. The value of non-military supplies sent through the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation had exceeded 65 crores of rupees, while U. S. Lend-Lease deliveries during the first quarter of 1942 amounted to the value of about 700 crores of rupees. In this connection it is necessary to recall the handsome terms of the Lend-Lease Agreement concluded in November, (1941) between Soviet Russia and the United States by an exchange of correspondence between Premier Stalin and President Roosevelt. Russia was granted a credit of 300 hundred crores of rupees for the purpose of war supplies. The loan was non-interest-bearing and was given on the understanding that it would be repaid within 5 to 11 years after the war. Later, a further credit of 300 hundred crores of rupees was arranged under a new Agreement which superseded certain of the above provisions. It stipulated that Russia shall return to the United States at the end of the war such defensive articles as had not been destroyed, and that in the final determination of Russia's obligations, "full cognisance" will be taken by the United States of all benefits derived from Russia's assistance in the prosecution of the war. These benefits cannot, however, be measured in terms of money alone. And we can only hope that the bitter experiences of the United States loans granted to the Allied and Associated Powers during World War I will not be repeated after the II.

Fissures in the "United Nations" Camp

Before we can leave the discussion of these developments in Europe and Africa, we must refer to one other of the difficulties that appear to have been creating complications for the Allied Powers. This difficulty has risen out of the conflict of ideas, ideals and practices between the major Powers that constituted the leadership of the "United Nations." It is not easy to understand and explain this during war time when censorship has put a ring round every country, and a frank discussion of affairs has become all but impossible. It is not also easy to be aware of the political affiliations of foreign newspapers on whose reports and

comments can one build up his opinion on men and matters. It is best, therefore, to share with our readers such reports and comments that come into our hands and enable them to judge for themselves. In the present context we propose to quote from the New York weekly, *Time*, and the London *Overseas Daily Mail*, their criticism of the "political strategy" of the leaders of the "United Nations." On July (1942), the former wrote :

"The label 'United Nations' is dangerous because too many people think that it also signifies a fully effective body for the co-operative conduct of World War II."

"It does no such thing. Of necessity it was founded on the false premise that World War II was two wars—one with Hitler, one with Japan. This premise was necessary because, up to now, the U. S. S. R. has been technically at peace with Japan—a fact which none of Russia's allies against Hitler wants to alter. But the fact also is that the 'United Nations' is not and, at least for the moment, cannot be an instrument for the global direction of a global war."

"The allied effort in World War II is directed mainly by two of the 28 'United Nations' : the United States and Great Britain in the persons of Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. Russia in one sector and China in another have major shares of the burden, but they have very vague shares in Allied direction."

Anglo-American leader-ship

Commenting on the fact that the Casablanca Conference could not arrange for the setting up of a permanent "Supreme Allied Council" the latter wrote on February 6 (1943):

"The meeting at Casablanca was not an Allied Conference but an Anglo-American conference. For obvious reasons, neither Premier Stalin nor Marshal Chiang Kai-shek could be present, but it is noticeable that neither was represented."

U. S. snubbing of General De Gaulle

The alacrity with which Anglo-American leadership made it up with Admiral Darlan, one of the leaders of "Vichy France," did not appear to have appealed to democratic opinion. Mr. Wendell Willkie protested against it, and a U. S. A. paper compared it to co-operating with Vidkun Quisling. General De Gaulle, leader of the "Free French," publicly protested against it It has come out that though he has had the support of the British Government, the U. S. State Department has been consistently "stiffish and standoffish" with him and Frenchmen associated with him. General Eisenhower, Commander-in-chief of the North African expedition, has pleaded as excuse the needs of "military emergency". But even U. S. opinion appeared to be divided in the matter. The *New York Times* supported it, and in supporting showed itself prepared to have deals with reactionary leaders. One of its commentators, Arthur Krock, believed to be in the confidence of Washington officialdom, cynically wrote :

"War has forced us, idealists and democrats, to quantitative rather than qualitative morality as the test. If, for example, Goering should offer to come over with a few planes, we do not want him. But if he can bring the *Luftwaffe* with him we will receive him."

U. S. policy creating cleavage

The *Christian Science Monitor* represented the opposite view :

"The cleavage between the sympathies of the Allied leaders and those of the French people promises nothing good for the future of French and Anglo-Saxon relation. It is not the French alone who are thinking of the harshness of Allied dealing with the Fighting French leader. All Allied European leaders agree that the American Government has been snubbing democrats and propitiating reactionary Fascists in Europe."

We have seen it suggested that the British Government does not feel very happy with the diplomacy of General Eisenhower which is that of the Foreign Office of the U. S. A. But it has no choice in the matter; it cannot publicly do anything that goes against U. S. policy and practice. It has also been reported that the Soviet Government has been looking with disfavour on this policy of entering into alliances with the reactionary forces in Europe. As the history of the deal with Darlan comes to be more known, suspicion and resentment among democratic peoples have been growing apace, putting difficulties in the way of the cause represented by the Allied Powers. It appears that the policy of feeding "Vichy France" by U. S. wheat and helping it with U. S. oil, and of keeping the "Fighting French" at arm's length, encouraged the Vichy authorities to send one of their own men, General Odic who had been commander of French forces in Africa under General Weygand, to London and Washington for some sort of an arrangement. At the end of 1941, he is said to have approached General De Gaulle to make it up on the argument that Marshal Petain was justified in doing what he did because France could not resist. General De Gaulle rejected this line of approach to explaining the betrayal of the French people. Then General Odic who had been in touch with General Giraud since his escape from German prison went to Washington where he found a readier acceptance of his argument. The result was the Darlan deal, and the easier conquest of French North Africa.

The strategy behind the Darlan deal

There have been other episodes in this game of power-politics in which the U. S. Foreign Office does not appear to have anything to learn from their more experienced opposite numbers in Europe and Asia. Simultaneouly with the Darlan deal a militray committee for the liberation of Austria had been set up in that country. Grand Duke Otto of Hapsburg, the claimant to the Austria throne, is president of this committee. He alone has been authorized to recruit for the special Austria Regiment. And there are rumours that General Odic had told the State Department that while a prisoner in Germany, General Giraud had established contact with certain German generals who could be formed into a nucleus of opposition to the Nazi party and its leader. It is well-known that there is no love lost between the Nazi party and the higher ranks of the German army, representing the old Imperial tradition. There have been Press speculations that the former Chief of the General staff, General Halder, whose relations with Herr Hitler are not very cordial, may be found helpful in such a development. There may be a great deal of wishful thinking in these speculations. But, something that appeared in the London *Times* of September 14 (1942) has been regarded as very significant. It was a write-up of General Halder, "the building up of a personality", as it has been called, of a rival claimant to power in Germany. Speaking of the irreconcilability of the "Potsdam tradition" and that built by the Nazi party, the writer proceeded :

U. S. contact with German Generals ?

"How deep the dividing abyss was, is clearly exemplified by the personal relation between Hitler and Halder. Halder was a staunch Catholic, an ardent supporter of Bruening, and a close associate of the anti-Nazi bishops. He never took the least

interest in the politics of the Third Reich. By nature, Haldar is a scientist—a clever mathematician, and an ardent botanist, out-spoken and fearless, but unquestionably the most able military brain Germany possesses."

Russia playing an independent hand

From a study of indications like these, there appears to be justification for the contention that the "political strategy" of the Anglo-Saxon Powers may endanger the democratic revival and renewal for which millions of men and women have been fighting against reactionary forces in all parts of the world. Axis propagandists have been doing their best and worst to exploit the suspicions created by the policy which has been finding expression through the activities related above. We in India caught up in the coils of arrogance in the high places of the State can enter into the feelings of disillusionment that await the European and American peoples. The Government of the United States has come in for the major part of the blame in this connection ; the British Government is being represented as being helpless in the matter, as being unwillingly dragged into this path by the former. Russia is also being represented as playing an independent hand in the power-politics of this war. She has been setting up governments of certain of the peoples whose territories have been overrun by the conquering hordes of the European Axis Powers, as Britain has been doing since 1939. She is reported to have allowed the formation in her own territory of a parallel government for Poland ; the peasant leader, M. Mikolajezyk is Premier : three other members belong to the Peasants' Party, three to the Socialist Party, two are Catholic Democrats, and two are Moderate Nationalists. The formation of one Polish Division has been announced which will not take orders from London. A "Free Germany" Movement has been working from Russian soil. It has issued a Manifesto to the people of Germany in which occur the following words, carrying a deep significance for the future alignment of forces in Europe during the coming months or years : "Don't leave Hitler's overthrow to the Allied armies, or Germany will lose her national independence and her existence as a State, and will be dismembered."

Allied leadership suspect

We have tried to understand and explain the many forces, personal and impersonal, the many sentiments and ambitions, the many suspicions created by past conflict of interests, amongst European and American peoples that appear to be standing in the way of the fullest co-operation between the Allied Powers. It has yet to be explained why the American State Department should have been "stiffish" towards the "Fighting French" and their leaders. If the facts stated above have even the slightest semblance of truth, we can only fear that the hopes being raised in the hearts of the peoples all the world over, and the promises being made by Allied leaders, will be turning into bitter lies. We in India are concerned in a very distant manner with these moves in the inter-national chess-board. But, being in the war, however unwillingly, we have to take note of these. We have our own argument with one of the leaders of the Allied Powers, and for four years since the outbreak of the present war have been in it without seeing light or the end of it. We know the men we have been

contending with, and what to expect of them. American democracy appears to be realizing consciously and unconsciously that—

"The central suspicion regarding Winston Churchill was that either he did not realize or he did not care to admit, that the war was really global, that on his side the fighting effort, the lives and post-war hopes of many races and colours were involved. Winston Churchill had travelled far to dramatic meetings with Franklin Roosevelt and Josef Stalin. He has closetted himself with high U. S. officers. But he had shown no disposition to draw Russian and Chinese officers into a unified command."

What Africa & Asia felt

This is one side of the problem. The failure of the leadership of the Allied Powers on the field of "political strategy" was brought to the world's attention by Mr. Wendell Willkie in his statement issued from China's war-time capital, Chungking, after his travels through thirteen countries in Africa, Europe, and Asia. He found four things "common" to all the countries that he had visited, to all the people in all countries that he had talked with. These "common" things were their belief in the ultimate victory of the Allied Powers; their intense desire to see the offensive against the Axis Powers started as soon as possible; "they all want a chance at the end of the war to live in liberty and independence"; "they all doubt, in varying degrees, the readiness of the leading democracies of the world to stand up and be counted upon for the freedom of others....." The most important part of his statement was the following:

".....This war is not simply a technical problem for task forces. It is also a war for men's minds. We must organize on our side not simply the sympathies but also the active, aggressive, offensive spirit of nearly three-fourths of the peoples of the world.....We have not done this and, at present, we are not doing this....."

Events in Egypt & Iran

Mr. Willkie had seen and heard enough in the Near East, in the the Middle East and in China to give point to his charge. Other observers were also aware of it. Speaking of the countries in north Africa and round about Arabia, the comments of the *Economist* (London) confirm this verdict: ".....political consideration, not technical convenience (U. S. and British Lend-Lease materials) will decide how the Muslim world reacts to a British defeat. It is useless to pretend that the political omens are very favourable." This was written when Marshal Rommel was the chaser in north Africa, and he had chased the retreating British 325 miles to El Alamein in 11 days. In those days of danger the British occupying army in the Nile valley was taking drastic steps against Egyptian notables. It knew that chafing under British rule, a palace group had developed pro-Axis, specially pro-Italian, sympathies, that sections of the ruling class found pleasure in listening to Axis propaganda, to promises of power in their own land. The ex-premier, Aly Maher Pasha, had been jailed; about 200 "possible Quislings" had been arrested; a padlock had been put on the Cairo Royal Automobile Club which had been a centre of "pro-Axis intrigue." In September (1942), the British had reasons to suspect that the not inconsiderable number of pro-Nazi Iranians, the upper classes of these, had been cornering grain and other food stuffs and withholding these from the markets with a view to foment unrest around the British and the Russians who had been in "token occupation" of the country since the dethronement

of Reza Shah Pelhavi in the autumn of 1941. The United States has been throwing her technical skill and engineering resources to build up at the head of the Persian Gulf ports and supply lines that would be carrying to Russia the instruments of peace and war so much needed by her in her death-struggle with Germany. Anglo-American leaders understood the mind of the Middle East, peopled by men and women of the Muslim faith, as it stood revealed in the comments of the London *Economist* quoted above. And they set about taking measures against any eruption of feeling in the area, as well as against the apprehended German break-through the Caucasus. The British had already had some troops there. But is was felt to be inadequate for the difficulties ahead. And they built up a new army in the area—Palestine, Iraq, Iran—the Tenth Army—with "feverish re-inforcements" from India and the other near-about sources. This they put under General Henry Wilson. The failure of Germany in south Russia and the victories of the Allies in north Africa has kept this army quiet, unused except as recruiting fields for the Eighth Army which under General Montgomery had been driving the *Afrika Korps* of Marshal Rommel into Tunisia. Egyptians, Arabs, and Iranians have also remained quiet, watching with keenness the issue of these battles.

Attitude of Turkey & Saudi Arabia

And it must be recognized in this connection that the attitude of Turkey, the neutrality of Turkey, inclining more towards the Allied Powers, has been playing a dominant hand in keeping them quiet. Mr. Churchill's visit to Turkey on the occasion of his meeting with M. Stalin in Moscow, indicated the movement of political feeling and interest in Turkey which during World War 1 of the 20th century had fought against Britain and her allies How and why Turkey has been able to keep herself neutral, the weighing of the many material factors that has kept her so, will be known when the history of the present war comes to be written. It has required no little skill in the leaders of the Turkish State to maintain her neutrality, courted as she has been both by the Axis and the Allied Powers. We would like it to believe that her present rulers have accepted without mental reservations the lesson taught her people by the maker of new Turkey, Kemal Ata-Turk, that conquest of alien lands and rule over alien peoples do not ultimately pay, that Turkish imperialism under the Sultans has been a curse to the Turkish people. Another factor that must have used its influence in keeping this region quiet is the mystery man of Arabia, King Ibn Saud of Riyadah. He has been maintaining an attitude of friendliness to Britain. We know that it was Britain's help that has enabled this desert chieftain to become the most powerful of the Arab chiefs, to defeat the House of Sheriff Hosseyn of Mecca which had aspired to the leadership and Caliphate of the Muslims of the world. History does not, however, say that political gratitude has a long lease of life. We must seek in history for the causes of Arab quietness during this four-years' turmoil round about them. British diplomacy may be one of these ; the finance-capital of the United States which has been enabling Saudi Arabia to utilize and bring out of the bowels of her desert earth the oil and other natural resources of the country may be another.

We have attempted above to indicate the tendency of the many developments that have brightened the prospects of the Allied nations in the European and African theatres of war. We have also had to point out to the many difficulties that Anglo-American diplomacy has been piling up for the war-scarred peoples of Europe. But the blame does not lie on their side alone. The accumulated resentments and prejudices of twenty years cannot be erased in the course of a few months. Mr. Churchill, one of the greatest of Bolshevik baiters, may for the sake of expediency forget what he did to Russia and said with regard to the ways and practices of the rulers of Russia ; M. Stalin for identical reasons may forget this past. But this recent past lives and influences thought and conduct in the living present. To this past we must trace the differences that have been described above, that have arisen between members of the "United Nations". The Allies have also their grievances against Russia. One of these was referred to by an Allied weekly in the following terms :

Allied grievance against Russia

"Stalin has shown no emotional involvment in the British and United States cause.....While new sympathy has blazed through Britain and the United States for the heroic Russian people, the Kremlin has done little to stimulate Russian interest in the democracies and their aspirations, save only in the matter of destroying Hitler ....the democracies' aspirations are not, after all, the aspirations of the Kremlin."

Admiral William Standley, U. S. ambassador to Russia, created a minor sensation when in course of a statement to the Press he drew attention to another aspect of this matter—Russian indifference to Allied interests and aspirations. He complained that the ruling class of Russia did not let their people know of the volume and variety of the help that had been flowing into their country from Allied countries. The attempt to keep them in ignorance of this help is not a minor grievance. It stems out of the differences in ideals and practices during the last twenty years between Soviet Russia and the "pluto-democracies" of the west. And even during the last two years, since the Nazi eruption into Russia and the unasked eagerness with which the western countries have run to the help of the former, there has not been that "easy confidence" between them that alone can make this Grand Alliance a rock on which can be reared the "new order" of human equality and dignity. It is not for us to apportion blame or praise at the present stage of our half-knowledge of men and matters in the field of international affairs. But there cannot be any manner of doubt that the joint family known as the "United Nations" suffers from discords and differences.

One of the most prominent of these has been forced on the knowledge of the world by the controversy between India and Britain that has reached a new bitterness since the beginning of the present war when the Indian National Congress as the organ voice of India's national aspirations for freedom and equality in the comity of modern nations claimed to know her position in the ranks of those States which have been swearing by freedom and democracy in their fight against the Axis Powers. Since the victories of Japan over Britain, the United States and Holland in east Asia, and her threat to India, this claim has become more insistent. And the response

United Nations & the Indo-British problem

of Britain has not been as hearty as would have enthused the heart and soul of India to throw herself into the struggle for decency in human relations. The other member-States among the "United Nations" have been helpless but anxious witnesses to this quarrel in their house-hold, because it has been felt that the Indo-British controversy was a domestic concern with which the other members of the "United Nations" could not interfere. And these Powers headed by the United States of America appeared to have accepted this contention, to have agreed to say nothing with regard to the "stubborn insistence" of the British that the Indian problem was the "sole concern of Mr. Amery's India Office." But even British conscience does not appear to be satisfied with this plea, as the extract from an article in U. S. papers goes to show. The writer was Miss Maude Royden, "Britain's foremost woman preacher".

"India was no longer the concern of the British Empire solely, nor of the people of India alone.....Every sizeable political party in India, every leader of such a party, demands the forming of a national government in India and the transferring to it of power without limit (except for Wavell's conduct of the war) *at once.*

".....Americans can do more than any other people to create an atmosphere in which new approaches can be made with some hope of success if they themselves appreciate the difficulties ....".

We will have something more to say, in more detail, of this matter in a subsequent part of this study when we deal with India's "home polity" proper. India is not the only failure in the political strategy of the "United Nations", of their leaders who happen to be the United States and Britain. More significant is their treatment of China. The New York weekly—*Time*—reported in one of its issues during the first two weeks of January, 1943, that the "United Nations had lost a campaign" in Washington. We summarize below its description of this episode. From Chungking, Generalisimo Chiang Kai-shek sent orders that the Chinese Military Mission which came to the U. S. A. last April—to plan a united strategy against the Jap in the Far East—should return home. "No explanation was given. None was needed." Every one who had followed the work of the Mission in Washington knew that "it had been ignored and rebuffed." No doubt, its leader, General Hsiung Shih-fei, had been "assured a place at the tables where 'United Nations' high strategy is made." He presented his credentials to the President, met the U. S. Army Chief of Staff General Marshall and Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Navy Admiral King ; he set up an office in a modest house at Embassy Row in Washington ; covered its walls with maps ; got ready to proffer his precious information on the war in the Far East. But "nothing happened.....No invitation to sit in on the councils arrived." When news of his recall reached the White .House, "a hurried telephone call" went to the Mission's office—"very nearly the first time the telephone had rung there in nine months." General Hsiung, "finally, received an invitation to talk" to the President. With his interpreter he went to the White House, "cooled his heels for half an hour, finally spoke to the President." The story related here can have but one interpretation—that given to it by the Chinese philosopher and author, Lin Yu-tang—

Treatment of China

"Let me ask the American people a question : Why should not General Hsiung leave ? Of what use can his presence in Washington be to the Allied

cause—since the leaders of the United Nations appear to be far from ready to share with China a unified strategy against Japan ? The enormous reservoir of good-will between China and America is being severely drawn upon.....

China's sufferings

This episode and this statement of the non-political Chinese philosopher reveal a state of things that cannot make happy any man of good will in the world. Russia is not satisfied with the political strategy of the "United Nations" ; China is not satisfied with the way things are being managed in relation to Allied help to her, devastated as she is by six years of war ; India is bitter with the State policy that has allowed a feeling of frustration to invade the mind of her people, and reduce their activities to incoherent protests and outbursts. Thus about a hundred crore of men and women, about half of the world's population, are not being allowed to pull their full weight in the fight between good and evil that has been going on for the last four years. In the Pacific area where Japan has won resounding victories, where she has been exploiting the wealth of human and natural resources of one of the richest spots of the earth for organising her resistance to the Allied offensive that would be coming in the near future, the real and effective spear-head of this offensive, which must be China, is being kept blunted, as this episode of the recall of the Chinese Military Mission from Washington testifies. The failure of the United States and Britain to halt Japan has put China into greater danger than in any period during the first three years of Japan's aggression on her. The report of the New York weekly, *Time*, in its issue of July 13 (1942) tells a story that should have warned Britain and the United States that their "complacency about China" was dangerous. To the people of India it presents a familiar experience.

"China's whole national fabric, corroded by the Japanese attrition, has in "the past seven months undergone terrible moral and material shocks. She has found that the Allies, instead of alleviating her position, has increased her immediate difficulties ten-fold. She is bewildered by the crushing defeats America and Britain have suffered."

"Educated patriots in the big cities have a bogged-down, fatalistic faith in the victory of the 'United Nations', but though they hate to admit it they are impressed by Japanese successes.....The coolie-in-the-street is beginning to feel uncertain about the outcome of the war."

Successes gained by China

Since these words were published there have been a lightening of the clouds over Allied prospects in the different fronts of this world-wide war. We have told of Russia and north Africa. In China also there has been some little progress to report. For weeks during the spring and summer the Japanese had been pushing along the Hangchow-Nanchang Railway with a view to reaching two objectives : (1) a safe supply-line by land all the way from Shanghai to Indo-China bases ; (2) destruction of air-bases from which U. S. planes could bomb Tokyo. But the Chinese frustrated this attempt. They wrested 135 miles of the Railway, and after a two-weeks' siege occupied Linchwan ; the Japanese had to evacuate Wenchow, one of the only two sizeable sea ports left to China, which had been "an important secret Chinese supply base", to quote the *Domei*, the officially-controlled Japanese News Agency. In the first week of September (1942) Tokyo made an attempt to explain this evacuation ; troops were being withdrawn from Chekiang and Kiangsi provinces "to secure.....a position for future action." But other failures required better explanation. In the last week of August,

the Chinese pushed the enemy back through Chekiang province and re-took two of the finest military airdromes in China ; one at Lishui, only 700 miles from the great naval base of Nagasaki ; the other at Chuhsien, only a "few bomber steps further."

Play of what power politics ?

But at the back door of China the British offensive at the end of the monsoon sickened and died. For about three months, Rothedaung, Buthedaung, Maungpow, and Akyab occupied intermittent places in newspapers as points of attack where battalions directed by General Wavell were testing the strength of the Japanese formations that were poised there for an attack on India. In the February number of *Asia & The Americas*, Eliot Janeway made a study of the causes that had led to the failure of this attempt. To beat the Japanese the Allies would have to fight their way through all the "key countries" that they have occupied.

"The Anglo-American High Command wants Japan beaten, but it wants to beat Japan itself. At best it visualizes the employment of the Chinese as auxiliaries and of China as a terminal and a landing field when the time come for a counter offensive."

".....The foray into Burma was undertaken without the co-operation of the Chinese. General Wavell is not merely a British Commander ; he is a ranking 'United Nations' personage. And yet he has not drawn the Chinese into his plans. He has availed himself of neither their limitless man-power nor of their priceless experience and resourcefulness in fighting the Japanese in this primitive type of terrain.....

"The formula for beating the Japanese in the decisive area close to their home waters has stared us in the face for years. It is U. S. equipment plus Chinese man-power and know-how—nothing more complicated than that."

Chinese forces east of the Salween

If there be any truth in this example of non-co-operation, it simply continued the policy that had actuated the British High Command to refuse to accept Chinese help when the Japanese were moving into Malaya in December, 1942. And the fact becomes strange when we are told that a battle-hardened Chinese force was not very far off, waiting to be called upon to take a hand in the fight against the common enemy. Six months ago, that is, in the month of May or June, when the invading army was crossing the Salween river on their drive up the Burma Road, "crack units of China's Army rushed in and drove the Japs back across the river ; then they took up a 200-mile long position on the Salween's east bank." During the terrible summer heat and the torrential rains of this "pestilential country", they settled down to what has been called "a night-mare existence." All about were mountain ranges rising thousands of feet high into the air, dropping perpendicularly into the Salween, which the natives of the country call *Wu-ti-Ho*—the River without Bottom. "In the jungles with the Chinese were leopards and tigers, pythons that swallowed whole live hogs, monkeys that stole soldiers' food, wolves that.....tried to steal dead soldiers.....Some of the natives, ceremoniously neutral, stalked the Japanese with poisoned arrows ; some hunted the heads of unwary Chinese." The sufferings of the Chinese was made worse by malaria. "This was the worst malaria spot in the world" ; the death-rate from this fell disease was higher than from combats between armed forces. The Japanese, however, were better off as they had the southern end of the Burma Road

over which they could transport medicine and other material, move their men back into hospitals. This description gives us an idea of how the Allied troops on their side of the Indian border must have suffered. But the sufferings of the Chinese went for nothing ; they had been continuing their useless vigil when the British were trying to push into Arracan. For more than three months, since November (1942), newspapers were featuring the names of places in Arracan where brave deeds were being done, and the Japanese were being pushed back into Burma, the preliminary step for the conquest of Burma. The newspapers and official speculations and anticipations miscarried, and the British had to withdraw, defeated in their attempt to capture Akyab and make it the starting-point of an all-out attack on Burma. And the Chinese forces did not have a call to make a simultaneous move and put the Japanese between two fires.

The strategic positions of the opposing forces

This pattern of stale-mate in the main-land of Asia was not to any appreciable degree relieved by doings in any another front in the Pacific area. Almost at the beginning of the period of six months the events and developments of which supply materials for this study in the pages of the *Indian Annual Register*, Mr. Forde, the minister of defence in the Australian Commonwealth, issued a statement in course of which he is reported to have said that the Japanese with hundreds of planes and 2,50,000 troops in the perimeter stretching from Timor to Rabaul were in full readiness to launch an attack on Australia. But the Japanese did not appear to have had any such intention. Allied strategy did not afford them this opportunity. The Commander-in-chief of the U. S. Navy, Admiral King, had directed the consolidation of a sea line beyond which the Japanese were not to be allowed "to pass." The line ran straight from Dutch Harbour in north Pacific to Samoa-Fiji, taking the Midway Island at almost in the middle ; from Samoa it turned west to New Caledonia. The Japanese were established at Kiska and Attu in the Aleutian group of islands. The possession of the Marcus, the Wake, the Marshall islands and the Gilbert islands allowed them to draw a line opposite the U. S. line which the Allied forces, naval and air, had not been able to pass. The Japanese attack on Dutch Harbour on June 3 (1942) warned U. S. fighting chiefs that it was "the lesser prong of a double assault on the western rim of U. S. out-post." It had achieved a measure of success : Kiska gave Japan a potential submarine base, enough flat terrain to build an air base on, within bombing range of Dutch Harbour and other Alaskan bases. We know by the time we write these lines that the Japanese have not been able to exploit these advantages ; they are reported to have surreptitiously left those outposts. In the battle of Midway "the greater prong" of the Jap thurst had beed blunted in course of the 4 days battle (June 3—7). The Japanese were, however, busy in the south, round about the Solomon islands. Guadalcanal, Buna, Gona, Lae, Salamua, the Owen Stanley mountain, Port Moresby, the Buna Mission—all these un-heard-of names filled columns of newspapers during the months which we have been reviewing.

It was not easy to understand the tactics of the opposing forces. Three quotations will explain the difficulty in the way of lay men making anything out of these.

Not easy to understand

"Japanese feints and lunges at the Aleutians, the China sea board, the northeastern frontiers of India, the northern fringes of Australia, and at Russia's far eastern borders, bound the Allies in a web of contradictory plans and policies."

"The Allies, dispersing their forces to meet the enemy wherever he was, in essence let the Axis General Staffs determine the Grand Strategy of the war.

"Plainly the Japanese were suffering more from their dispersals than the Allies suffered at points of specific action last week (last week of August, 42)."

These commentaries were hard to reconcile with the rebuff that the Japanese forces had inflicted on the U. S. and Australian naval forces at the battle of the Solomons that opened on the 7th of August. 3 heavy U. S. cruisers—*Quincey*, *Vincennes*, and *Astoria*—were sunk ; the Australian cruiser *Canberra* and four transports were also sunk. Admiral King in course of a statement has acknowledged that in the Coral Sea-Solomons series of actions his Pacific Navy suffered a loss of 3 air-craft carriers, 7 cruisers, and 13 destroyers ; he claimed that the Imperial Japanese Navy suffered during the same actions the loss of 1 carrier, 12 cruisers, 1 battleship and 17 destroyers. A U. S. commentrator passed judgment on this statement that "in the terms of the remaining U. S. and Japanese strength—the only terms that count—this balance is favourable to the U. S. in every category except carriers, but the net effect on Pacific sea power is decidedly less than the bare figures from recent actions indicated." We have also to remember that in all their expansions to the south and the west, from Wake to Burma and from Luzon to the Solomons, the Japanese had not probably used more than 2,00,000 men, while China and Russia have tied up 12,00,000 of their men. This story does not bear out the contention that the Japanese have fared worse during the last six months of 1942.

Six months sea & air battles

And at the end of the year the problem remained—the Japanese remained in possession of almost all the farflung territories that they had occupied from the A. B. C. D. Powers. They had been beaten back in their attempt to recapture the Solomons ; they had inflicted grievous hurt on the U. S. Navy ; they had forced on their opponents the tactics of "inching" through the thousands of islets of the mid-Pacific towards the heart of their defense arrangements stationed round about their island-home ; by the end of 1942 they had been able to re-drill all the oil wells that their enemies had wrecked in Burma and the East Indies ; 55 ships had been scuttled in the Batavia harbour ; 50 days of hard labour are said to have opened the harbour to ships of 10,000 tons and less ; in the Surabaya harbour they had been refloating 219 ships "at the rate of 1 a day." In the field of industrial possibilities they held 7,500,000 of the world's 84,00,000 acres of rubber, "many of them left intact by the British and Dutch planters." In administration they had set up a college of colonial administration for the training of Japanese young men and women who would be taking up the burden of administering the "co-prosperity" area of east Asia for the benefit of the "Divine House" and the

Japan's successes & failures

divine people. They had set up all the paraphernalia of administration-cum-exploitation that is the mark and note of modern imperialism whether it tries to pass itself off as the "white man's burden" or concern for the "co-prosperity" of all the peoples of east Asia.

Allied failure to appreciate China's role

The competing imperialism of the western peoples—British, French, Dutch, and American principally, is up against this new competitor which explains much of the many causes that have led to the outburst of war in eastern Asia. And the leaders of the western peoples have found that with this fight of theirs the fight for self-preservation of the Chinese people can be made to coincide. Therefore is it that after China has been fighting single-handed for 42 months against the Japanese, we find these Powers toppling over one another in their anxiety to render help to her. But they do not appear to have yet realized the needs of this part of the world-wide front. A writer in the New York monthly—*Asia & the Americas*—has indicated this problem for us in the following terms :

"Our problem would enormously be simplified if we simply regarded China's unequipped army as *the* United Nations Asiatic land army ; and our anti-Japanese effort in south-eastern Asia and the Far East were to be concentrated upon supplying that army with adequate quantities of modern equipment.

"Thus far, the Japanese have proved themselves superior to relatively well-equipped British Imperial troops. They have proven themselves *barely* superior to unarmed Chinese troops. It is almost certain that, the land equipment of the Japanese being what it is, Chinese troops fighting with modernized equipment can rout them."

Help to her desperately inadequate

Since these words were written (at the beginning of 1943), more than six months have passed, and the Allied Powers do not appear to have been able to accept the logic of the suggestion made above. There was the "Chungking Ferry", no doubt ; from the posts of India it carried everything : bombs, guns, other arms, medical supplies, even gasoline for "the thin stores of China.' In successive despatches by U. S. correspondents the "military supply situation" was described as "desperate". A sample of these may be given here.

"Lend-Lease stuff from the U. S. is piled up in India. Planes, flying over the Himalayas at heights where ice forms on the wings and pilots need oxygen tanks, cannot carry big enough pay loads to dent the Indian piles Moreover, planes are often grounded and are far too few. If there is anything more than a political gesture behind the sending of American transports, they will have to appear in far greater quantities than at present—(*Time*, July 13, 1942).

What has enabled China to carry on

The meaning of these deficiencies in terms of the limbs and life of China's combatants and civil population, only the leaders of China could know. They felt it in their innermost bones. But publicly they were all gratefulness. On the 2nd of June (1942) was signed the Chinese Lend-Lease agreement at Washington, and the Generalissimo hastened to pledge to the people of the U S. "word that given 10 per cent of the equipment you produce in America, the Chinese Army will reap for you 100 per cent of the desired result." He made no secret, however, of the handicap under which their armies and people have been carrying on. They lacked "planes, artillery and tanks". He also told the world how they have been carrying on, what has enabled them to carry on. "What has sustained us and made it

possible for us to continue to resist has been the adoption of what I might term 'magnetic strategy', which consists in attracting the enemy to the interior, bogging him there, and holding him at bay by the more vital factor of morale."

Has been told in the China Book

This morale has been self-induced in China as a result of the many activities that the Chinese nationalists since the days of Sun Yat-sen have been starting to mould their people into the heroic mould required for living a self-respecting life amid the conflicts and complications of the modern world. Certain of these activities have been described for us in the book—*China after Five Years of War*—published by the Information Ministry of the Chinese Government, amongst which the "New Life Movement," initiated by the Generalissimo, occupies a prominent place. Outside help and encouragement play no inconsiderable a part in strengthening people's morale. This help and encouragement does not, however, flow disinterestedly into individual or group life. In the case of China also there has been more of talk than of concrete action by the leading western nations who were in a position to help.

What western nations did to her

For a hundred years she has suffered all the miseries of a weak nation surrounded by others who were more anxious to exploit her weaknesses than to hold her up. There were infractions of her sovereignty in political, financial, and administrative life; "special privileges" were extracted from her weak rulers; her marine customs were administered by foreigners headed by the British who had sunk more than 400 hundred crores of rupees in the manufactures and trades of China; foreigners were taken out of the jurisdiction of China's courts. The awakened self-respect of the country has been chafing at these insults and injuries; and the removal of these has been one of the planks in the platform of the Chinese Nationalist Movement, whether moderate or extremist, the head of the "puppet" Government at Nanking not excepted. For decades and years there have been discussions and exchange of notes between the Chinese Government and representatives of the foreign Governments for the removal of these eye sores. Japan's aggression on China has by the stroke of the sword abolished these so far as the western Powers were concerned. Even the insults heaped on British men and women at Tientsin by the Japanese soldiery in 1939 did not awaken them to the necessity of hastening the end of these injustices and thereby making friends with China and enlisting her help in the fight with Japan for the hegemony of east Asia that was becoming inevitable. But it was only after Japan has swept all traces of their domination out of the area that the western Powers did feel impelled to make a definite move in the matter.

Announcement of October 10

An announcement was made on October 10, 1942, the 31st anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic, that the United States and Britain were willing to abandon the "special privileges" that they have been enjoying for about a hundred years at the expense of China's self-respect and of her intimate mate-

rial interests. The Generalissimo in a statement that was telegraphed from Chungking on October 13 expressed to the British Prime Minister appreciation of the "voluntary abandonment of obsolete privileges"; to the President of the United States he expressed on behalf of his people rejoicings at "the American voluntary abolition of extra-territoriality," and thanked the two politicians for "assisting China to win equality among the United Nations."

The regime of "extra-territoriality"

Though China does not gain anything now by this renunciation, the act has been regarded as an effective psychological gesture. It is recognized that with the Japanese in possession of the most important eastern provinces of China where modern industrialism has established itself most, many of the injustices of the unequal regime will not be eliminated till the invader has been thrown out of the country. It is necessary, therefore, to understand and explain the history of the regime that at every step offended China's national self-respect and injured her material life. The privilege of "extra-territoriality" was first secured by the western Powers, specially Britain, France and the United States, by treaties concluded after China's defeat in the "Opium War" between the years 1842 and 1844. The meaning of "extra-territoriality" is that foreigners enjoying the right are not subject to the laws and courts of China, but could be sued or tried only in their own courts specially set up in China for the purpose. This built up a system of little States within the Chinese State. It was only in 1926 that Britain agreed that she was prepared to make British residents subject to the new codes and laws of Republican China. In proof of their sincerity the British concessions at Hankow, Chinkiang, and Kinkiang were handed back. The restoration to China of the British concession of Weihaiwei which had been promised during the Washington Conference of 1921 was delayed till 1930 owing to the internal troubles in the country. In the year following, negotiations for the abolition of "extra-territoriality" on the part of Britain over the whole of China began; an agreement was initialled, but owing to the invasion of Manchuria by Japan these could not be concluded. The announcement made on October 10 made an end of the regime. An interpreter has under-lined the implications of this step taken by the two leaders of the western world:

> "It is a fulfilment of the pledge made .....years ago to surrender all British concessions and special privileges in China; it is the first formal announcement of Anglo-American co-operation in planning for the future of the Pacific; it represents a direct challenge to Japan's 'co-prosperity sphere' and the psychological spearhead of the coming British and United States offensive against the Japanese.

Why "extra-territoriality" was demanded

We have also been told the reasons that forced the foreigners to demand these exemptions. When these privileges were extracted from China these were felt to be necessary as Chinese jurisdiction was not adequate to deal with foreign litigants and those accused of crime. But during the "troubled" days of the 19th century these foreign concessions developed into "foreign citadels" in which Chinese officials and police could not function and in which even Chinese

residents were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of their own Government. It was a situation which no self-respecting people could be expected to tolerate for long. After a century of insults China is on the way to equality and dignity in the comity of nations. The announcement has called forth comments from even Conservative papers that, we would be happy to believe, betokened a real change of spirit. "It is a recognition of the strength and vitality of the new China that has sprung from the revolution of 1911", says the London *Times*; "it registers an acknowledgment of the Chinese claim to participate in full and equal rights in the deliberations of those who will one day discuss the future ordering of a liberated world."

The clauses of renunciation

It becomes possible to understand the significance of the treaty, signed by the British Government in the beginning of 1943, giving effect to the announcement made in October (1942), if we quote certain of its clauses. Art. 2 of the treaty abrogated "all those provisions of treaties or agreements in force which authorized His Majesty's Government to exercise jurisdiction over nationals or companies of His Majesty in the territory of the Republic of China." Another provision indicated the willingness on the part of the Allies to take necessary measures "for the transfer and control to China of the diplomatic quarter at Peiping..... of the international settlements at Amoy and Shanghai." The reversion of Tientsin and Canton was also agreed to. It should also be told that the extra-territorial rights of Germany, Russia and Austria had been surrendered soon after the first World War.

Prospects in the immediate future

We have tried to bring into a focus all the factors, favourable and unfavourable, that confront the Allied Powers as they meet the new year of 1943. Writing in the August of this year (1943) it is not possible to ignore or remain uninfluenced by the developments in the Mediterranean area that appear to promise them victory in Europe. In the Pacific area they have been "inching" towards the strategic positions that Japan has been occupying since the middle of 1942. Just north of Australia we still hear of fights for Lae and Salamua in New Guinea. These and Rabaul in New Britain go to show that the flow of men and munitions from the United States to Australia and further west through the south Pacific and the Indian Ocean are not quite free, that Japan's "defence in depth", organized round about the Marianas and the Marshall Islands in which the name of Truk has been appearing in many of the despatches from this front, stands yet unchallenged. The attack directed against Japan in Burma has had to retire. China fights on with the trickles of help that have been flowing into her from the U. S. A. We have also been told how the Allies propose to bring home to the people of Japan the sorrows and sufferings of war, as these have been experienced by the Chinese. During the last war as well as in the present the people of Germany and Japan, the latter more than the former, have not come face to face with conditions which would tell them of the horrors of war; their leaders have been able to keep war from their home lands. And the opinion amongst Allied military men is being increasingly shared by other men who can influence opinion and direct popular feeling and thought that unless the Germans and the Japanese

are made to taste in their homes all the abominations that they have released on Europe and the mainland and islands of Asia, they would not learn decency and manners in inter-national affairs ; that a mere military, naval or air defeat far away from their home fronts would not be able to convince them that wars did not pay ; that wars were not all glory and flag-waving ; that wars in the modern age intrude into the homes of civilians, maim and kill innocent people, and postpone the arrival of better life that science has been holding before people to hope for and achieve. These arguments have been preparing the world for more horrors spread over more countries before it is done with the politicians and financiers in every major country who are the real war-mongers. The High Command of the Allied Powers, we have been told, is busy preparing such an offensive. We in India who read of these things in books and papers can only watch the march of events, without being able to influence it one way or the other.

Japan must be taught "a terrible lesson"

But these method of teaching manners cannot be expected to have an abiding effect. The two World Wars that we have passed through do not end the catalogue of wars that have disfigured human history and caused ruin to peoples. Punishment of aggressors, as is being contemplated now, has also found place in the records of many countries. But human beings have remained unrepentent and unteachable. Prophets and saints have been striving through the centuries to educate our kind into kindness and humanity. They have not been much of a success. During the last hundred years since science showed that mankind could be freed from conditions of competition for bare existence—one of the most fertile breeding grounds of battles and wars—men and women have been dreaming dreams that the Parliament of men and the Federation of the world were near at hand ; they have been hoping that science would be enabling us to remove these conditions of competition ; that the study of human psychology would be revealing springs of action that could help us to transform and sublimate human nature, and thus enable us to throw off our brute inheritance. Since the outbreak of the World War II. of the 20th century the stupidity and horrors of war which is indistinguishable from mass suicide have revealed themselves more poignantly to the human conscience. And men of vision in warring countries have been trying to analyse all the causes, mental and material, that inflame men and women to consent to their politicians and administrators plunging them into wars in which they will be making the greatest sacrifices in life and limb, in labour and in taxes. The method of punishment has, therefore, to be modified if we are to have a better order of things in the coming years. Men of peace who have been thinking on lines of punishment do not feel happy with their own prescription. Professor Nathaniel Peffer may be taken as a representative of this class. He is associate professor of International Relations at the Columbia University (U .S. A.) In his book—*Basis for Peace in the Far East*—he felt it to be necessary "to carry the war to Japan, to leave ruins on Japanese soil, to destroy the principal Japanese cities and break down the industrial mechanism ;" she must be "taught a terrible lesson." Japan, lying in an area of

weaker nations, has been able to do all the fighting on other people's soil ; so has been Germany.

"It is other countrysides that are scarred ; others' villages that are devastated, with men, women and children slaughtered alike ; it is others who must live out their lives among ruins. For Japan the safe and satisfying adventure closes with martial celebrations and emotional statisfaction. Only if much of their country is devastated can the Japanese learn that war is a terrible business....."

But this does not end the story. It will be necessary to take measures to enable the Japanese to work, to live and prosper. "This is the second requirement for the Far Eastern peace." A nation as large and as virile as the Japanese cannot be expected to keep the peace for long "if its elemental needs are not satisfied." To the case of Germany these same principles and policies should apply. Japan lies at one door of a continent that has illimitable natural resources and that has half the population of the world as potential purchasers of things "made in Japan." Germany, lying at the centre of Europe, looking in the east to the illimitable land-mass reaching the Pacific and feeling barred from the west by the established imperialism of Britain, with the highest industrial potential in the power of work of her people, cannot be denied "her place in the sun" ; defeated or victorious the Allied Powers will have to make the same provisions that have been proposed for the expanding desires and necessities of Japan. Mr. Wallace, Vice-President of the United States, posed this question in course of a programme broadcast to commemorate the late President Wilson's birth-day—"What are we to do with the defeated nations ?"

U. S. Vice-President on the future

"Revenge for the sake of revenge would be a sign of barbarism ; but this time we must make absolutely sure that the guilty leaders are punished and the defeated nation realizes her defeat and is not permitted to rearm. Military disarmament will have to be backed up with psychological disarmament—supervision or at least inspection of Japanese and German school 'systems to undo as far possible the diabolical work of Hitler and Japanese war lords in poisoning the minds of the young."

"The economic problem of peace is summed up by the average man in a nutshell—if every body can be given a war-time job now why not in peace-time production ? The returning soldier and sailor will demand an answer. A common meeting ground on which people of the entire world can stand is the security of plain folks against depression and against war. To unite against these two evils is not really sacrificing anything but only a common-sense facing of facts of the world in which we live."

This rather long quotation puts the thoughts and aspirations of ninety-nine per cent of the world's population in simple language for the guidance of their rulers. Unless these can be put into practice in the laws and enactments of the States, and made into patterns in the life of every man and woman, the blood, tears, and sweat of millions will have been in vain. In the pre-occupations of the war, rulers of States may not like to commit themselves into anything more than declarations that may lose all meaning in the conditions of the after-war period. But the basic necessities that Mr. Wallace indicated in his speech cannot be disregarded without an outburst of revolt from the peoples whose patriotism, Allied and Axis, would bring the war to some sort of a close. But it has been contended that humans

Science & World planning

did not live by bread alone; they have their desires, ambitions and idealisms that divert them from the pursuit of the material needs of life alone. These desires, ambitions and idealisms seek to take shape in the institutions of social life, whether these be confined within a State or be extended over many countries, near or far. Thought-leaders all the world over are convinced that human life must be organized on a wider basis than at present They have been thinking and talking of a "world council", of "regional councils" that would help the former to function properly. They have been calling on their peoples to realize the futility and harmfulness of economic policies and practices that have been sigmatized as "high tariff, penny-pinching" isolationism. Dr. Hu Shih, lately Chinese ambassador at Washington, one of the thought-leaders amongst our neighbours, has told us how "science and technology have made the world a physical unity."

"But man's backwardness in political thinking and planning has failed miserably to consolidate this physically unified world into a political and moral world-community."

World-wide doubts & questionings

Why humans have failed in this worth-while adventure, it is difficult to find in the many writings that have been devoted to explaining the discontents and difficulties of the modern world. One can go on repeating their arguments without satisfying doubts that have been assailing all thinking minds. There is no doubt that almost all human institutions have been challenged to-day to state their reasons for existence, to justify their ways to the conscience of modern humanity. Democracy which was heralded into the world with such rosy promises and hopes has failed to meet the needs of modern men and women. Totalitarianism has made its way into human affairs But it is on its trial. Candid friends of democracy are apologetic with regard to its regime which during the 19th century, specially, may be said to have been started by the American Revolution overthrowing British rule over the greater part of North American continent. The many interpreters of historical developments who have been testing the promises of democracy in the crucible of human happiness on this earth, of the happiness of the widest commonalty of the world, do not find all the patterns of its life suitable for securing that happiness. They have given reasons why a Napoleon and a Hitler should have emerged into the leadership of their respective peoples.

Napoleon & Hitler did a necessary work

One of the latest of these, Mr. Edward Carr, one of the chief editorial writers of the London *Times*, "one of the brain-trusters" around Mr. Churchill, has in his book —*Conditions of Peace*—made a distinction between "liberal democracy' and "mass democracy", between propertied citizens and property-less citizens. And the latter being in the majority under the dispensation of modern industrialism hold the balance of power in almost every country in the western countries. Their relation to the State "is that of beneficiaries." And it is the needs and requirements of these men and women which have called from the lower strata of society rulers of many of the States. To this development Mr. Carr refers in the following words:

"Just as Napoleon exploited the demand for liberty and equal political rights expressed in the French Revolution, so Hitler exploits for his purposes the demand

for social equality and equal economic rights expressed in the Bolshevik Revolution .....Hitler has consummated the work which Marx and Lenin had begun, of overwhelming the 19th century capitalist system."

The political & economic unity of Europe

It would be difficult to persuade people in the Allied countries to appreciate, as Mr. Carr has done, the work that Herr Hitler has been doing in the scheme of modern European nations—"the perhaps indispensible function of sweeping away the litter of the old war." But Europe will have to live with the German nation, take them along and be taken along by them to the "new order" of opportunity opened to all, and dignity conferred on all as human beings. In a previous volume of the *Indian Annual Register*, we have referred to the constructive possibilities that lie hidden behind the destructive activities of the Nazi party and its leader—the organization of the European continent as a unit, politically and economically. To this possibility also does Mr. Carr refer when he said,

"Europe should have had its network of frontiers battered down long ago, and merely because the job has been done by totalitarians is no reason why it should be undone by the United Nations in their hour of victory."

Warring nations & "global basis" of reconstruction

The work of post-war reconstruction envisaged in books like these has also to take note of the contribution that Soviet Russia will be called upon to make towards the solution of the many complex problems that will be raising their heads as soon as the "stop fire" order goes over all the battle fronts. It is no use denying that the leading members of the "United Nations" in Europe and America—Britain, Russia and the United States—are not yet *ek dil*, of one mind, with regard to this vast subject. In the atmosphere of angry emotionalism generated by the war, many things are being said by the leaders of the warring nations that would have to be unsaid when peace plans will have to be put into force, when warring nations will have to sit down to the hard work of re-construction of the devastated life of millions. This work cannot be done piece-meal, confined to little patches of soil, but must embrace all the countries of all the continents. Mr. Wendell Willkie pointed out in a broadcast to his people after his "grand tour" through thirteen countries in Africa, Europe and Asia the "global basis" of this reconstruction work :

"We must fight our way through not alone to the destruction of our enemies but to the new world idea. To win peace three things seem to be necessary : We must plan for a peace on a global basis. Secondly, the world must be free, economically and politically. Thirdly, America must play an active constructive part in freeing it and keeping it at peace. Our boasting and big talk leave Asia cold. Men and women in Russia, China, and the Middle East are conscious of their own potential strength. They are coming to know that many decisions about the future of the world lie in their hands."

How India comes into the picture

Here we have the sketch of a necessary work that must be done, and done so well that the world may not have again to go through the experiences of the last four years. In this work the co-operation of all is necessary, of the great as well of the small. Who will do the thinking and the supervising of this work, on what principle it will have to be moulded—these are the real war aims that have not yet been

defined. Failure to do so on the part of the leaders of the Allied Powers has been "losing friends" for them, to quote Mr. Willkie again ; by "the silence on the part of the United States toward the problem of Indian independence, we have already drawn heavily on the reservoir of good will in the East" ; "India is our problem ;.....in the same sense the Philippines are a British problem." The clarification of the war aims, as attempted here by Mr. Willkie, goes to the heart of the matter. It is not claimed that it exhausts the subject, that there are not any other subject that should find a place in the catalogue. Another thought-leader of the United States, Prof. Frederick Schuman, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government, Williams College (Massachuchets) approached the problem in the same spirit in course of a letter to the New York weekly—*Time* He drew attention to the way in which Lord Linlithgow's Government outlawed the Indian National Congress "at a time when no overt act of disobedience had taken place". But the words that pushes India into the heart of the argument framed by Mr. Willkie are the following :

"India has become the acid test of our fitness to survive. To fail here is to fail everywhere. To succeed here is to prove the truth of the President's words : We of the United Nations have the power and the men and the will at last to assure man's heritage."

China's anxiety about the deadlock in India

From another member of the "United Nations" rose voices pleading for the solution of the Indo-British problem. A U. S. paper in its issue of September 21 (1942) reported that Dr. T. E. Siang, Director of Political Affairs in China, had stated the position of his country in reference to this problem—it was not a British domestic question, but a moral issue concerning "not only all the United Nations, but the future prospect of the future world order." In the last volume of the *Annual Register* we have shown how the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek undertook an arduous journey to India with a view to influence both the British authorities and the representative men of India to make it up. Even the failure of the Cripps Mission does not appear to have minimized their anxiety with regard to India, as is evident from a report published in the same number of the U. S. paper—"Lauchlin Currie, President Roosevelt's envoy to China, told Washington that the Chungking Government is pressing for Indian mediation by the President".

Sir Stafford Cripps' bungling

This anxiety spread to other nations when the leaders of the Indian National Congress felt driven by the attitude of the British Government to demand that the "external authority" should retire from the country in an orderly and peaceful manner. This demand was precipitated by the way in which Sir Stafford Cripps had handled his negotiations with the leaders of Indian public opinion. In the last volume of the *Annual Register* we have tried to trace the play of the many forces that defeated the well-meaning attempts of the "agent" of the British War Cabinet. His subsequent attempts to justify his own way of doing things landed him into contradictions that were hard to reconcile. In broadcasts to the American people, in articles contributed to U. S. news-papers he gave versions of his Indian negotiations that have been challenged by U. S.

correspondents present at New Delhi and by Indian nationalist leaders. But the harshest criticism of these was passed by a member of the House of Commons, Mr. S. O. Davis: "The Lord Privy Seal must be getting into a very difficult situation over this Indian business. I used to know him when he held a great respect for facts and truth." The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru represented Indian feeling when he said: "Sir Stafford Cripps.....in my opinion bungled and bungled hopelessly as I can say from personal knowledge." The proposals of the War Cabinet that he had brought with him did not satisfy any party or group in India. These were not intended to satisfy anybody. An article in the *Pacific Affairs* of June, 1942, after a detailed analysis of these proposals passed judgment on them that Indian nationalists could not improve.

"But, if the conditions laid down as prerequisites to the new Indian Union are examined closely it will be observed that the role of the Princes and the minorities was made even more decisive than in the 1935 Act. Not only were they the basis upon which the constitution making body was to be elected, but they were to become the bases of separate Dominions, rivalling the 'Indian Union.' In his elaboration of this part of the scheme Cripps indicated that 'non-acceding provinces' (and of course the Princely States) could have their own armies if they wished. The whole direction of the plan, therefore, cut right across *nationalist* conceptions of a single united India."

The "Quit India" Movement

It may be useless now to refer to Sir Stafford Cripps and his mission to India and its failure. The disappointment and resentment which followed the March-April negotiations, the misrepresentation of the part played by Mahatma Gandhi in this failure persisted in by Sir Stafford, formed the back-ground of the momentous decision arrived at by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting held at Bombay on the 8th August, 1942. On behalf of the Government of India, the Additional Secretary to the Government in the Home Department published reports of the many meetings of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, the supreme executive of the National Organisation, which help us to understand the various elements of this "open rebellion". The Preface to the booklet was written in New Delhi on the 13th February, 1943. It is entitled—*Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942—43*, "published with authority" From extracts of articles published in the columns of *Harijan*, written by Gandhiji, from extracts made from the speeches of Congress leaders, an attempt has been made to build up the enormity of the step taken by the Indian National Congress under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. In our last volume we have traced this history of the growing impatience of the leadership of India's many political parties with the ways of the system of administration of India that has kept her people immobile during one of the greatest crises in the fate and fortunes of humanity. The booklet helps us to understand the bitterness of this frustration. This is its only value imparted to it unconsciously and perhaps unknowingly by the collectors of the informations put inside its covers. They have sought to dramatize these by a connected story of the "Quit India" movement initiated by Gandhiji in an article first published in *Harijan*, dated April 26 (1942). The key-note of the movement has been quoted: "Whatever the consequences,

therefore, to India, her real safety and Britain's too lie in orderly and timely British withdrawal from India."

Propaganda value of the booklet

The Tottenham booklet is no better than the prosecution story, untested and unchallenged by the side opposite. As a black-out had been put over the country, the public had to fall back on rumours and their embellishments for an appreciation of the events happening round them. The booklet supplies certain papers said to have been issued by the under-ground organisers of the disturbances which will enable readers to realize the extent of these activities. The name of "B. Jai Prakash" finds a prominent place in this pamphlet, more than one mention. The story of sabotage that is unravelled in this booklet for the first time in India has been propagandized in foreign countries. It does not appear to have impressed them much, as the New York paper—*Time*—pointed out the humour of the whole affair in its issue of December 14 (1942).

"Indian intellectuals who tuned in to the BBC. short wave radio blinked with surprise. Over the air they were receiving explicit instructions on how to conduct a campaign of passive resistance. After four months of Mohandas Gandhi's non-violent non-resistance, it seemed to the listeners that the bumbling BBC. was trying to instruct Italians, not Indians, in slow-down technique. The British were carrying coals from India to Italy."

The Disturbances in India

These foreign papers and their readers had earlier information of the disturbances in India, and they based their comments and criticism of men and things in our country on the briefs supplied to them by the British authorities. It is not possible for Indian publicists to have access to any of these despatches ; they must depend on the very few that trickle into this country through the meshes of censorship of various strictness. They have to read between the lines of these to understand and appreciate the case of India as it is allowed to be presented to the outside world. From our own experience we can say that we guess more of the truth from papers that have an anti-Indian bias than from friendly papers, the very few that can get entrance into India. In this view of the matter, we give below the cable sent by Mr. Graham Stanford, *Overseas Daily Mail* Special correspondent in India, and published in the September 26 (1942) number of the paper on "the disturbances in India."

"There was plenty of bloodshed, but that is only a minor part of the story. The full gravity of the situation lay in the wide-spread campaign of expert sabotage, heavily financed and skilfully organized, aimed at wrecking India's power to defend herself."

"In fact, the campaign was different from anything India has known before. This was a deliberate, brilliantly organized attempt completely to sabotage the Allied war effort."

"The workers of the great Tata Iron & Steel Company were seduced into striking. And so there was a sudden stop of the stream of war materials from that greatest industrial Centre in Bihar.

"The Tata strike was one of many. At one time all the cotton mills in Bombay and Ahmedabad were idle, and the workers were roaming the streets looking for trouble."

"Then the markets were closed down. For a time there was practically a complete stoppage of business life in India."

"And all the time the saboteurs were striking at the railways, up-rooting lines, firing signal boxes, burning stations, and cutting important telegraphic communications upon which the defence of India so largely depends."

"The saboteurs were working to a definite plan. They were striking at places carefully selected to affect the war effort."

"Bihar, valley of the Ganges, which contains the Tata Steel Work—the largest steel-producers in the empire—was a typical example."

"This province holds some of the richest and most extensive iron mines in the world. It supplies iron and steel works in both Bengal and Bihar. It is the most important mica mining centre in the world."

"It ranked top of the list with the saboteurs. If they beat Bihar they might win India—or lose it to the Japanese. That's how they figured it as they plotted the campaign in their ever-shifting hide-outs. So terror and destruction stalked in this valley of the Ganges."

"You could not buy food in many places, and there was a general close-down of shops."

"It is important to remember that millions of pounds are invested in the movement; that Congress has the backing of some of the country's wealthiest businessmen and industrialists. They have poured out money to finance the movement."

"India simmers with bitterness and discontent. Every day a little more hate is injected into the general picture. Until this hate is turned upon the common enemy—the Jap—there can be no security in India."

"When the disturbances were at their height I sat in the office of a high Government official and heard him say: 'It will be touch and go for many days yet.' At that time I could not cable that remark."

We do not know when this cable was sent out of India. It could not have been in August during which there prevailed the greatest tension. And Mr. Stanford's high Government official does not appear to be an authentic witness and judge of matters, if we are to trust what appeared in the New York weekly—*Time*—in its issue of August 31:

"The position of British Raj in the Indian Civil Disobedience movement was summed up by a man in New Delhi: 'You Americans think that we are sitting on top of a powder keg. We're not. We're sitting on an anthill. We may get ants in our pants, but we'll ride it out."

August movement may halt Allied offensive

The comments of the paper were based upon the perception that truth in this matter lies in the middle, that "at week's end neither the British nor the Congress party had won anything but turmoil and hatred." One can well understand why the British and, following their cue, their cousins beyond the Atlantic should be angry with this movement which would result in the dis-organisation of many of their arrangements made in India for the projected move against Japan with this country as the starting-point of these operations. The Home Member in the Executive Council of Lord Linlithgow in course of his speech made in the Legislative Assembly at New Delhi took great pains in pointing out that there was considerable evidence of "the technical knowledge displayed by the saboteurs;" that "much of the damage caused must have required special implements which could not have been produced at a moment's notice—wire cutters to cut telegraph wires, spanners to remove fish plates from railway lines." The interpretation he has put on the timing of the movement—"at a time when there was little fear of the development of an enemy attack, with which the movement had possibly been planned to synchronize," appears to be unjustified, as his remark about there being little fear of an enemy attack ought to have told him. All the propaganda that the British have spread over the world over this matter hinges on the danger to Allied arrangements made in India. The despatch from the Indian correspondent of the *Overseas Daily Mail*, every paragraph

of it, ends with the refrain that the movement was intended to halt Allied offensive against Japan, to harm the chances of a joint Anglo-American and Chinese drive against the common enemy. The official speakers at the debate in the Central Legislature harped on the same topic.

The attitude of the Congress

And it is no wonder that for once again British propaganda has been effective in persuading the world that Gandhiji and the other leaders of the Indian National Congress are pro-Axis, pro-Japanese. This in spite of the repeated declarations of the Congress President, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mahatma Gandhi. Opening the momentous session of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on the 7th of August (1942), the former said :

Let the British Government sign India's independence and simultaneously we will sign our agreement to the United Nations to fight along with the Allies against all aggressors."

The latter writing in the columns on *Harijan* on the justice of the claim for "the ending of British power" which is *Swaraj* for India, tries to reason out the causes why the Congress had felt impelled to choose the particular time for "the contemplated mass action." He paraphrased it thus :

"India is not playing any effective part in the war. Some of us feel ashamed that it is so, and what is more, we feel that if we were free from the foreign yoke, we should play a worthy, nay, a decisive part in the world war which has yet to reach its climax. We know that if India does not become free now, the hidden discontent will burst forth into a welcome to the Japanese should they effect a landing. We feel that such an event will be a calamity of the first magnitude. We can avoid it if India gains her freedom. To distrust this simple, natural and honest declaration is to court disaster."

Unnatural relation between India & Britain

Human words could not express more cleanly the feelings and sentiments that actuated the leaders of the Indian National Congress to persuade the British authorities to part with the power that has kept the people of India helpless witnesses of the wretchedness that has followed revolutionary changes in the State organisation of countries in the various continents, specially in their immediate neighbourhood in Burma, Malaya and the Netherland East Indies. It would remain a wonder to the future historian of these times why the British authorities could not put their trust in the declarations made by the Nationalist leaders of India. The thing could only be due to the unnatural relation that has been subsisting between India and Great Britain where the easy confidence of fellow-workers for human good has never been allowed to grow and develop. The ill-feeling into which the two countries have been drifting more deeply as the years of their relationship have lengthened has become now a subject of concern not only to the Indo-British politician and the administrator but to every friend of humanity. Immersed in the war work the leaders of the Allied Nations, Britain and the United States at the present moment, do not appear to have had any time to devote to the Indo-British problem raised to the human plane. Their Press has been as blind with very few honourable exceptions. And those that have been clear-sighted have found it difficult to maintain their equanimity in face of the drum-beating of imperialists and men and women who find themselves as their temporary allies.

A Sample of American Press opinion

To take one example from the Press of the United States. The *Washington Post* which is said to be "close to the Administration" has been one of the most vigorous of critics of the policy of the Indian National Congress. For days previous to the August resolution, since Mahatma Gandhi first gave expression to the "Quit India" idea, the paper has been unsparing in criticism of this novel method suggested to an imperialist Government peacefully and orderly to give over charge to the representatives of the subject people of the power and prestige that it has been exercising and enjoying for centuries. In the third week of July it wrote: "If the Congress Party should ratify the proposal it would for ever condemn itself as the enemy of civilization and freedom." But in the third week of October it could suggest that "it has been the fear of the Japanese that has started the agitation, and India's fears should be removed." A "reassuring word" was as easy to give as it was in the case of Egypt; "but of course it must be accompanied by deeds." *Reuter* which sent the extract of its article speculated about the reason for this appreciation of a part of the Indian stand-point, and spoke about the coincidence of Mr. Willkie's return to Washington from his tour. The *Post* also suggested "Sino-American assistance in mediation in India." And then paraphrased how the Allied "war aims and peace aims meet an acid test in India."

"The Americans realise these implications of the trouble in India but any constructive approach to the new problem in India created by civil disobedience requires something more than British or even United Nations' assurances of all-out protection."

"Such a settlement requires recognition by the British that mediation might very well be helpful in taking the poison from the present atmosphere. For, if this is recognisably 'all for one and one for all', as it is, the British should admit the principle of third-party interest in war-time settlement."

The see-saw of Anglo-American relation

The paper was, however, careful to remark that the Indian problem should not be allowed to "become a source of dissension between Britain and the United States." Yet the British were not happy. The people of the republic do not maintain a steady attitude. The London *Economist* gives expression to this feeling when it suggests that due to "clever large-scale propaganda in the United States on behalf of the Congress", American opinion becomes now and then "increasingly critical" of the British regime in India, specially now when "no progress has been made on the British side towards securing a settlement of the political differences in India." There was friendliness during the Cripps Mission when it was felt that "a settlement was being held up simply by the inability of the Indian parties to agree among themselves." Then there was a reaction when the full story of the failure of the Cripps Mission came to be known more fully through writings of Louis Fischer and other U. S. correspondents. Gandhiji's suggestion started the pro-British swing again. This continued for about two months, with the customary reaction which the London weekly sorrowfully records. It traces this see-saw of attitude to the "obvious historical reasons." The reference was evidently to the causes of the American War of Independence when the 13 States on the Atlantic sea board broke away from the British empire. The people of the country

"are constitutionally inclined to regard all matters appertaining to the British empire and in particular to India with the deepest suspicion, that is to say, largely because of the unfortunate tradition and because of the subtle Congress propaganda—which is no new thing but began many years ago—there is a large section of American opinion which does not really want to see the British side of the case."

Britain's privileged position in the U. S.

There may be truth in this complaint of the London weekly. But there is no doubt in any mind in India that the "large section of American opinion" to which reference has been made in the above quotation do not carry that weight with the ruling classes of the country which would use its influence to heal the difference that have erupted into the attention of the world existing between two members of the "United Nations." Mr. Churchill has been successful in his appeals to the common traditions of the "Anglo-Saxon" countries, specially those that exist between Britain and the United States. In Vol. I. of 1940 of the *Annual Register*, we have discussed this subject. And in tracing the history of the new friendship between the countries we quoted from the book of the French writer, Andre Siegfried, the evolution of the "secret doctrine", handed down from father to son, that the United States should remain "Protestant and Anglo-Saxon". This is how it "guarantees for Britain an undisputed and privileged position" in the life of the greatest republic of the modern world. Indian nationalists who have any inclination towards the U. S. as a prop in their fight for political independence should do well to remember this history. The London *Economist* has made a grievance of the fact that "subtle Congress propaganda" attempts to influence opinion and State policy in favour of India. But realists amongst us should entertain no hope that this will ever be so successful as to inaccommodate the spiritual and material ties that bind Britain and the United States. In more than one volume of this book we have tried to bring knowledge of these elements of Anglo-American relationship as a factor in the future political and financial order of the world. These elements count far more than any sympathy and admiration that certain sections of the American people may have had for the spiritual and philosophic message that India might have sent since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy and of the Emerson group of U. S. thinkers and scholars. The work initiated by Swami Vivekananda and other members of the Ramkrishna Mission which a Bengalee author in the exuberance of his enthusiasm has called the establishment and extension of "the Ramkrishna Empire" over wide spaces of the world is a work of centuries before it can create any force in the political life of this particular country. These considerations take away much from the expectations, most of them unexpressed, that were prevalent in our country that the liberty-loving Americans would be throwing their weight on our side in our tussle with Britain. These were totally unrealistic ; and in the ultimate ordering of things it may happen that this disappointment will have a sobering effect on our conduct of international affairs.

American criticism of British empire has, therefore, to be taken with the proverbial grain of salt. Britain possesses many avenues

U. S. following British lead in China

of approach to the core of American life, spiritual and material, of which we cannot have any knowledge. U. S. criticism may sting the British, but during the centuries they have developed a certain hide that is proof against stronger pricks. The possession and exploitation of an empire over which the sun never set have imparted this quality to the British make-up. There may be truth in the criticisms. But these are as much applicable to the conduct of American foreign policy. For various reasons "the land of the free" has followed British lead in international affairs or Britain could make it appear that she was following the American lead. *The Atlantic Magazine* refers to such an episode when it pleaded for "coming to terms with the Congress," and warned the people of the danger of following the British lead in the present crisis.

"Twenty years ago a similar British Government with American support backed the reactionary war-lords of China as against Sun Yat-sen and the nationalist movement. Six years later they had to come to terms with the nationalists, not the war-lords. Chinese history may help us now to see that it would have made more sense to imprison leaders of the Muslim League than leaders of the Congress."

This remonstrance and others that can be quoted have not helped to ease the Indo-British controversy. Of the leaders of the "United Nations" China and the United States have been unsuccessful. Soviet Russia has been silent. The British in their world-wide sampling of world opinion against the Congress movement has not cared to have published any criticism from Russian papers for or against it. So the situation has been left to Britain to mishandle it in her own way. We can believe that the British people are not happy with this condition of things, that they may be feeling that their present leaders cannot do the right thing by India. Even British public men appear to feel that this suspicion exists. Sir George Schuster, one-time finance member of the Government of India and now a member of the House of Commons, in a letter to the London *Times* expressed this feeling. Condemning the Indian National Congress for what it had done or initiated in August, he pressed for a lead out of the impasse. Could this lead come from the present members of the British Government ? No, he said.

Present British Government cannot give a right lead

"Let us be frank. It has been a record of failure to give inspired leadership or rise to the needs of an occasion. British leaders connected with this failure cannot now create the atmosphere which is needed.....British leadership must be conceived in a new way. The old ritual of stiff-necked officialism is out of date. In the live field of politics it is Indian ministers that should hold the platform.

Of the Dominions which at one time were known as "Britains beyond the Seas" we have not heard that any help has been extended by any of them to solve the problem, effective enough to be chronicled. One exception has come into our hands that we should like to give publicity to. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation of Canada was founded by Labour and Farmer parties about ten years ago, and according to a "Gallup poll" it has been found securing the support of 21 per cent of the electorate. On October 27 (1942) its National Executive issued a statement on the Indian situation insisting on the "urgent need of seeking an immediate solution of the deadlock in India."

A Canadian Party's suggestion

It pointed out that the "Indian situation was the direct concern to all the United Nations both as an important factor in reaching an early and successful conclusion of the world conflict, and as a symbol of the kind of peace for which we are fighting." It gave expression to the apprehension that "repressive measures, obstinacy or violence of language, can only serve to deepen the crisis, to endanger the war in the Pacific and to weaken seriously the morals and confidence of the United Nations." It suggested, therefore, that

A Canadian plan of intervention

"Negotiations should be resumed by a Committee acting under the auspices of the United Nations, led by Britain, China, Russia and the United States. This is necessary not only because the issue is of vital concern to the allied war effort but also because it is clear that the leaders of India and the British Government have lost confidence in each other."

"The Congress leaders in India should be among those invited to resume negotiations and should be released from prison immediately, on the understanding that Congress would not carry on civil disobedience and that Government would discontinue its repressive measures.

"Negotiations should be based on the acceptance of the principle of self-government for India now as well as after the war."

"The National Executive of the CCF believes that Canada has a particular responsiblility to play its part in seeking a democratic settlement of the Indian Crisis. She is not only one of the United Nations but is the senior Dominion of the British Commonwealth and a country enjoying close relations with the United States".

"The National Executivs therefore requests the CCF national president and leader to urge upon the Prime Minister that he take all necessary steps to secure a re-opening of negotiations in India along the lines outlined above."

There have been other voices that have pleaded for the restoration of peaceful conditions in India. A. U. S. paper reported some time at the end of August (1942) what the Socialist leader, Norman Thomas, who was the Socialist candidate as a rival to Mr. Roosevelt, after a conference with the U. S. Foreign Secretary Cordell Hull, had said that their Government had "unofficially" offered to serve as a "mediator" who is keenly "desirous of helping both sides reach an agreement on the issues so that India might make her full contribution to the United Nation." We have read angrier protests against "the folly which seeks to save India from her enemies by a policy of terrorizatien endorsed by her friends", to quote Prof. Frederick Schuman's words. And his proposal was no less concrete than those made by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation quoted above.

An American suggestion

"This is America's opportunity, for only America enjoys the confidence of all. Let Americans everywhere ask their President to join with the leaders of China and Russia in proposing arbitration of the Indian conflict. Let the proposal expressly contemplate the preparation by a United Nation Tribunal of a plan for the establishment, within the next three months, of a provisional government of an independent India, linked in war and peace alike to the British Commonwealth and the United Nations as a free and equal power....."

We know that America could not do what Prof. Schuman had proposed. They could not do so because they could not ignore "the material crisis" that faced them, because they could not afford the luxury of harping on "moral values". As ordinary men and women they could react to the "Quit India" movement in the only way that ordinary men and women can be expected to do. The feelings of these people were vividly expressed in a New York *Herald Tribune* article: "Those who are not with us in this struggle are against us. And

What ordinary Americans did feel

those whose acts and attitudes, whether intended or not, would deprive us in whole or part of the enormous military advantage derived from the possession of India, can hardly expect the Americans to regard them with anything but hostility." It is response like this to the feelings of ordinary Americans that compels the Administration to follow the policy of non-intervention that it has elected to do in the matter of India. Replying to a friend of India "an authoritative Administration spokesman" is reported to have said: "We'll even suppose all you say is true. Do you expect us to go to war with our Ally, Britain, at this moment to achieve independence for India"?

How Mr. Churchill exploited this feeling

It is because the British Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, understood the implications of this attitude that he did speak in the way that he did in the House of Commons on September 10 (1942). He could play with the census figures of India trying to prove that the Indian National Congress did not represent the majority of the Hindus of India, not to speak of the other minorities. He could gloat over the fact that India's many races are "divided by unbridgeable religious gulfs from the Congress and would never consent to be ruled by them nor shall they ever be against their will so subjugated." And he could by suggestion and insinuation incite all the separatist conceits in India. "Outside that party (the Congress) and fundamentally opposed to it are 90 million Moslems in British India who have their rights of self-expression, 50 million depressed classes or untouchables as they are called, because they are supposed to defile their Hindu co-religionists by their presence or by their shadow, and 95 million subjects of the princes of India with whom we are bound by treaty. In all there are 255 millions in these three large groupings alone out of the 390 millions in all India. This takes no account of the large elements among Hindus, Sikhs and Christians in British India who deplore the present policy of the Congress party." And the part of the speech of Mr. Churchill that caused the utmost pleasure to his supporters appears to have been the following:

"It is a political machine built around a party machine and sustained by certain manufacturing and financial interests."

Indian finance-capital & the Congress

This is the British brief that appears to have been accepted by the ruling classes of many of the Allied peoples. Mr. Herbert Mathews has devoted a special dispatch to the *New York Times* in tracing the many factors that make up the Indo-British problem. He chose finance to indicate "the battleground between the British and Indians." Calcutta is Britain's industrial stronghold, and the Managing Agency system is "the channel through which the British dominate a large part of Indian industry." This has been a point of attack chosen by the Indian businessmen. And many of them have been in alliance with the leaders of the Indian National Congress supporting them in various ways. "Practical businessmen" in Calcutta are reported to be "greatly worried by the prospect of independence, although they do not expect that it will come for some years after the end of the war." Their jealousy of the rising generation of Indian businessmen is reflected back by the attitude of the latter whose leaders have been losing patience with the present regime. The

"Birla Brothers of Bombay finance the All-India Congress." Mr. Mathews underlined Mr. Churchill when he said:

> Mr. Birla is out openly to oust the British and he subsidises the Congress heavily. The Indians talked to (including Mr. B. M. Birla, Sir Badridas Goenka and Mr. J. C. Mahindra) are not afraid that Jawaharlal Nehru's socialistic ideal will gain the ascendency. Even if he runs the show, the Indians believe that he will be 'sensible.'

British finance-capital around 10 Downing Street

Mr. Churchill's rhetorical purpose in calling attention to the backing given by Indian businessmen and financiers to the Indian National Congress was not complimentary. But those who know anything about the clientale that the Conservative Party of Britain serves will derive some enjoyment out of this outburst. They know that these represented "billions in investments—with iron representation around 10 Downing Street", that the "City" in London was the master of the Government which Mr. Churchill heads today. Historians, British historians, have told us how Britain has built up her empire, by breaking all the Ten Commandments of the Bible. And an American writer has sympathetically analysed the cruel choice that confronts her today. "Britain's whole economic system has been built on a foundation of imperialism, and to expect them to destroy with their own hands that foundation is to expect them to make greater sacrifices for the new world order than any people has made thus far." This statement explains the meaning of Mr. Churchill's declaration that he has not become Britain's Prime Minisier to "preside over the liquidation" of that empire. And the cruel choice we have referred to has been put into words by another American writer: "If he (Mr. Churchill) was fighting for freedom, he might have to risk Britain's greatness. If he was fighting for empire, he might risk losing the war." The New York weekly—*Life*—in an "Open Letter" to the people of Britain tried to rub in the contradiction that must have been dividing the mind of many a Britisher: "Quit fighting the war to hold the empire together and join with Russia and with your other allies to fight the war by whatever strategy is best for all of us. If you cling to the empire at the expense of the United Nations' victory, you will lose the war.....because you will lose us."

The temptations before American finance-capital

These idealistic declarations of a section of the American public do not, however, represent any effective group in the Administration of the United States. We have discussed in a previous page how undependable is American support to our fight for poltical democracy. We have in more than one volume of the *Indian Annual Register* discussed the various ways in which Britain can influence and twist the administrative policy of the republic. Since the outbreak of the present war, specially since Mr. Churchill became Prime Minister of Britain, he has been straining every vocal nerve to popularize the "Anglo-Saxon" theme—the prospect held before the English-speaking peoples of ruling the destiny of the world by a combination of the experience in imperial rule of Britain with the youthful energies of the "Britain's beyond the Seas" whether these be included in the British State system or beyond it. And it is not beyond human calculation that powerful sections of American society will be succumbing to the virus that British publicists and politicians have been injecting into their body politic.

Phrases like "the American century", "manifest destiny" point out to the direction of the wind of feeling, interest, and a sort of idealism that finds pleasure in contemplating the dominant part that the United States will be playing in the future ordering of the world. Human history does not tell us that any people has been able to refuse the invitation of such a destiny. And it is no criticism of American men and women if they feel that they would be fulfilling world purpose if they accepted co-partnership with Britain in managing the "dependent parts" in the empire of their "old country". Our disappointment with the policy followed by the Roosevelt Administration with regard to the argument between India and Britain need not exasperate us and blind us to the fact that we have to deal with ordinary men and women with their desires, ambitions, love of power—desire to play the "big brother" to others, to display their wealth and its symbols—in judging American policy in relation to our country. This appreciation of human nature, this cynicism, is the first step towards that realist approach to politics that only will enable ue to stand against the slings and arrows of adversity and harshness, unbowed and undiscouraged.

"Civil" war between Hindus & Muslims

We have tried to understand one element of the many that must have influenced American policy and practice. There is another that has made it easy for the imperialist publicists and politicians of Britain to persuade their cousins across the Atlantic. *The New York Times* in an article that appeared in its columns on the eve of the August meeting of the All-India Congress Committee put emphasis on this—the fear of "civil war" in India between the Hindus and Muslims—the "fear" that weighed with the British authorities , that forbade them to "take the chance of abandoning India to a civil war". This has been the British brief—not a new thing but as old as the establishment of British rule in this country. By our own conduct the people of India seem to accept the truth of this contention. It is no wonder, therefore, that even radical thinkers like Bertrand Russel who are troubled in their conscience by the failure of Britain to "awaken the people of India to a knowledge of what this war means for them"—even they are willing to put it forth as an argument for the continuance of the Churchill technic of government. Bertrand Russel has been living in the United States for a number of years far away from the din and clamour of British life. In course of a letter to the New York weekly—*Time*—in the last week of September he indicated his reaction to the movement initiated by the Congress resolution.

".....I deplore the present conflict in India. I do not think it would be possible, as the Congress party demanded, to hand over the Government to a professedly representative collection of Indians hastily assembled in the middle of a war, and bitterly at odds among themselves on many important questions. Apart from the difficulties naturally involved in a change while a Japanese invasion is imminent, the replies to Sir Stafford Cripps made clear that a British withdrawal now would leave India in chaos and anarchy, if not actually in civil war, which would result in an easy conquest by Japan."

The stumbling block to India's political freedom

Mr. Churchill could not have phrased the British brief better than Bertrand Russel has done. Evidently it is based on the report or reports that Sir Stafford Cripps must have carried to his people in State papers, in private talks and correspondence. We must wait for decades before these are made available to the public. In his House

of Commons speech, in his broadcasts and articles in newspapers, we have not seen it suggested by Sir Stafford that Indian politicians whom we had talked with were, any of them, anxious to exchange "masters", that any step taken by the British to transfer real power to the representatives of the Indian people, to "a professedly representative collection of Indians hastily assembled", would result in the dire consequences predicted by Bertrand Russel and the New York daily. Many of India's politicians have broadcast what they would do or not do if real power were transferred to them even during the war. When the history of these times comes to be written and people would be in possession of the facts then, we have no doubt, the world would be wondering why with all the good will in the world extended to India by so many peoples and their leaders the heart of her people could not be enlisted on the side of the Allied cause. Then will it find out that the "essential obstacle" to this event had been the unwillingness of the British authorities to part with power. Mr. Arthur Moore, till a year back editor of the Calcutta Anglo-Indian daily, in a statement to the Press, brought this fact out. He dismissed with impatience the plea that it was the absence of agreement among Indians that stood in the way of Britain transferring her power to India. He quoted extracts from two of the speeches made by Mr. Amery to prove the hollowness of this plea. Speaking in the House of Commons the Secretary of State for India had said on September 11 :

"There is an immensely powerful case, while the war is on, for retaining the ultimate control of Indian policy in the hands of His Majesty's Government."

On October 1, again speaking in the House of Commons, he had said :

"In any such national government that were constituted there would of course have to be ultimate responsibility to Parliament."

Sir Sultan Ahmed's plea

The significance of the last quotation lies in the fact that it was regarded as some of a reply to Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member in Lord Linlithgow's Executive Council, who in course of a speech made in the Central Legislative Assembly at New Delhi on September 18, (1942) had said that "any proposal which has the unanimous support of the Hon'ble members opposite cannot be lightly treated by any Government here or in England."

"Hon'ble Members have been talking about 'national government' and that is a cry coming from all corners of India, but is it realized that national government cannot be imposed but it must be the creation of the fairly unanimous will of the people ? With the consent of all parties, it comes in automatically where there is a government of the people by the people and in places where there is a foreign government it has to be formed first by the people themselves and the proposal is submitted then to the Government of the day, and if denied, the so-formed national government asserts its will."

".....I cannot conceive that if such a government is formed, His Majesty's Government can possibly resist it."

A make-belief that was soon exposed

The quotations made in Mr. Moore's statement from Mr. Amery's speeches throw overboard any hopes that Sir Sultan Ahmed might sincerely have entertained in his heart. Mr. Moore's pungent comment on the Amery thesis—"nor would any British Dominion call that self-government or tolerate the interference of Parliament"—ought to silence

all the well-meaning politicians in India who are ever anxious to restore confidence in the intentions and declarations of the type of British politicians represented by the leading members of the present British Government. Sir Sultan Ahmed and politicians of his class who, even though members of Lord Linlithgow's Executive Council, cannot initiate any talk of constitutional reform or advance in India even in the *harem* of this Council, should be serving their people better if they tried to test the virtues of the many powers that they are said to enjoy and exercise as members of the Government in India. The country has demanded with one voice without being handicapped by differences in political beliefs and economic affiliations for "the transfer of *de facto* power now" to the representatives of the Indian people ; in their many speeches none of the Indian members of the Linlithgow team has shown that they do support this demand and are prepared to stake their known and unknown claims to political wisdom on the success of this "fairly unanimous will of the people." It would add to the political illumination of their people if they honestly confessed that they had no power in this behalf, as was done by his new colleague, Sir Mahomed Usman.

Members of the Governor General's Council cannot initiate any political change

He did it in course of replies to the interpellations addressed to him as representing the Government in the Council of State. These throw light on the exact position of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, exposing the pretensions of politicians who make a parade of their rights and privileges as members of the Delhi-Simla bureaucracy. The public will remain grateful to Sir Mahomed Usman for bringing them knowledge of the inner springs that move the Government of India. Mr. P. N. Sapru asked the innocent question whether the Government proposed to re-open negotiations for "the formation of a Provisional composite Government at the centre"? The Government member, Sir Mahomed Usman, replied that this was "a matter primarily for His Excellency the Governor General and His Majesty's Government, rather than the Government of India." The dialogue that then started is so interesting that we do not make any apology for quoting it in full :

"The Hon'ble Mr. Hossain Imam : Do we take it that the formation of the Central Government is not a matter for the Governor General in Council but that of the Governor General acting in his discretion ?

"The Hon'ble Sir Mahomed Usman : It is a matter for His Excellency the Governor General and His Majesty's Government, and not for the Executive Council.

"The Hon'ble Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru : Are we to understand that the Government of India has no concern with the subject and that it does not consider itself called upon to make recommendations on the subject for the consideration of His Majesty's Government ? If this is its view, what is it for ? What are these wise and patriotic men in the Viceroy's Executive Council for ?

"The Hon'ble Sir Mahomed Usman : It does not fall within the normal jurisdiction of the Executive Council.

"The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Sapru : Am I to understand that the sole responsibility for advising His Majesty's Government as regards the nature of the constitution that should be worked in the *interim* period rests exclusively with the Governor General and that the Governor General in Council has no voice whatever in regard to this matter ? Is this the position which the Indian members of the Council have accepted ?

"The Hon'ble Sir Mahomed Usman : If the Governor General consults his Executive Council, he gets its opinion.

"The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Sapru : Am I to understand further that the Indian members of the Executive Council have no desire to offer on their own

initiative any advice to His Excellency the Governor General in regard to the manner in which the future Government of India should be composed ?

"The Hon'ble Sir Mahomed Usman : The Government of India Act does not recognise the position of Indian members of the Council as such."

The rather long quotation from the proceedings of the Central Legislature exposes the utter unreality of the many constitutional changes that we are asked to believe are steps towards democratic self-government in India generously taken by the British Government. Constitutional *pundits* may hold forth on their many virtues. But the instinct of the vast majority of our people has appraised these at their proper value, that these are not intended to lead us anywhere into the region of *Swaraj* for our country. It is in the back-ground of this knowledge that the efforts of non-Congress politicians in India for a political truce for the duration of the war have to be studied, and their failure understood Mr. Rajagopalachariar, ex-Premier in the Congress Ministry in Madras, has been most active in trying to induce the rulers and the ruled to follow the path of wisdom. The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. M. R Jayakar whose success during the Gandhi-Irwin negotiations has built for them a tradition as clever peace-makers have been unremitting in the same field The leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, specially its Working President, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, have laboured in this thankless task. The mind of the country was reflected in the appeal addressed to the Prime Minister of Britain on September 10 (1942) by Indian public men amongst whom were the Chief Ministers of Bengal and Sind, Messrs Fazlul Huq and Allah Bakhsh, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and Nawab Habibulla of Dacca, Ministers of Bengal, Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister of the Punjab, Master Tara Singh, President Shiromoni Prabandhak Committee, Mr. Mahomed Zaher-uddin, President All-India Momin Conference, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor Benares Hindu University, Sir Gokul Chand Narang of the Punjab, Dr. S. Ansari, General Secretary of the Azad Muslim Board, Mr. Meher Chand Khanna, President, N-W. Frontier Province Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. K C. Neogy, M. L. A. (Central Legislative Assembly), Mr. Giani Kartar Singh, M. L. A. (Punjab), Mr. N C. Chatterjee, Working President of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha. The constructive suggestion that they made represented the common demand of all sections of political opinion in India :

Non Congress organisations in healing up the breach

"A national government pledged to the suppport of the war against the aggressors, consisting of representatives of major political interests, with complete autonomy in the internal administration during the period of the war and unfettered freedom thereafter, will satisfy the demand for independence put forth by all the political parties in the country."

To this appeal the British Prime Minister could send a reply that was totally repelling. Political India regarded his speech made in the House of Commons on the same date as the considered view of the British Government with regard to the hopes and aspirations of the Indian people. Four months later, the statement issued on behalf of the Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference sounded the same appeal and gave expression to the same feeling of frustration. The speeches made by British politicians during the

Differences amongst Indians stand in the way

months were described as "savouring of propaganda" designed to convince "the doubting Americans and the sympathetic Chinese" that the root cause of the Indo-British conflict lay "deep in the historic diversities of race, religion, culture and political outlook of the Indian people". The war has enabled the bureaucracy to monopolize and utilize all the powers of the State, to curtail the liberties of the people, shaking their confidence and losing their co-operation. And the confession made by a certain member of Lord Linlithgow's Executive Council that "the initiative for discussing vital political questions agitating the country in the Executive Council can be taken not by them but only by the Governor General" ought to be enough to prove the true state of affairs. The impression has also been created all the world over that political freedom cannot arrive because the vocal political parties in India cannot agree to a definition of what constituted this freedom, that these do not agree to a common formula of the functions and powers of the State as will evolve out of their agreement, that the demand for "Pakistan" by the Muslim League, of a Khalsa by the Sikhs, of the demand of the All-India Depressed Classes Conference made at its Nagpur sittings for "the transfer of Scheduled castes from their present places of habitation to separate Scheduled castes villages away from and independent of Hindu villages"—these separatist conceits and ambitions are hard to reconcile and made to serve as stones for the structure of an independent State.

Separatist conceits and ambitions

The All-India Muslim League Working Committee may reiterate on August 20 (1942) its 1939 stand that they were "ready and willing as before to shoulder the burden and defence of the country, singly or in co-operation with other parties, on the basis that real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the Government in the centre and the provinces within the frame-work of the present constitution, but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of the future constitution" But when it passed this resolution it did not realize the difficulties it was creating for itself in reaching agreement on the needs of the immediate situation by the clause of its August 20 resolution which said : "The Muslim League has been and is ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional government of India in order to mobilize the resources of the country for the purpose of the defence of India and successful prosecution of the war, provided the demands of Muslim India, as indicated above, are conceded unequivocally." The President of the Indian National Congress, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, and Mahatma Gandhi had offered to facilitate the formation of a provisional government for the immediate present by the leader of the Muslim League, "provided the Muslim League co-operated fully with the Congress in the demand for immediate independence without the slightest reservation, that independent India will permit the operations of Allied armies in order to check Axis aggression and thus to help both China and Russia." To this offer the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha made its protest in a resolution passed on August 31 (1942) : "The Committee records its emphatic opinion that it would be fatal to the cause of nationalism and to the ordered evolution of free India if, as has been suggested

in some quarters, the Muslim League alone with its present avowedly anti-national outlook is invited to form the government at the centre, and the Hindus will never accept such a government."

The cry for an undefined Pakistan

British apologists plead that on the rock of these separatist conceits and ambitions have been shattered all the attempts that they have made to build up a united Indian State, free and independent, an equal among equals in the comity of modern nations. The British brief that civil war will follow even "the orderly and peaceful withdrawal of British power from India" has been accepted by certain other members of the Alliance of which Britain and the United States are managing partners today. No body in India or outside is happy with the developments that have precipitated the crisis. The Chief Minister of Bengal, Mr. Fazlul Huq, appealed for sanity and rational judgment in meeting the situation; the Chief Minister of the Punjab, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, was asked what would he do if he were the Governor General of India; he is reported to have replied: "Commit suicide," giving voice to a pessimism that appeared to be more than justified. Sir Sikander, however, appeared to think that the Britishers were not standing in the way of agreement between the different parties in India; and he called upon all of them to face the Pakistan issue. He said at the same time that so far as he was "aware" the leader of the Muslim League "had not defined Pakistan"; it was "a slogan" yet. The "self-determination of territorial units" formed the corner-stone of the "Scheme of Indian Federation" which he had sketched in July of 1939; the principle of this scheme did not "differ from the Cripps offer." It is clear, however, that this principle differed wholly and totally from what is at the back of the Pakistan scheme of the Muslim League. And it is a misfortune that Sir Sikander should have been removed from the field of his mundane activities before he could influence opinion amongst those of his co-religionists who swear by the Pakistan "slogan."

The "real Muslim problem" and the Nizam State

There were other Muslim public men and publicists who regretted that when the Indian National Congress was "off the scene", the leadership of the Muslim League should have failed to take the initiative in wresting power from British hands. Dr. Syed Abdul Latif of Hyderabad (Deccan), one of the earliest of the protagonists of Pakistan—of the ideas and ideals implicit in this separatist scheme—was one of them. In his pamphlet entitled—*The Cultural Future of India*—published in October (1938), he had outlined the division of India into "Hindu Zones" and "Muslim Zones." Since then many personal and impersonal factors have played their part in accentuating the differences between Hindus and Muslims in India that had driven Dr. Latif to write his pamphlet. In Vol. II. of the *Annual Register* of 1938, we discussed Dr. Latif's scheme, drawing attention to the perils inherent in it. After about five years of experience of the ways of politicians who have been exploiting his brain child, the learned doctor of literature appears to have seen light. In an angry statement issued from Hyderabad (Deccan), on the eve of the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay, he criticized Mr. Jinnah for his lapse in manners in dealing with political opponents, specially

the "language and style" of his July 31 statement "so alien to Muslim cultural traditions." And to us who have been one of the earliest of the critics of Dr. Latif's scheme, the sight cannot but be enjoyable when we see him tearing to pieces the arguments that are trotted out to support it. Recognizing the difficulties that would be created for the Muslims, he said :

"The real Muslim problem does not concern so much the Muslims of those parts where they form a majority and can, on that account, look after themselves under any constitution, as it concerns the Muslim minorities from Delhi, Lucknow, Patna downwards to Cape Comorin who will be rendered eternal orphans under Mr. Jinnah's plan. Besides, Hyderabad, the strong-hold of Muslim culture and the rallying point for Indian Muslims, will be permanently segregated from the main current of Muslim life in India and, who knows, eventually smothered for ever.

What is its place in Muslim life

Dr. Abdul Latif is a child of Asaf Shahi traditions. In criticism of his scheme, we wrote the following in Vol. II, of the *Annual Register* of the year 1938 :

"In the hot-house of Hyderabad (Deccan) many a crudity can be made to grow and flourish which would wilt and wither in the free air and sunlight of heaven. We know that with the fall of Muslim power in northern India this State in the Deccan has been the Mecca of Muslim dreamers of dreams of the restoration of Muslim supremacy in the country. Readers of the books of William Scawen Blunt, a British friend of Muslims if ever there was one, specially his book—*India Under Ripon*—can have glimpses of these men. Dr. Abdul Latif is or appears to be a lineal descendant of one of these men. His thesis shows that 20th century Islam in India cannot throw up better men than those who would build Chinese Walls round about certain areas in the country .....Here in India in the 20th. century, Muslims are being called upon to elect of free choice to live in glass houses so that their culture may blossom under artificial sunlight. Dr. Abdul Latiff and the school of thought that he represents forget the lesson of the words of Julius Germinus, Ph. D., Nizam Professor of Islamic Studies in the Visva Bharati, Santiniketan, Bengal, in his book—*Modern Movements in Islam*—that "the inspiration for progress in Islamic culture came from outside Arabia and had its origin in non-Arabic sources," that "only deserts can remain isolated, and only deserts can shelter a society separated by its ancestral and pristine exclusiveness from the rest of mankind."

Short-sightedness of Pakistanis

To us this criticism stands as good as ever, even though in the hands of Mr. Jinnah and his followers the Latif thesis has undergone stranger transformations, so strange that one of the parents of the idea, Dr. Latif himself, has been driven to indite a stinging criticism of the men who have done so. These men have been

"nursing unsophisticated Muslim masses on slogans of a brand of Pakistan the full and numerous implications of which, I have reason to believe, he and his Working Committee have neither studied nor attempted to grasp."

Credal majority principle will smother the Nizam State

These words bear out the opinion of the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan that Mr. Jinnah has not "defined Pakistan." Dr. Latif may be feeling that his disciples have disfigured beyond recognition his scheme. And there are people who may think that being a Hyderabadi, his concern for the State of Hyderabad has angered him more than the ignorance or incompetence of the Muslim League Pakistanis. For, there can be no manner of doubt that if a credal majority be made the guiding instrument of a State, the State of Hyderabad, as we know it today, will have to fade out. The population of the State is divided thus: about 130 lakhs Hindus and 20 lakhs Muslims. By the Muslim

League ideology the majority population of Hindus should decide the fate and future of this State ; the Muslims, being a minority, can have all the safeguards that minorities can legitimately claim And it may be that with the growth of linguistic nationalism the 70 lakhs of Telegu-speaking people will float into the Andhra Province to-be-born ; the 40 to 50 lakhs of Marhatti-speaking people will go to the Maharashtra of-the-future ; and the 30 lakhs of Kanarese-speaking population will go into Kannada Province-to-be. This evolution may fulfil the destiny which Dr Latif has apprehended for his State. Therefore is it that we find a thought-leader amongst Hyderabad people impatient with the antics of the Muslim League confraternity.

Azad-Muslim Conference and its constituents

There are other Muslim public men and publicists who have been showing increasing anxiety with regard to the recklessness of the policy that has been inflaming communal differences in India. The *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* (an organization of Muslim divines), the Red Shirts of the N-W-Frontier Province, the All-India Momin Conference are in this connection prominent in the public eye. These and certain other organisations have co-operated in forming the Azad Muslim Conference with a view to neutralize the poison that the Muslim League has been injecting into the body politic of the country. The guiding spirit of this organization is Dr. Shaukatulla Ansari who has remained true to the legacy of nationalism left us by the late Hakim Ajmal Khan and the late Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, both of Delhi and both Presidents of the Indian National Congress. The eight organizations that constitute the units of the Azad Muslim Conference have at present to swim against the current, against the tide of fanaticism that is easy to release by raising the cry of Islam in danger.

What it is fighting against

An episode in the Bengal Legislative Assembly during its September (1942) session illustrated this. A member of the Ministerial Party, led by Mr. Fazlul Huq, moved or attempted to move an amendment to a motion moved by the leader of the European group supporting the official campaign of repression started after the passing of the Congress resolution. The Opposition led by Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin made it impossible for the mover of the amendment to proceed. In course of the heated discussion that ensued wherein the Deputy Speaker Syed Jelaluddin tried his uttermost to conduct the business of the House, the leader of the Opposition took the plea that the amplification of the motion sought to be moved by Syed Badrudduja concerned the entire Muslim community ; and in elaborating this theme he cried out : "there is not a single Muslim member who believes in *Lailaha Illallahu Muhammadur Rasul-Allah*"...; here he was interrupted. This cry was not called for and could have but one purpose—to whip up the feelings of his followers in a sitting of a legislature where the eruption of such feelings should have had no place. It is against this policy and practice of the Muslim League that the Azad Muslim Conference has been fighting. One of its constituents, the All-India Momin Conference, has, however, a more extended purpose. It is something like the Depressed Classes Conference which has been fighting against the crudities and cruelties of the Hindu social system. In the language of its President, Mr. Zaheruddin, his organisation

"represented the vanguard of the social revolt of the lower stratum of the Muslim community against the class Muslims who mainly occupied the seats of power and formed the bulk of Muslim League membership."

We have tried to outline above the many influences that have worked towards worsening the relation between India and Britain in one of the fateful moments of history. We have to recognise first that by failing to discourage separatist tendencies amongst the many peoples that make up the composite life of India, we have allowed imperialist-minded Britons to pose as guardians of our destiny before the world. Louis Fischer's picture of the spirit that prevails at the Viceregal Palace at New Delhi today recalls to memory the days when Lady Minto presided over it in Calcutta soon after Lord Curzon's fiat that had sought to divide the Bengalee people. State policy in India may try to create and put difficulties in the way of our political ideal. But on the success of our strivings for unity of purpose and action, on our ability to remove these difficulties in the way, will depend the realisation of our hopes and aspirations for political freedom. The many agitations against bureaucratic mishandling of affairs, against the placing of India's interests at the mercy of those of Britain, against the emasculation of the fighting spirit of the people—all these have been steps towards ridding us of our weaknesses. During this process other weaknesses of ours have come to the surface. The history of India since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy has been the history of these strivings of ours after better life. The men and women of that generation were moved by the same impulses as, after a century, we are. The impediments that our short-sightedness or greed may put in our way, in the process of getting these out of our way we will strengthen ourselves. This is the psychology of all the politics in India, the testing stone of the genuineness of all our activities. Since the advent of Mahatma Gandhi into the leadership of our national efforts, our people are being called upon to fight on two fronts—one against the State in India controlled by non-Indians, the other against the many individual and group weaknesses that stand in the way of our goal.

Our century-old fight against internal weaknesses

British imperialists, however, find it difficult to place him in their scheme of things. The Secretary of State for India in the Churchill Cabinet has called him the "arch saboteur" because he has dared to challenge their pretensions and put to the test their declarations about freedom and democracy. He is the leader of "fifth columnists" to their perverted imagination. These people forget what their regime owed to him, to his philosophy of non-violence. Mr. Amery's leader of to-day may be alarmed and nauseated by the sight of "a seditious Middle Temple lawyer, striding half naked up the steps of the Viceregal Palace.....to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King Emperor." President De Valera and Michæl Collins were more than seditious, and Mr. Churchill's leader of the early twenties had to "shake hands with murder" when negotiations began for the ending of the "Black and Tan" regime established in Ireland for breaking the spirit of the Irish people. The Churchill and Amery methods of political controversy cannot have an abiding place in the pages of history. Already these have grown

Gandhiji & British distortion of him

irrelevant. One of the elder statesmen of the British Empire, Field Marshal Ian Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, realized this when he said :

"It is sheer nonsense to talk of Gandhi as a fifth columnist. He is a great man. He is one of the great men of the world, and he is the last person to be placed in that category. He is dominated by high spiritual ideals. Whether those ideals are always practicable in our difficult world is another question."

His non-violence has prolonged British rule

Pearl Buck, reviewing Louis Fischer's book—*A week with Gandhi*—deplored the way in which English Tories and their hirelings had made a "monstrous figure" of this frail man. "There has been more debate and discussion and fury over this old man in the last year than there has been over any other person in our generation except, perhaps, Hitler." And Mrs. Buck thinks that this "distortion of our times" is best illustrated in the British view of Mahatma Gandhi.

"If they were able to appreciate Gandhi, they ought to be thankful that he has believed in non-violence, for this has prolonged the British Empire in India..... Gandhi has held back the spilling of blood for this generation. It is doubtful whether he can hold it back much longer."

Bengal Government communique—"parallel" Congress government in Midnapur

The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of the Indian National Congress consequent on the passing of the resolution on "Quit India" by the All-India Congress Committee, and the outbreak of violence that followed this arrest bears testimony to what Pearl Buck said. The Government of India booklet brings out the wide ramifications of the movement. We have referred to it already. The Government of Bengal published on December 6 (1942) a communique which said :

"Their intention in which for some time they had at least succeeded, was to isolate Contai and Tamluk sub-divisions and to eliminate completely all signs of ordered government and the administration established by law. To that end they had set up and they are still unfortunately maintaining in areas where authority has not been completely restored a regime of intimidation, persecution and extortion directed against the representatives of Government and those amongst the inhabitants who are, or are suspected to be, in favour of the maintenance of law and order.....Officers administering departments of Government within the locality had been detained, or evicted or in some cases cruelly beaten.....Subversive elements contrived to establish as the machinery of their ascendancy, centres of administration with a parody of all the paraphernalia of ordered government—parallel district organisations, so-called courts and jails, centres for the training of 'volunteers' and a number of so-called 'thanas'.

Mr. Fazlul Huq's picture

The Chief Minister of Bengal, Mr. Fazlul Huq, who was Home Minister also, in his speech made in the month of February (1943) in the Bengal Legislative Assembly gave finishing touches to this story :

"Government have in their possession abundant evidence to show that for sometime previous to the adoption by the All-India Congress Committee of the Allahabad resolution on the 8th August, there was something like a network of parallel administration set up in the district of Midnapur.....there were the Commissioner, the District Magistrate, the Sub-Divisional officers, there were Criminal Investigation Department, the Intelligence Branch and the Police and so forth of the Congress.....that after the 8th August when lawlessness broke out in Midnapur, these Police officers of the Congress arrested persons, and the jails of the Congress which were called Gandhi jails were filled with persons arrested by Congress volunteers. And there was evidence to show that many of these persons who called themselves volunteers and the Police of the Congress actually

committed acts of violence on villagers who resisted their attempts to prevent law and order... . "

Mrs. Pearl Buck appears to have sensed right when she said that "Gandhi is too wise a man not to know that his work is nearly done.....now he knows frankly that another must come forth. The new leader will not believe in or practise non-violence." The outburst of violence raises the question—is it the prelude to the end of the Gandhi era ? This question will be exercising the mind of the rulers and the ruled alike for sometime to come. The reprisals of the police and military have accerbated feelings that will continue to fester Indo-British relations. The stories told by members in the September session (1942) of the Central Legislature—the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State—and in the Bengal Assembly, show that civilised governments, even democratic governments, do not come very creditably out of the test when popular feelings get out of control. What has been done in India in 1942-43 does not differ from what O'Dwyer and Dyer did in the Punjab in 1919.

The present & the immediate future

A member of the Council of State, Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha, giving his experiences to his fellow members on September 23rd (1942) said that "these sights will haunt" him to his dying day. In course of his tours through Bihar villages as leader of the National War Front organization, financed by Lord Linlithgow's Government, his eyes saw "all wealthy shops in the bazar looted ; entire villages burnt not by the mob but by the soldiers and by the police" ; and "even the simple-minded villager has begun to compare British methods of maintaining law and order with what he has been told about Axis methods in occupied countries".

The story of Government reprisals

A leader of the Anglo-Indian community and a nominated member of the Central Assembly, Mr. Anthony, found it difficult to "dogmatise or apportion blame unequivocably" in the medley of an almost bewildering variety of sentiments—"of national pride, of a sense of frustration, and a spirit of negation." Mr. P. J. Griffiths, a spokesman of the European community in the Central Assembly, who has resigned from the Indian Civil Service to serve his community, in his speech during the debate on the official motion on the disturbances in India, indicated the "three factors" that played their part in "producing the disturbances." These were—"profound and widespread mistrust of British intentions which exists in large classes of the Indian public" ; the plain fact that "in all parts of the country people are finding it hard to get food grains, kerosine, and many other essential commodities and if they get them at all, they have to pay very high prices" ; the third factor is "the determination of the Congress Party to have its own way at all costs." Mr. Kshitish Chandra Neogy drew attention to the bitterness caused by the working of the "evacuation" and "denial" policy adopted by the Government. On the 4th April last, as "many as 35 villages" in the district of Noakhali (Bengal) were "simultaneously evacuated at the shortest possible notice" ; five days later the Government officer concerned recommended "scales of compensation" so poor and so arbitrary that "no civilised Government can support it." It was a

What produced the disturbances

panic measure. The people were "not allowed to take away their standing huts from their villages"; the sites in which they were to live was of their own choosing; the Government did their duty or thought that they had done their duty to the people by simply driving them from the homes of their fathers. And any body coming to the help of these people incurred the displeasure of the bureaucracy.

Satish Chandra Das-Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan

The case of Sri Satish Chandra Das-Gupta, life and soul of the Khadi Pratisthan of Sodepur (Bengal), the summary way in which he was called upon to leave the district of Noakhali within 24 hours, lays bare a mentality that is conceited with the enjoyment of power irresponsible and unanswerable to public opinion in India, and unresponsive to the feelings of the people. For more than 20 years he has been serving the people whenever they were distressed by nature or by men. He gave up all personal and family concerns and dedicated his superb powers of organisation, his technical knowledge and inventive genius to the service of the poor and the lowly. As one of the organisers of the north Bengal flood relief work, as secretary of the Sankat Tran Samity, through which the sufferers from the earth-quake in Bihar and from other acts of nature in any part of the country were served, Satish Chandra Das-Gupta has built a place for himself in the affections and estimation of people of different starta of society in far distant parts of this country. For many years workers of the Khadi Pratisthan have been organising constructive activities among a section of the people of Feni. To this area, made fruitful by their labour, Satish Chandra Das-Gupta came about the middle of 1942; he was quietly doing the work that he had chosen for himself. When the movement of selective Satyagraha was started in 1940 Gandhiji had desired him "to stay outside of it and devote (yourself) exclusively to rural re-construction." He chose Feni in the district of Noakhali. But he could not shut his eyes to the sufferings caused to the people by evacuation orders passed on villagers in his neighbourhood. He organised medical relief for them, treating about 200 cases of virulent cholera with success, the death rate being only 10 to 12 per cent.

How he has been serving the people from inside the jail

To this man of peace and constructive genius came an order in the after-noon of July 19 (1942) asking him to leave the district within 24 hours. In reply he intimitated his inability to do so leaving his work of service incomplete. In his letter to the district magistrate, he stated all these facts and more—how he had taken up with the Bengal Ministry the matter of the removal of the many grievances of the evacuees, of proper compensation for disturbance to their life and provision for land whereon they could build their life anew; how he had informed the Revenue Minister, Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, that the Bihar Government had been paying 115 per cent "for crop value of evacuated land as against the proposed 50 per cent as at Feni." The Bengal Minister and his secretary, Mr. B. R. Sen, I. C. S., were all sympathy for the sufferers, but they could, it appears, do very little.

It has not yet been explained why there should have been the difference in the rate of compensation as between Bengal and Bihar. In his letter to the district magistrate, Satish Chandra Das-Gupta attempted to enlist his help on the side of a purely humanitarian plan and project, and related to him the history of his own efforts in this behalf; he also told him how the experiences of the April evacuees had been sorrowful in the extreme, a petition addressed to the same officer by villagers bearing out the truth of this plea: "When we see the present condition of evacuees, we can hardly put any reliance upon promises and assurances regarding the future which may come from the Government." Satish Chandra Das-Gupta was put inside the Alipore Central Jail where he has been devoting his abundant energies to set right the Dairy and the Weaving Department of the Jail.

Dr. Shyamaprosad Mukherjee's charge-sheet

But this is not all. Things have happened in the country which shows the State in India in one of its most repulsive moods. The Government adopted the policy of "a tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye"; in reply to brick-bats bullets were sent. It is no body's case that brutality did not characterize the happenings at Chimur where as in places of Bihar policemen were killed or burnt to death. But the Government reprisals that followed did not leave observers in doubt that persons exercising powers of the State did not much differ whether they belonged to the Nazi or Fascist group or to the democratic and Bolshevik group. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, finance minister of Bengal till the middle of November (1942), related in the Bengal Legislative Assembly the story of "provincial autonomy" in action. In course of his speech explaining the circumstances that had led to his resignation, he narrated the doings of the police and the military in the district of Midnapur where, according to official version, had been established an "alternate" government.

> Detailed information was handed over to us, including list of houses that were raided and burnt by or under the direction of the police and the military. I handed over one such long list to some of the highest officials in the Home Department on the very day of the fateful cyclone of October and urged them to see that the barbarous acts complained of came to an immediate end."

The "steel frame" & its unresponsiveness to human distress

The spirit revealed in the activities related above continued rampant even when the districts of Midnapur and the 24-Perganahs were struck by typhoon and cyclone, dealing death to more than 30,000 people in course of 15 minutes. This disaster did not "wash away all the bitterness and the sore from the minds of the officials and the local public alike", to quote the poignant words of Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee; it did not "bind them together in noble determination to alleviate human sufferings." The police and the military are organized animalism controlled by the State and released to work their animalism out on the civilian population when it suited the temper or policy of the managers of the State. We are living in times when the managers of States have to encourage and exploit this animalism for the service of "total war", and they cannot afford to be too squeamish in judging of these outbursts of the beast in men. There-

fore is it that we find Lord Linlithgow's Government almost philosophically unconcerned with these happenings even after the heat and excitement for the maintenance of law and order have subsided. The district magistrate of Midnapur is credited with inditing a report, "recommending that in view of the political misdeeds of the people not only should Government withhold relief, but it should not permit any non-official organisation to conduct relief in the affected area for one month," to quote the words from Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee's speech. This policy was recommended with a view to teach the "rebels" a lesson. The mad "policy of relief by day, and raid and repression by night" was not found contradictory by any of "the high command of the happy coterie at the Secretariat." This in spite of the eagerness expressed by the political leaders of Midnapur, kept within prison walls, and carried to the Government by the Ministers themselves to end all political controversies and activities in the district and concentrate all attention on the saving of lives and relieving the distress of the people. In sheer disgust with the farce of "provincial autonomy" and from a sense of helplessness with conditions such as were revealed at Noakhali and Midnapur, Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee was left no choice but to resign. His letters to Lord Linlithgow and the Bengal Governor Sir John Herbert explaining the whole series of causes of the present discontents have been put into the list of "proscribed literature". "A Minister's accusation of autocratic misrule need not be replied to with facts and figures but must be suppressed under arbitrary rules"—this procedure exposes the unreality of the power that is said to have been transferred to Indian Ministers in the provinces.

Failure of Price Control Conferences

It is understandable that the Indo-British bureaucracy in India should have been driven to adopt the policy of reprisals directed against the "rebels", open and secret. But their failure to tackle the food situation in the country, to maintain the "food front" intact as a requirement of the "total war" in which they were engaged, imparts a sinister meaning to all their activities. Their Price Control Conferences, their "Grow More Campaigns" have proved to be mere window dressing to impress the world. The Government of Lord Linlithgow failed to read the signs of the coming danger or refused to read these aright. It may be a barren controversy today when thousands of men, women and children have been dying of starvation in the cities and villages of Bengal to exchange arguments with regard to responsibility for this state of affairs. But there is a value in this recrimination if we are to be guided by one of the greatest masters of recriminatory literature, the present Prime Minister of Britain, when he uttered the words: "The use of recriminating about the past is to enforce effective action at the present." In India, however, the angry controversies in the Central Legislature and in the Bengal Legislature have not borne any fruit except exposing the anti-social activities of profiteers, speculators and their supporters and patrons in different rungs of State authority.

The upward trend of prices in the country becomes vivid when

Government purchases & rise in prices

we compare the cost-of-living index of the working class people as it has moved from 100 (the pre-war base) to 218 on the last day of the last month of 1942. The average price of varieties of rice has leapt to above 600 per cent, that of *atta* by 600 per cent; the price of coal shooting up more than 200 per cent; the price of cloth more than 300 per cent. Confronted by a situation that was forcing vast masses of the people to the brink of starvation, the Government of Lord Linlithgow did not show by their activity that they were anxious about it. They had organized a vast campaign of purchase of food grains for their military, for the needs of "strategic feeding" of peoples in Iran, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and even Soviet Russia, compelling the people of India to go on short ration so that these other peoples may live and support the Allied cause. The activities of the "United Kingdom Commercial Corporation", financed by the British Government and drawing sustenance and prestige from this all-powerful connection, have been decisive in forcing exports from India. For, it has not been possible for the Government of India, a subordinate branch of the Government at London, to disoblige this powerful commercial institution in its demands on the resources of this country to be sent by it out to any part of the world where British interests and policies required these to be sent. The full story of such purchases, as were done by the "United Kingdom Commercial Corporation" and the other agencies of the Government, both central and provincial, will never be known. The Government are unwilling to make a full statement of these matters; and the various devices they have adopted to shut out enquiries have made the public more suspicious.

Profiteering & speculation started from these

In Bengal where an "autonomy ministry" is said to be functioning, the members of the Ministry have been hard put to it in satisfactorily explaining the circumstances that had led to the appointment of various "agents" for purchasing rice and paddy on Government account for the purpose of feeding their military and other essential services, as also for what has been called the "denial policy", the policy of denying to the expected Japanese invaders any "surplus" food products in possession of cultivators and other people of the countryside in the coastal areas at the top of the Bay of Bengal. In discussions raised in the Bengal Assembly, and through interpellations addressed to the Government, the veil thrown over these transactions has been sought to be lifted a little with not much of a success. Names of well-known businessmen have been brought into the arena of discussion and vague suspicion—Shaw Wallace & Co., Ispahani & Co., Mirza Ali Akbar, H. N. Datta & Sons., Steel Bros., to mention only a few. They were appointed by the Government as distinguished from the Ministry to buy rice and paddy on their account with a view to remove these to safer places far beyond the reach of the Japanese invaders. The world does not know how this paddy and rice were used—what proportion was used for the military and the other essential war services, and what proportion for the civilian population and what proportion for the "strategic feeding" of foreign countries. It is difficult to trust the figures that have

been given of these purchases and disposals. But this the world knows that these purchases were responsible for the creation of conditions that encouraged profiteering. The control of millions of maunds of food grains that passed into the hands of a few individuals or groups of men favoured what is known as "cornering", and panic set in. The Central Government on whose account these purchases were made did nothing to halt the progress of this panic. People rather saw prices of food grains jumping up ; and public men and publicists who have read of the process by which scarcity and famine conditions had been created before saw in these Government purchases the beginnings of a catastrophe in the life of their people. Those of Bengal recalled the 1769-70 famine that had coincided with the establishment of British rule. It had ravaged the eastern districts of Bihar and the western districts of Bengal, killing off one-third—about one crore men, women and children—of the population. The peasantry of those days had complained that "the military wrung from them their last chance of subsistence."

In the present year the country, thrown into a "total war," apprehended worse conditions ; Government's silence and evasive communiques of assurances added to the confusion of things. In the Bengal Assembly a European member in moving a resolution in the last week of March (1943) when the Fazlul Huq Ministry was tottering to its fall, criticising the "Government for their failure to deal with black markets and speculation in and hoarding of foodstuffs", drew attention to how things like these were being managed. In England a profiteer was punished with a maximum penalty of 14 years' penal servitude ; in Bengal "he has been rewarded with progressive removal of price control, embargoes and polite warnings." His concluding words were startling :

Corruption in "high places"

"In the resulting spate of profiteering we are afraid that many persons in high places have not been free from suspicion, holding the view that Government policy has aided and abetted profiteering and speculation, we have no option but to regard this as a fundamental issue....."

In course of the same session, a member of the Opposition, said to be the senior parner of the firm of Ispahani & Co., charged the "Purchasing Officer" of the Government as "himself...buying above the maximum price". It came out also that while the Government "agents" had bought rice at Rs. 6-4 as., at the highest, that rice was being sold to the Army at Rs. 11 and to the Ceylon Government at Rs. 10-8 as. Paddy was bought at Rs. 4-0-4 p., and sold at Rs. 5-6 as., at the highest. This profiteering either by the Government or by its "agents", started the "spate of profiteering" of which Mr. Hamilton has spoken. The Government of Lord Linlithgow has not frankly stated what has been the value and amount of their own purchases, and in the absence of these facts there have been surmises and suspicions that have added to the sense of insecurity created as the result of British defeats in Burma, Malaya and in the Bay of Bengal area. And speculators and profiteers have been exploiting the situation for all that they were worth, and in the process have been able to drive their countrymen to starvation and famine.

Government profiteering in rice & paddy

It is difficult to explain why the Government should have adopted this ostrich policy with regard to the scarcity of food-stuffs that threatened wide areas in the country—Bengal, Malabar, Cochin, Travancore, to name a few. The people felt in their bones the gnawings of hunger ; and as early as September, 1942, the Bengal Legislature was voicing forth the sufferings and fears of greater sufferings felt by the people. The Bengal Ministry, headed by Mr. Fazlul Huq, or the Bengal Government, made the declaration that "in the opinion of the Government", there was "sufficient quantity of rice for the whole Province of Bengal." while the people were buying rice at double the price existing a year before, that is, at three times the pre-war price. And the Central Government was looking helplessly on while profiteers, speculators, hoarders, and the rest of the clan of parasites were fattening on the distress of the masses. An All-Parties Conference resolution held up this failure for the judgment of all times in very moderate terms : "Judging by the Government's industrial policy during the war and the failure to provide the people with sufficient food at reasonable prices, it has failed in vital matters affecting the nation in this crisis." The many U. S. correspondents who had come to India in the wake of U. S. forces were confronted with scenes of poverty and wretchedness in material life that appeared to have startled them. One of them wrote to his paper : "For many Indians the line between perpetual hunger and real starvation is thin. Last week (the third week of December, 1942) that line was thinner than ever."

News of food scarcity rationed

And while Lord Linlithgow's Government has been apologetic in India pleading that all have blundered, it has been briefing the Secretary of State for India with stories of hoarding and profiteering that were intended to transfer the whole blame on the shoulders of the people of India. Side by side the policy of silence was being imposed on Indian and foreign correspondents who might be tempted to tell the full story of the break-down of civilised government. An Anglo-Indian-paper—*The Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore in which Rudyard Kipling had tried his hand in singing songs of the imperial glory of Britain—has been driven to expose this trick :

"The fact is that foreign newspaper correspondents are not permitted to cable abroad even the bare facts of deaths and hospital admissions due to starvation issued daily in Calcutta by the Director of Information to the Bengal Government. Some account of the prevailing distress is permitted to be cabled provided the bare, horrible facts are toned down by descriptions of Government measures to alleviate the distress—measures which are so often good intentions.....Correspondents must not tell the British and American public the blunt facts of the situation."

India's food area going down in spite of "Grow more Food" campaigns

As we write, this knowledge of British failure carried to all parts of the world has not eased the situation for the famine-stricken people. Food from outside India, rice specially, cannot be had for the mere asking. To arrange for transport of wheat in these days when the seas are infested by submarines and ships are difficult to get from the needs of war, is a question of weeks not of days—the precious weeks that may mean death to millions in India, while Canada, the United

States and Australia may not know what to do with their bumper crops. In countries placed in such a predicament the State would have taken the lead in conserving food products or increasing their stock by the efforts of their own people. In Britain they have been doing it. The world has been told that the British people who had been producing food to last them for three months only, the rest coming from beyond the seas and oceans, have since the war began been producing double their accustomed quota. Women have been set to agricultural work in increasing numbers under the impulse of a dire national need. Though the number of people employed in British agricultural activities are fewer now by about 3 to 4 lakhs than during the last war, the production of food-stuffs has grown from more to more by the use of tractors. In June, 1939, these numbered 53,000 ; in July, 1940, these numbered about 75,000. In India Lord Linlithgow's Government initiated with the beating of big guns a campaign of "Grow more Food", spending on this account about a crore of rupees through the provincial administrations. When the member in charge of "Lands", Sardar Jogendra Singh, was holding forth on the great things expected of this campaign, he was asked whether he could supply tractors, fertilisers, seeds and other essential things to get the quick results that were needed. He confessed his inability to do any of these things. The result has been stalking through the country in the shape of skeletons that were once men, women and children. A report of the Bombay Agricultural Department shows that in the year 1941—'42, the area under rice diminished by more than 2½ per cent ; that under wheat by more than 12 per cent ; that under millets by more than 6½ per cent ; only cotton and ground-nuts showed an increase. In the district of Hooghly in Bengal the cropped area showed a decrease of about 45 per cent in course of the last 50 years, neither the people nor the Government being able to halt this rot. Even after the money spent in the campaign in this province during 1942—'43, a sum of about 21 lakhs of rupees, the area under the rice crop showed a decrease of about 3 per cent. These figures tell their story how the agricultural-minded Governor-General has beeen able to organise the food front in India.

Profiteering in cloth industry trade

But this is not the end of the story of the distress of the people. Food has been made scarce. And they have been going about in rags. All this while they have for generations, at least for two generations, been making sacrifices to build up the mechanized cotton textile industry in the country. From a rough estimate one can say that since 1902 when the stirrings of "Swadeshi" feeling were spreading over the country, they have helped the industry with a bounty of Rs. 400 crores of rupees ; a certain amount of this in the shape of preference for Indian mill-made things "even at a sacrifice", as the Congress resolution of 1906 had it ; a certain amount was paid in the shape of higher prices for "Swadeshi" cloth by the imposition of countervailing duties as against British and Japanese textiles. Mahatma Gandhi has told us in his book—*Hind Swaraj*—how shamelessly the Bombay and Ahmedabad mill-owners exploited the "Swadeshi" sentiment of the Bengalee people roused to fury by the Curzonian partition of their

province. We had expected that the brood of these exploiters would be vanishing under the inspiration of the all-India awakening which Gandhiji has been working for. But the experiences of 1942 and 1943 have belied these expectations. Indian cotton-mill-owners and traders in cloth have shown themselves to be as unscrupulous and greedy as their predecessors of our youth during the "Swadeshi" days. A pair of *dhoties* that could be supplied to the customer for Rs. 4 was sold for Rs. 10. During this long-drawn torture of the people we have not heard of any leader of the textile industry and trade making an effective public protest against the spirit of profiteering that has seized their members. We have known many of these mill-owners as patriotic men, helping the cause of the "fighting Indians". Many of them started their life under the inspiration of the "Swadeshi" movement of the first decade of the 20th century. But it will be counted against them that things should have been allowed to happen in their industry and trade that ground the face of their own people. By tolerating these things they have not shown themselves to be better than the conductors of the system of administration that has made possible the "All-India Disgrace" of bringing conditions of famine into India, as the Calcutta Anglo-Indian daily has described the economic debacle. For, there cannot be any manner of doubt that only a few amongst our industrialists and businessmen have come out of the test with clean and unprofiteering hands. An Indian publicist has to record such a verdict with sorrow and shame.

Absence of faith—cause of Indo-British tension

The last six months of 1942 thus ends with India-wide frustration caused by State policy, aided by profiteering and speculation that have brought the people face to face with the dread word and fact—famine. In both these developments men of Indian birth have by their weaknesses and greed played their ignoble part. It is a common-place in any talk on Indian politics to say that lack of faith as between India and Britain stands in the way of the solution of the Indo-British problem. The growing complexities of World War II. of the 20th century have brought this to the fore, to the forefront of international affairs. In things big or in things small, this lack of faith has been erupting into attention. In the failure of the Cripps mission we saw it; in the discussion in the Central Legislative Assembly on the apportionment of expenses as between India and Britain initiated by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta on the 22nd of September (1942) we noticed it; speaking from the bitter experience of the last great war Indian members went on pressing for a clear exposition from the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman, lest India be "presented with a *fait accompli* or were going to be asked for a *post facto* approval of the decision" taken by the Government, to use the words of Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra expressive of a deep distrust of British financial practice. Mr. Churchill's "fatuous casuistry" with the census figures of India can be traced to the same cause.

British policy in India is victim to an inner contradiction during a war which is said to being waged in defence of democracy and freedom. It finds itself punishing those activities in India that the War

Cabinet in London encourages people in Europe under Nazi rule to carry on to sabotage Germany's war preparation. George Edinger writing in the *Overseas Daily Mail* of June 27 (1942) has described the horrors perpetrated by the Nazis in "occupied Europe", and in doing so appealed to international agreements that bar such barbarities: "Taking hostages is against all international law. According to the Hague Convention, "No general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, can be inflicted on a population on account of the acts of individuals." In India the Government that represents him has been merrily imposing "collective fines" on the people, making a speciality of choosing the Hindus alone for punishment as helping the saboteurs. British imperialists blinded by the enjoyment of irresponsible State authority over India's millions has no appreciation of the funny side of this contradiction. They have been playing with the faith of millions in every part of the globe. We have seen how the Press of the United States was very critical and condemnatory of the "Quit India" idea of the Indian National Congress and the disturbances that have followed the arrest and detention of Congress leaders and other nationalist workers whose number has reached more than fifty thousand. But in October (1942) we find the London *Times* bemoaning that "American opinion is now once more predominantly critical of the British official attitude....."

Contradiction between profession and practice

We have read what complacent officialdom in Delhi-Simla thought of the disturbances that kept engaged its police and military for more than two months. In August—September it thought these a "touch and go" affair; in October it was like standing on an ant-hill. Since then India has been kept busy with hunting for food in dust-bins, driven thereto by a men-created scarcity. A Governor-General who began his career in India with the distribution of stud-bulls as a symbol of agricultural advance has his last days in India clouded by conditions of famine. The world has been watching with painful suspense the issue of the battle between the self-respect of India and the needs and necessities of an imperialist Britain. We do not yet know what it will be in the near future. It may appear that the "revolt" of awakened India has been beaten down; that there is no India to take account of; that there are only Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians to claim patches of the country for their own and find satisfaction in crowing from these dung-heaps; it may appear that scarcity of foodstuffs has driven the urge for political freedom from the minds of the people. But history does not uphold such short-sighted satisfaction. The soul of nations has a habit of waiting for decades and centuries to assert its self-respect. Mr. Churchill's predecessor in office declared that the Government of India Act of 1935 will "settle" the India question for a generation at least. It has not even for half a dozen years. What was said of Ireland by a historian is of universal application:

What of the future

"The Irish Free State may 'settle' the problem of Ireland for a generation, perhaps for two, perhaps for a decade—but it does not settle.....Ireland. For always Ireland waits. Always that unconscious soul of her waits, under the pressure of events, for opportunity to rise above the threshold of consciousness, to flare upwards, to astonish the world—and Ireland....."

So will it be in India—(*Specially contributed by Sri Suresh Ch. Deb*).

Proceedings of

The Council of State

AND

The Central Legislative Assembly

AND

Laws passed in Provincial Assemblies

JULY—DECEMBER 1942

The Viceroy's Extended Council

Six New Members appointed

It was announced from New Delhi on the 2nd. July 1942 that H. M. the King has been pleased to approve the following appointments to the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E ; Dr. B. R. Ambedkar ; Sir E. C. Benthall ; Sir Jogendra Singh ; Sir J. P. Srivastava, K.B.E ; Khan Bahadur Sir Mahomed Usman, K.C.I.E.

The present Members of the Viceroy's Council are : H. E. the Commander-in-Chief ; Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member ; Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member ; Mr. *M. S. Aney*, Member for Overseas Department ; Sir *H. P. Mody*, Member for Supply and Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, Law Member ; Mr. *N. R. Sarker*, Sir *Firoz-Khan Noon*, and Sir *A. Ramaswami Mudaliar*.

The following appointments to portfolios have been made :—

Sir *C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar* as Member in charge of Information in succession to the late Right Hon'ble Sir *Akbar Hydari*.

Sir *J. P. Srivastava*, as Member in charge of Civil Defence, in succession to the late Hon'ble Dr. *Raghavendra Rao*.

Sir *E. C. Benthall* and *Khan Bahadur Sir Mahomed Usman* as Members for War Transport and for Posts and Air respectively consequent on the appointment of Sir *Andrew Clow*, late Member in charge of Communications, to be Governor of Assam.

The Hon'ble *Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon*, as Member for Defence.

The Hon'ble Mr. *N. R. Sarker*, as Commerce Member, to succeed the Hon'ble *Dewan Bahadur* Sir *Ramaswami Mudaliar* (who will remain a Member of the Council) on his appointment as a representative of India at the War Cabinet.

Sir *Jogendra Singh* as Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands in succession to the Hon'ble Mr. *Sarkar*.

Dr. *B. R. Ambedkar* as Member in charge of the Department of Labour in succession to the Hon'ble *Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon*.

The portfolio of *His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief* will in future be designated the War portfolio. The new Defence Member will be responsible for the work at present discharged by the Defence Co-ordination Department, together with such other matters relating to the defence of India as are not included in the portfolios of War and Civil Defence.

For the second time since the out-break of the war the Viceroy's Executive Council has been expanded, says a Press Note. The need to create a Membership for Defence to provide for India's representation at the War Cabinet and in the Pacific War Council and to divide the heavy single charge of Communications has involved the addition of three members to the Council's present strength.

As in the previous expansion of 1941, the purpose of the present expansion is to associate representative Indian opinion more closely in the conduct of the war and to provide for the increasing burden of war work, within the frame-work of the present Constitution.

Membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council has been increased from 12 to 15, with eleven non-official Indians, one non-official European and three European officials (including the Commander-in-Chief). At the outbreak of the war the strength of the Council was seven with three Indian members. In July 1941 expansion five new portfolios were created and Indians were placed in charge of them. In the present expansion the Indian Majority has been further increased to 11.

Six new members has been appointed to the vacancies arising from the deaths of the Rt. Hon'ble Sir *Akbar Hydari* and Dr. *E. Raghavendra Rao*, and the appointments of Sir *Firoz Khan Noon* as Defence Member, Sir *A. Ramaswami Mudaliar* to the Pacific War Council and the War Cabinet, and Sir *Andrew Clow* as Governor of Assam and the splitting up of the Communications portfolio into War Transport and Posts and Air.

The Viceroy's Executive Council as expanded and reconstituted provides for the first time representation for the Sikhs, the Depressed Classes and the non-official European community. With the communities already represented the Council provides a cross-section of the principal communities and interests in India who have shown themselves ready to co-operate in a War Government under the conditions imposed by the existing constitution.

His Highness the *Jam Saheb of Nawanagar* and Sir *Ramaswami Mudaliar*, while representing India at the War Cabinet, will have the same status as the representatives of the Dominions. Sir *Ramaswami Mudaliar*, while in London, will continue to be a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The Council of State

Autumn Session—New Delhi—21st. to 29th. September 1943

STANDING COMMITTEE FOR INFORMATION DEPT.

The Council of State commenced its autumn session at New Delhi on the **21st. September 1943**, *Sir David Devadoss* presided.

Mr. *Sri Narain Mehta* and *Pandit Kunzru* raised the question of the Standing Committee for the Department of Information and Broadcasting, occasion having been provided by *Sir Mahomed Usman's* motion for election of two members to serve on a standing committee for the Department of Posts and Air. *Pandit Kunzru* said that at the request of the late Sir Akbar Hydari, Party leaders had nominated members to serve on the Standing Committee for Information and Broadcasting. He wanted to know why no meeting of the Committee had yet been called. Mr. *Shavax Lall* explained that no Committee had yet been formed to advise the Department of Information and Broadcasting.

The Council accepted Mr. *P. N. Sapru's* amendment to Sir *Mahomed Usman's*

CAR ALLOWANCE FOR MEMBERS

resolution relating to motor car haulage allowance for the members of the Council and appointed a Committee to report by the end of the session. The Council then adjourned.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

22nd. SEPTEMBER :—A debate on the political situation in the country was initiated in the Council this morning by **Sir Mahomed Usman.** He spoke as follows :

Soon after the arrest of the Congress leaders on August 9, there were concerted acts of violence and sabotage not only in Bombay but in Madras, the Central Provinces, Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar. They were specially directed against the railways, telegraphs, telephones, post offices, police stations and other Government buildings. The provinces of the Punjab, Sind and Northwest Frontier were remarkably free from these attacks. The extent of the damage done was very great. About 258 railway stations were destroyed, of which about 180 were in Bihar and the east of the United Provinces. Forty trains were derailed, as a result of which casualties to railway staff were one killed and 21 injured and casualties to other personnel in accidents arising from the disturbances were three killed and 30 injured among Government servants or troops and 2 killed and 23 injured, among passengers. Great damage was done to the railway engines, the permanent way and the rolling stock. About 540 post offices have been attacked, of which 50 were completely burnt down and 200 seriously damaged. There have been till now about 3,500 instances of wire-cutting. About one lakh worth of cash and stamps were stolen from the post offices, and numerous letter boxes were removed and destroyed. Further, about 70 police stations and outposts and 140 other Government buildings were attacked, the majority of which were burnt. Attacks were also made on many municipal buildings and private property. The total damage done to the railways, posts and telegraphs alone, taking into account the loss of earnings, would be much over a crore of rupees.

The total damages done in the Nagpur District of the Central Provinces is estimated at Rs. 1,25,000 while in another case in the Central Provinces, Rs 3,50,000 were looted from a Treasury (one lakh has since been recovered). In the United Provinces, a private doctor's dispensary was sacked with a loss of Rs. 10,000. In Delhi, the total damage to buildings is estimated at Rs. 8,86,601. The situation has much improved. Sporadic acts of sabotage and mob violence are still being continued.

To control and suppress these disturbances and to maintain law and order in the country, the following measures were taken.

The Congress Committees were declared to be unlawful associations and important individuals who were likely to organise and lead mass movements and create disturbances with the object of paralysing the administration were detained. As this movement was intended to interfere in the prosecution of the war and to paralyse the war efforts action was taken under the Defence of India Rules. The Penalties Enhancement Ordinance, the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance and the Collective Fines Ordinance were put into operation. Certain restrictions on the publication of news were imposed in the best interests of the

country. In the disturbed areas, the fullest use was made of the police who had, on several occasions, to face very difficult situations and were forced to open fire on riotous mobs. As a result of this, about 390 people were killed and about 1,600 wounded. A large number of policemen were injured and 32 were killed.

British and Indian troops were used in aid of the civil power in about 60 places. They were forced on many occasions to open fire, the casualties being 331 killed and 159 wounded, and the military casualties being eleven killed and seven wounded. The Air Force was employed for reconnaissance and patrol.

The police and the military have been called upon to meet a very grave situation in various places. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing the appreciation of the Government of the excellent work done by them. It is a matter for congratulation that all ranks of Government servants have done their duty most faithfully and loyally—on many occasions under very difficult circumstances. As in all engineered movements the general public had nothing to do with these disturbances. In several cases labour has been forced to take part in them. It is a matter for satisfaction that the Muslim community and the Scheduled Castes have as a whole stood entirely aloof.

The cutting of telephone and telegraph wires, removal of rails, demolition of bridges, impeding the war effort and running a parallel Government were all on the Congress programme of open rebellion, as may be seen from the instructions issued by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, which were published by the Government of Madras.

Mr. Sankar Rao Deo, a Member of the Congress Working Committee, who has been arrested and is now detained, speaking at Marol and Ghatkopar in the Bombay suburban district on the 26th and 29th of July, said that he thought the entry of Japan into the war should be an encouragement to Indians, who should and did derive pleasure from the successes of the Germans. He went on to suggest that the mass civil disobedience movement would take the form of a general strike in all factories, mills and transport undertakings which would cripple the war machinery.

The fact that the method adopted for interfering with communications was of the same pattern in all parts of the country and the selection of military areas and objectives for special attack seem to indicate a common guiding policy with the definite object of inviting Japan to attack India. No party which sincerely desires to rally the country whole-heartedly in resistance to the enemy could possibly, in any circumstances, have let the country in for what has happened since the 9th of August.

For all these disorders Congress cannot be absolved from responsibility, as Mr. Gandhi and the other Congress leaders had been preaching for some time an open rebellion against the Government of the country apart from the terms of the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee. Some say that Government had been hasty in taking action. If we had only delayed taking action, this dangerous movement to rebel against Government and to impede the war effort would have taken such tremendous shape as to cause irreparable damage to this country. The Congress alone is responsible for the present situation and for the destruction of life and encouraging and promoting these acts of violence and sabotage, the Congress has done the greatest disservice to this country at a time when Japan is at the very doors of India. The action taken by the Government is, therefore, thoroughly justified.

Sir A. P. Patro said that long speeches could not improve the situation in the country and the need of the hour was sincere co-operation of every section of Indian people to win the war. He claimed that Swaraj after the war had been definitely assured and questions relating to the constitutional issue need not be raised during the war. Referring to the demand for a National Government, Sir A. P. Patro said that the biggest mistake India made was not to take advantage of the two opportunities offered to her people, firstly, in the August Offer and secondly, in the Cripps Proposals. In this connection he referred to Mr. Jinnah's declaration in the Assembly two years ago that the Muslim League would be prepared to postpone their demand for Pakistan during the war provided the Hindus agreed to a balance of power with them in the Central Executive. Sir A. P. Patro felt that Mr. Jinnah's offer still held good and the only method of reaching a settlement was to agree to it.

Mr. M. N. Dalal (Bombay) emphasised that a National Government at the Centre was essential not only to ginger up the war effort but also to create the atmosphere necessary to repel any aggression. Therefore, the demand for

a National Government must be viewed with sympathy. Mr. Dalal stressed that the Cripps offer was now out of the picture and urged that further efforts must be made to satisfy the demands of the Indian people. Mr. Dalal severely criticised the latest statement of Mr. Churchill on India.

Mr. P. N. Sapru said that none outside a lunatic asylum could condone the disturbances that had broken loose in the country after the arrest of the Congress leaders. At the same time he felt the speech of Sir Mahomed Usman in the morning exhibited "utter lack of responsibility and statesmanship." He pointed to the feeling of estrangement against the Government in the country the responsibility for which, according to him, rested with the Government. People had been alienated from law and felt that the Government were preparing them not for freedom but for maintaining the *staus quo*. The eleven "wise men" on the Council of the Governor-General, who where completely ignored by Sir Stafford Cripps, but whose services have suddenly been recognised by Mr. Churchill, "are regarded by us as glorified Secretaries. They are an imposition from above and not the representatives of the Parties in the country." In a rapid survey of the Indian situation during the last two years, Mr. Sapru declared that the British Government had no real use for the Muslim League. It was exploiting the League's attitude to deny India her freedom. "The Cripps scheme was so devised that Britain would have been able to maintain her hold on India for all time to come and there would have been no union of India", Mr. Sapru declared. He also criticised Professor Coupland's booklet on the Cripps mission and said that it was a mere piece of propaganda for American consumption. Similarly, Sir Stafford Cripps' statement that the Governor-General-in-Council was like the American President and his Cabinet was a "deliberate mis-representation at the cost of India." Mr. Sapru then showed how the constitutional position of the Executive Council had deteriorated after the Act of 1935. He said that law and order had become the sole concern of the Governor-General and matters relating to Indian States had been taken away from the purview of the Governor-General-in-Council. Reference, he said, had been made to the declarations that Swaraj would be given after the war by the British Government. These declarations, Mr. Sapru maintained, amounted to India achieving self-rule through an agreement amongst various parties, which had been left undefined. In this connection he referred to the Congress offer that the power and authority of the Government could be transferred to the Muslim League and said that if the Government were sincere in its professions, they should negotiate with the Muslim League if not with the Congress.

Mr. Sapru affirmed his faith in the unity of India, notwithstanding which he would be prepared to agree to the principle of self-determination for the Provinces, provided the Provinces were re-shaped and redemarcated in accordance with the Lahore Resolution of the League. He urged the Muslim League to open negotiations with the Congress and the other parties, adding that there could be no humiliation in negotiating with one's own countrymen. An earnest effort should be made to reach a settlement, and if we fail we should not hesitate to refer our dispute to the United Nations, he urged.

In conclusion, Mr. Sapru said that the responsibility for the disturbances was not his, nor had he had any responsibility for the policy which had resulted in the disturbances, nor for Government's action in meeting the disturbances. He had not been consulted. On these grounds he said, he refused to support the Government's present policy.

Sir Hissamuddin declared that the present movement had not affected the loyalty of the classes who were the back-bone of the Indian army. Recruitment was going on with increased tempo and he could personally vouchsafe for that fact. The Mussalmans had kept aloof from the present movement and so had the people in the Indian States. The Ruling Princes, he said, had handled the situation admirably well. Sir Hissamuddin congratulated the Government on its prompt action and said that he was confident that India would get her freedom after the war. The Council at this stage rose till the next day.

23rd. SEPTEMBER :—The debate to-day was opened by Mr. **Sri Narain Mehta** who asserted that the present situation in India was the natural result of Britain's attempt to arrest the progress of forces which had been at work since the last war. When the storm that had long been brewing in Europe finally burst in 1939, India would have been satisfied with a declaration of her Independence. The country wanted that Britain should act up to her professions so freely made, but

all that Britain did was to set up one party against the other and to represent to the world that self-rule for India was an impossibility. Proceeding, Mr, Sri Narain said that this movement was neither a students' movement nor a Congress movement nor even a fifth column attempt to sabotage India's war effort. "It is the desperate gesture of a nation, before whom you have dangled the offer of political freedom."

Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das said that the Government were suffering from 'propaganda complex'. Having made up their minds not to part with power, they realised that they must one day come into clash with the Congress. They thought that the Congress could be crushed at a stroke. Having assumed that the Congress movement would have no backing, they gave to the world a daily picture of 'all quiet on all fronts'. For some weeks, they were told that there were hardly any disturbances worth the name, and the All-India Radio even ceased mentioning the matter. Suddenly the Government appeared to have changed their propaganda technique and had now let loose an account of arson, looting, murder and sabotage to show that they had been faced with open repellion and that but for the loyalty of the military and the police and the Government servants, the rebellion might have paralysed the machinery of the Government. "I suspect", the member said, "that the motive behind the propaganda is to keep the Congress leaders locked up in jail during the war".

The Rai Bahadur had no hesitation in saying that the Defence of India Act had been misused. The real position was sought to be hidden under the plea that there were eleven Indian members on the Executive Council. "It is our misfortune that their number is being exploited to deceive the world regarding the true state of affairs in the country."

The speaker also referred to the rate of Indianisation in the army and the differentiation shown to Indian officers in the matter of rations. He concluded: "I hope that the Indian Councillors will play an honourable part in securing India's freedom and the Government will give up the propaganda stunts and face the realities of the situation".

Mr. R. R. Hadow (European Group) said: "It is true that the Congress have for the present fallen from grace, but I have no doubt that they will rise again and create further mischief with the financial backing of certain Indian business magnates. Let it be clearly understood that we do not wish to leave India. We ask for no special treatment or concessions not granted to the citizens of the country. We hope to continue to assist the country to further advancement in all respects." Referring to the demand for a National Government, Mr. Hadow said: "To change horses in mid-stream is always a hazardous operation, and should never be attempted except when, if successful, the result justifies the risk. But with an allegedly representative party showing no desire to join with others in presenting a united front against the common enemy and the other major party standing aloof, it is impossible to form a truly National Government. In the interim, I would beseech all Indians to forget their differences and to exert every effort to the gaining of early and complete victory."

Mr. Mahomed Hussain doubted the benefits of the debate and blamed the Indian Members for not placing any constructive suggestion before the Council. The Indian Members should have evolved some formula which might have eased the present situation, if not solved the deadlock. He made bold to say that the test of the present policy, whether it was successful or not, would come if the country was invaded by Japan, He also asserted that amongst the masses there was a great deal of anti-British feeling and "the present movement had accentuated this feeling". Mr. Hussain condemned the disorders, and said that no Government worth its name could surrender to the challenge of open rebellion. The Congress took its decision without consulting any party, and in spite of the warnings given to it by leaders of the other parties. He, however, urged some steps to be taken immediately to secure the co-operation of at least those groups and parties which were ready for co-operation. He suggested that the Government should convene a conference of the members of the Central Legislature and evolve a formula for easing the present situation in the country. The formula so evolved should be submitted to the Viceroy for necessary action.

Sardar Bahadur Sobha Singh wondered if it was a compliment to his community that the Leader of the House had refrained from mentioning the part it had played in the present crisis, which had enabled the Punjab to pass through these difficult days without any serious and untoward incident. It would not be out of place to mention here the desire and determination of the community to merge

itself in the nation as a whole and to stand for the integrity of India and to claim for non-Muslims the right of self-determination in all such areas in which they were not in majority in case it was conceded to others. He paid a tribute to Sir Jogendra Singh and said that the whole community was behind him.

Mr. **Padshah** (Muslim League) blamed the Government for the present disorders in the country, which, he asserted, were the direct result of pampering the Congress. Mr. Padshah said that the offer of Mr. Jinnah for whole-hearted co-operation still held good.

24th. SEPTEMBER :—**Sir Jogendra Singh**, Member for Education, Health and Lands opening the discussion to-day said :

"I have listened to the debate with deep concern and a feeling of frustration. It would be futile at this stage for me to dissect the carcass of deplorable events. No Government can rejoice in these fateful days if it is compelled to maintain law and order, when all its energies should be directed in preparations to meet the perils, which it may be, at any moment, called upon to face.

"Nothing is lost ; indeed, everything would be gained if we face the realities, sink all party and communal differences and enter upon our heritage. We can then ask His Majesty's Government to close this sorry chapter of misunderstandings, negotiations and declarations by a definite Act, and endow India with Purna Swaraj. By giving at once England can secure India as a willing partner in her struggle for survival. Would to God a wave of wisdom swept away the cobwebs of distrust and disbelief on both sides and between the communites in the realisation, in the words of *Sadi*, "that we are limbs of one another". Even Mr. Jinnah may see that he cannot create a holy land unless he sees in those amidst whom he lives the face of a brother. May I take this opportunity of mentioning that Mr. Jinnah was wrong ? Muslim representation in the Army stands at 32 per cent and the others provide the remaining 68 per cent.

"Let Gandhiji worship at the shrine of non-violence and Mr. Jinnah sharpen his knife to carve out a Pakistan, but let the Central Legislature do the one thing that is needful, and act as the representative of millions who desire peace and a better living, whose hearts throb in unison in thousands of villages who are aware that all religions teach that concord is a blessing and discord a curse, who, in spite of preachings which have been raging in full blast, have lived for centuries and live now as good neighbours.

"Let us forget that there are such organisations as the Congress and the League. Let us no more waste our stock of emotions in vain pursuit of theories which have no relation to facts. Let the representatives of the Princes and the people come together and resolve the deadlock. Let them present a united demand for fulfilment of the promise, which was re-affirmed by the Prime Minister only the other day. My lips can utter no word of indifference regarding the aspiration of all the people of India. Let us work for the realisation of these aspirations.

"My friend, the hon. Mr. Sapru, and other speakers have spoken of the eleven contemptibles who have joined the Government. My friend the hon. Mr. Sapru seems familiar with the writings of John Morley. He must have noted the controversy over the appointment of a single Indian to the Viceroy's Executive Council. Lord Linlithgow can, in any case, claim that he has secured an Indian majority in his Executive Council, while the great positivist thinker and Liberal statesman could not reconcile himself to the appointment of a single Indian.

"I can assure the hon. Mr. Sapru that we hold these positions in trust. I have not studied the Act or the Rules of Business, but I can affirm without any fear of contradiction, that we exercise all the powers which the Members of the Executive Council have exercised. Further, it is not our purpose, to make Bibles of the fading script of Rules, which may not suit the new complexion of the expanded Council. It shall be our endeavours, of all my colleagues, who think alike, to transform the Executive Council into a Cabinet, if you also play your part, and endow us with power, but if you leave us in splendid isolation then you rob us largely of our powers to carry out your wishes. I feel like asking in the words of *Ghalib*, what kind of friends are these, who have turned into advisers and critic, they who ought to have been busy in translating their sympathy into action?

"I can assure you I have not come, in this last stage of my journey on this earth, to waste my days, but to serve my King and my country, to advocate to the best of my power the views of those whom I represent, to stand for the integrity of India, to utilise every opportunity to secure what the heart of India

desires and to make a larger happiness more universally possible.

"May I say, with all humility, that the mantle of a Minister cannot cloud the spirit of a man who no longer wishes to please men but to please God."

Pandit H. N. Kunzru paid a warm tribute to Sir Jogendra Singh for the tone and tenor of his speech. It showed, he said, that the Indian Members of the Council were fully alive to the situation in the country and were keeping the Viceroy well posted. While he recognised the duty of the Government to put down disorders, he emphasised it was also its duty to understand the causes which had manifested themselves in the form of the present disorders. He regretted that Sir M. Usman would not even accept the responsibility of raising the constitutional question in the Executive Council.

After citing instances of what he characterised as excesses committed in the name of law and order, Pandit Kunzru pleaded that an impartial enquiry should be instituted. He was not a Congressman, nor did he agree with Congress policy. Notwithstanding this, he repudiated the allegation that the object of the Congress was to invite Japan to India. As for the responsibility of the Congress for the present disturbances, he said the Congress leaders had been clapped into jail immediately after the meeting of the A. I. C. C. at Bombay and had no time even to inform their colleagues or followers of the Congress plans. The disturbances reflected the feeling of the country in respect of the present Government. He asserted that "when people rebelled it was not their fault but their misfortune." The Government should realise their responsibility towards the people for whom they said they were trustees.

The people had been exasperated by the policy of the British Government since the war. In the two expansions of the Governor-General's Executive Council, for instance, the key portfolios were still retained for the Britishers. All political groups in the country were unanimous in the demand for the transfer of power to Indians, but Sir Stafford Cripps declared, they should remember, that Defence would not be transferred even if there was a united demand for its transfer. "I have still to learn that the Muslim League is not for freedom of the country or for transfer of power to Indians", he declared. The Congress and the Sapru Conference made similar demands and it was the refusal of the British Government to part with power that had led to the present upheaval. The British Government were carrying on intensive propaganda that it was the lack of unanimity amongst the Indians that stood in the way of their transferring power, but they had not yet declared that they would transfer power if there was unity amongst the Indian parties.

Referring to the Pakistan demand, Pandit Kunzru wanted to know from the Muslim League what effect it would have on India as a whole, what would be the boundaries of the proposed Pakistan and whether the plebiscite would be for the Muslim population or for the entire population of an area. While on this subject, he hoped Indians would have patriotism enough to settle their differences.

Referring to anti-Gandhi propaganda, Pandit Kunzru warned the Government that they would not succeed by such tactics. He made two constructive proposals. Firstly, he said that power must be transferred to Indians without delay, but, during the war, the power of veto in matters relating to Defence could be retained by the Viceroy. Secondly, the veto of the Viceroy in matters relating to the financial and economic field should be eliminated by conventions.

Mr. Hoosain Imam (leader, Muslim League Party) criticised the recent speech of the Commander-in-Chief that India could be defended by armed forces. "It is only we, the representatives of the recognised parties, who can pull you out of the present morass", he declared. The expansion of the Executive Council, he said, had not helped the Government, nor was likely to help them.

Referring to Pakistan, he welcomed the change in the attitude of Messrs. Kunzru and Sapru, and said that territorial readjustments were envisaged in the Lahore Resolution of the League.

Pandit Kunzru: Why do you not define the territories now ?

Mr. *Hoosain Imam*: How can I define the territories unless the principle of self-determination is agreed to ?

Proceeding, he said that the plebiscite in the areas concerned would be confined to Muslims only. Just as the Muslim minorities in the Hindu Homelands would have no right to demand a plebiscite, in the same way and for the same reasons, the non-Muslim minorities would have no right of self-determination

in the Muslim Homelands. He wondered why the non-Muslims were so afraid of a Muslim plebiscite when, according to them, large sections of Muslims, headed by Moulvi Fazlul Huq, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and Mian Zaheeruddin were with them and were opposed to the League.

Referring to the Congress, he said, that it was not representative of the whole of India, and the sooner it realised that fact, the better it would be for all concerned. The Congress had closed the door for negotiations by declaring that there could be no settlement unless the British quitted India.

Mr. Hoosain Imam, referring to the present impasse, said that the refusal of the British to part with power was responsible for the deadlock. He demanded a clear, unequivocal statement that the British were prepared to transfer power to the representatives of the recognised parties. "Mere expansion of the Council and Indianisation without transfer of responsibility will not meet the case. We must have the power to regulate and check the members of the Government."

Referring to Mr. Hadow's claim that horses could not be changed in midstream, he asked whether Britain was not in midstream after the fall of France when there was a change in the Prime Ministership in that country.

Mr. Hoosain Imam blamed the Congress for not reaching a settlement with the Muslims before launching the movement. "We would have been in jail with the Congressmen to-day and our demand would have been irresistible", he declared. Mr. Imam reminded the Government that the Muslims were out of the Congress movement to-day because of the League and deserved better of Mr. Churchill than the mere right of self-expression. He also criticised the Government for its unpreparedness to meet the Congress challenge, but said that as he was not consulted by the Government or the Congress, he refused to apportion blame for the present disorders to any party.

Sir J. P. Srivastava, Member for Civil Defence, speaking as the youngest member of the Executive Council, said that the Indian Members had made every endeavour to resolve the deadlock. It was true that their efforts had not yet succeeded. He took the opportunity to explain the position of the Executive Council. He said that under the Act of 1919, they were not allowed to initiate measures for constitutional progress. They could not frame a constitution affecting themselves and never had the Council initiated such a step with the probable exception of the Muddiman report. The Act made this clear. "But I do not say that the Executive Council cannot use its influence. I can say, without any fear of contradiction, that we are treated most liberally and never has there been any occasion when the Governor-General has turned down our advice. We are allowed to function as a composite Cabinet, and what the law does not permit, has been allowed by conventions and practice.

"I am under an oath of secrecy and cannot divulge the secrets of the Council. I may however add that we are not oblivious to the conditions in the country. We are convinced that something must be done. Members of the Council can be of great help when the demand for a National Government is made. I, however, wish that speeches made in the Council were made not here but outside. It weakens our stand. We are up against communal and other dissensions. A National Government has no room for sectional or communal dissensions and unless we have a Congress-League settlement, we are helpless.

I recently used my influence to persuade the Mahasabha to try to reach a settlement with the Muslim League and other parties. I assure you that the Indian Members are at your bid and call. We regard you as our masters. But you must come to us with a definite united command, and I assure you that we will carry out your orders".

Referring to the efforts of the Government to reach a settlement, Sir Jwala Prasad said that soon after the outbreak of the war, the Viceroy invited Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah to strengthen the home front. His Excellency made certain proposals for setting up a representative Executive at the Centre. According to his information, Mahatma Gandhi demanded the right to nominate all the members to the Council. To this, the Viceroy could not agree, nor would the 52 leading public men whom the Viceroy had consulted. Soon after, the Congress Ministries resigned. This Sir Jwala Prasad regarded as the biggest blunder of the Congress, for otherwise they would have influenced the British Government a great deal and some way might have been found to end the deadlock. He also regretted that the Congress did not accept the Federation scheme. If they had accepted Federation, the bogey of Pakistan might not have been created. The August Offer and the Cripps Proposals were two more steps taken to reach

a settlement, but both the attempts failed. The Cripps Offer was made, he said, to placate the Congress and the League.

Referring to the present disturbances, Sir Jwala Prasad said that soon after his arrival at New Delhi, he was informed that the Congress was making preparations to launch a mass movement. "We were faced with a life and death struggle. With Japan threatening from the East and Hitler from the West, we could not take risks. We had no alternative but to take action against the Congress leaders. But the steps then taken were not designed to be punitive or vindictive. We were all agreed that minimum force should be used and the Congress leaders should be treated with all respect and comfort. Things, however, had turned out differently."

Mr. **Parker** (European Group) said that a few weeks ago a major political party announced its intention to organise a rebellion. In most countries the Government would immediately have arrested and probably shot the leaders of such an organisation. The Congress seemed to him to have chosen their time to stir up rebellion. It is always easier to excite the masses at times when food is difficult to obtain and expensive when it is obtainable. The Congress, however, must have known that the unfortunate people whom they were urging to damage communications, would themselves be the first and greatest sufferers. The second important result of their rebellion was to reduce the efficiency of war effort. It was therefore clearly in the interests of the people of India and of the United Nations for the Government to take the preventive measures they did, and he doubted if anyone of them placed in similar situation would have delayed the action longer.

Referring to the immediate future, Mr. Parkar said that "there cannot, for the time being, be any suitable recipient of the powers which it is urged should be transferred. Perhaps, the best hope of changing this position lies in some of those now, and for some time past, acting as the controlling forces of the Congress party being replaced by others, including, I hope, some of the able men who have taken part in the Congress activities in the past."

Winding up the debate, **Sir Mahomed Usman** said that there were no strong reasons to assume that excessive force was used by the police and the military. Therefore, there would be no enquiry into their conduct. "The hon'ble Mr. Sapru said that in quelling the disturbances, Nazi methods were adopted. I would like to assure the House that Nazi methods were never adopted by the British Government in the administration of this country at any time. If they had been Nazi-minded, they would not have brought parliamentary institutions like the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State into existence nor allowed a discussion on the present situation. If to-day, barring the Congress, the whole country stands behind the British Government in the prosecution of the war, (Mr. Sapru : Nonsense) it is due to the sense of British justice and fairplay which they have introduced into the administration of this country.

The hon'ble Mr. Sapru had, Sir M. Usman continued, condemned the speech of Mr. Churchill, pleaded for the abolition of the India Office and condemned the attitude of Sir Stafford Cripps. They all knew that when Sir Stafford Cripps, well-known for his sympathy with the political aspirations of India and a great friend of the Congress, came to India and carried on his talks with all the important political parties, he discovered that the real object of the Congress was to get unlimited power for itself. "Mr. Amery had been trying to protect in any political settlement the interests of the Muslim community, the Depressed Classes and the Princes and other interests. For this offence his office should be abolished. Instead of being grateful to the Prime Minister for making the Cripps proposals as the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament he is condemned, because he spoke the bitter truth that the Congress does not represent the whole Indian nation. When the Muslims have all practically gone out of the Congress and have come under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, the Congress has lost its national characteristic. If further evidence of this is needed, you will find that the Muslims throughout India obeyed the mandate of Mr. Jinnah and completely abstained from joining the present civil disobedience movement," he declared.

Quoting extracts from the speeches of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India on the future of India, Sir M. Usman said that the resolution of the political problem lay in Indians' hands. If they did not agree among themselves and did not show any sprit of give and take, why blame the British Government?

ALLOCATION OF DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

25th. SEPTEMBER :—The Council to-day passed five official Bills and a non official measure as recently passed by the Legislative Assembly. It rejected, by 22 to 11 votes, Mr. *Hoosain Imam's* resolution urging that for the apportionment of war expenditure between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India, a new basis be framed in consultation with the representatives of the parties in the Central Legislature.

The official Bills included two Bills to amend the Civil Procedure Code, a Bill to amend the Rubber Control Act, a Bill to amend the Indian Companies Act and the Repealing and Amending Bill. The non-official Bill, which was sponsored by Mr. *P. N. Sapru* was designed to confer supplemental powers on the Federal Court.

Speaking on his resolution regarding allocation of Defence expenditure, Mr. **Hoosain Imam** declared that the questions involved in the financial settlement were of such vital importance to India that they could not but demand their right to be consulted before a final agreement was reached. Analysing India's case he said that although British troops were stationed in Egypt, that country did not contribute any money towards their cost. He explained that, in the case of Egypt, the cost was not apportioned on a geographical basis but on the basis of the interests the army garrison served. The capacity of the country to meet the cost of the defence measures was another factor taken into consideration in apportioning the cost of the Egyptian defences. The speaker pointed out the case of the American army in India which was cost-free to India and said that he saw no reason why Britain should not treat India on the same basis.

Mr. Hoosain Imam also claimed that had the Indian army been raised by a National Government its cost might have been nearly half of the present cost.

Proceeding, Mr. Hoosain Imam said that he did not agree with the Congress that India was not a party to this war and, therefore, should not be called upon to make any contribution towards its cost. Having made his position clear, he claimed that India was vitally concerned in regard to the quantum and method of of apportionment of the defence expenditure. Deducing from the Egyptian analogy, he said that the army in India, both British and Indian, was maintained both for Indian and Imperial defence. "India to-day was the base for operations against Japan and against Germany. and it was only right that India's expenditure should be in accordance with her own needs. The new situation demanded a new arrangement. Lastly, the resolution demanded consultation with the Legislature before the agreement was finalised.

The resolution was opposed by Sir *A. P. Patro* and supported by Messrs. *P. N. Sapru* and *H. N. Kunzru*. Sir *A. P. Patro* held that the resolution was redundant as, in his opinion, it was premature to disturb the existing agreement. As for the demand for consultation, Sir A. P. Patro said that there was already a Standing Finance Committee, which could always be consulted by the Government.

Mr. **P. N. Sapru** declared that there was no desire on their part to escape a legitimate share of defence expenditure. The issue before them was what was a legitimate and reasonable share. He wanted the Finance Member to give an assurance that the Government would take into their confidence the representatives or leaders of parties in the Central Legislature before an irrevocable and final decision was reached. If they came to the House with their minds already made up, any discussion would only be of an academical nature.

Mr. Sapru proceeding said : "During the last three days, we had been listening to the mighty achievements of the Indian members of the Executive Council as to what they have done and what they could not do. I trust that the financial questions under discussion are not beyond their purview and that they would use their full weight to reach a settlement in the best interests of India and also that they will lend their support to our demand for consultation."

Pandit **Hridaya Nath Kunzru** said that the principle on which the present agreement was based, speaking in the abstract, was not open to criticism. The system of apportionment, however, he said, was very important. Want of a system during the last war had disastrous results for India. In determining the apportionment, it was natural that the representatives of the people should desire to be consulted. He admitted that there was a Standing Finance Committee, but that body had no representation of the Council of State on it. After referring to the Chatfield recommendations and their bearing on the financial capacity of India, Pandit Kunzru said that the war budget had increased from 6½ crores in

1940-41 to Rs. 81 crores in the current year. He particularly wanted the Finance Member to indicate how the defence expenditure of the countries situated like India was financed. He said that the Finance Member had already announced in the Central Legislative Assembly that he would provide them an opportunity to express their views if there was any new basis of agreement. He wanted to be consulted before any new basis was arrived at.

Lastly, Pandit Kunzru enquired what would be the financial or other implications of the Lease and Lend supplies from the U. S. A. He referred to the recent statement that the supplies were not a mere gift and there would be some *quid pro quo*.

Sir **Joremy Raisman** observed that any discussion regarding the financial position of the country and regarding its capacity must, to a large extent, be either abstract or unrelated to the current situation, if it took place at a time other than the Budget Session when complete figures would be available and would be presented to the House. That was his first difficulty. A second and even more acute difficulty was that the whole subject of the defence financial relations between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government was at present under consideration by the Government of India and in those circumstances it was virtually impossible for him to make any useful statement. The facts, he said, had all been presented to his Indian colleagues in the Executive Council, who were in full possession of the whole subject; and nobody need have any apprehension whether they would fully exercise influence in securing an arrangement which was satisfactory to this country. Even if there were any doubts about his own anxiety to protect Indian interests to the utmost, he might say that the present constitution of the Government would make it impossible for any dereliction of duty of that kind to take place.

The Finance Member said that he would ask the supporters of the resolution to consider whether, in all circumstances, they would commit themselves to a definite recommendation that a new basis of some kind should be framed. Might it not be that, on a review of all the circumstances, and, particularly if they had knowledge of the point of view taken by the other principal party in this matter—His Majesty's Government—all their efforts would be concentrated on endeavouring to maintain the present basis?

The question of consultation with the House must, as he had pointed out in the Assembly, depend on the nature of the decisions which the Government of India were disposed to adopt. If the Government of India were contemplating or were faced with the possibility of a new type of liability or something which went beyond the principles of the existing settlement, then, it would undoubtedly be ground for considering, whether, at that stage, legislature should not be given an opportunity to express its views on such a departure or such a new liability. But if the situation were otherwise, it would not necessarily follow that a useful discussion would take place before the Budget Session. He had already indicated in the other place that the Government of India would consider the desirability of issuing a statement sufficiently in advance of the Budget Session to enable members to consider its implications before they actually came to deal with the budget.

As regards the question of Lend-Lease, the Finance Member read extracts from President Roosevelt's fifth report to the Congress, particularly the passage in which the President observed: "If each country devotes roughly the same fraction of its national production to the war, then, the financial burden of war is distributed equally among the United Nations in accordance with their ability to pay: and although the nations richest in resources are able to make larger contributions, the claim of war against each is relatively the same. Such a distribution of the financial costs of war means that no nation will grow rich from the war effort of its Allies (Cheers)".

The Finance Member remarked that whatever might be the final position in regard to the financial settlement between India and His Majesty's Government, India would certainly not secure less than what would be her due under the application of this principle enunciated by President Roosevelt. (Hear, hear.) But, that might not be the whole story. It might be that India would find some difficulty about subscribing fully to that principle. India might find that for her contribution to the war to be evaluated under the principles enunciated by the President would involve a heavier burden than she was prepared to contemplate. He hoped that, in the light of his remarks, members would come to the conclusion that, if they wished to help the Government of India to secure the most satisfactory ultimate allocation of the defence charges, they should not press the resolution.

Mr. Hoosain Imam declared that the Finance Member was conciliatory, but evasive. The issue before them was whether they had the right to be consulted. The Finance Member had evaded that issue. Proceeding, he said that he failed to understand how the Government could avoid a new basis for the agreement. "The old basis is out of date and vague. It depends on elucidations, and interpretations by the War Office. We want something more definite and precise." He made it clear that India would never agree to a fifty-fifty basis as it would place a disproportionate burden on her. He further maintained that the whole basis of defence expenditure had been altered by the war situation in the Far East and the Near East.

The *Finance Member* said that if the Honourable Member's complaint was that no supplementary budget had been presented he had to say that such course was not practicable, without proper estimates of the revenue position,and he had no such estimates.

Mr. *Hoosain Imam* said that he protested against the policy of denial. "Yesterday, we were asked to come up with a united demand. We have made a united demand to-day, with no better results. The Government by their policy is throwing their friends into the lap of non-co-operators. With their present policy, it is useless to keep up the farce of the Central Legislature. It is better that the farce is ended and the Legislature abolished. The Government could carry on with the advice and consultations of the eleven gentlemen of the Executive Council."

The Council divided, and the resolution was rejected by 22 votes to 11. The House then adjourned till Monday the 28th. September.

U. K. C. CORPORATION'S ACTIVITIES.

28th. SEPTEMBER :—The Council to-day discussed non-official resolutions. It adopted the resolution of Mr. **P. N. Sapru**, "inviting the attention of the Governor-General in Council to the widespread apprehensions among the commercial community in India at the alleged growing monopolist activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation in India and elsewhere so far as the export and import trade of this country is concerned and recommends to him to take all proper steps to allay these apprehensions with all convenient speed." Mr. Sapru, moving the resolution, said that his main object, as far as the operative part of the resolution was concerned, was to enable the Government to make a comprehensive statement on the activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation. Mr. Sapru said that in business circles the Corporation has been regarded as the second East India Company, and he wanted to know what were its aims, objects, the authority under which it worked and the manner of its operations. According to his information, the Corporation was set up to organise British trade in the Balkans and subsequently in the countries in the East. His Majesty's Government contributed the whole of its capital. With the backing of the British Government, it was alleged that the Corporation enjoyed a privileged position in India and was able to obtain favourable treatment from Commerce, Supply and War Transport Departments of the Central Government.

The speaker pointed out that the Indian traders had built up a position for themselves in the countries of the Middle East, and he saw no reason why the Government of India should be a party to the export of goods to those countries through the Corporation and over the head of the regular Indian trade channels.

Mr. Sapru gave details of various items of export and said that sugar was exported to Iran through the Corporation under conditions which resulted in large profits for the Corporation. It was apprehended, he said, that Indian traders would lose their trade to the Corporation in due course, and it was the duty of the Government to remove their apprehensions.

Mr. Sapru said that international trade was getting mixed up with politics, and unless the Government of India took the necessary steps, Indian merchants would be elbowed out in the markets of the world.

Rai Bahadur Ramsarandas, supporting the resolution, wanted to know why India had been singled out for the activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation and why the Government permitted the Corporation to make large profits by purchasing goods at controlled prices through the agency of the Government Departments. Similarly, he was surprised that shipping freight was made available to the Corporation. It took over 30 years, he said, for the Indian traders to build connections in the markets of the Middle East and now the Indian Government were undoing their good work by assisting the Corporation. He

regarded this as another example of racial discrimination and urged the Government to make a stand for Indian interests.

Mr. **Hoosain Imam** further supported the resolution. He said that the Government was always on the side of big Indian business, when there was a conflict of interests between the big and small Indian business. The Government however, invariably favoured the big British business as against the big Indian business. As for the British Government, the Government of India were its subordinate branch. He asserted that it was the right of his country to be protected against all onslaughts either from the British or foreign interests. Governmental or otherwise. Mr. Imam, proceeding, raised the specific issue of finance and asked how the trade with Russia was being financed and how the commercial activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation were being financed. "I know how anxious the British Government are to wipe out our sterling balances now held in London, by fair or foul means and we have to take special care to protect them and prevent their being frittered away," he declared.

Mr. Hoosain Imam said that the Reserve Bank was helping the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation by methods which could be regarded as a sort of subsidy to that Corporation. He also criticised the policy of exporting food grains to countries like Ceylon, which had never treated Indian nationals fairly. The speaker asked the Indian Members of the Council whether the question had come before them and what had been their attitude to it. He urged that they should take up this matter in the Executive Council, if they had not been consulted so far.

Pandit **Hirdaynath Kunzru** claimed that it was natural that there should be apprehensions amongst the Indian businessmen, when an organisation of the type of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, with the backing of the British Government was endeavouring to expand British trade in the Middle East and other countries. As for sugar, the speaker said that it came to the same thing, whether sugar was sold to the British Ministry of Food and the Corporation acted as mere transporters, or it was sold direct to the Corporation. The effect as far India was concerned, was the same namely that sugar was purchased here at low rates and was sold in Iran at comparatively very high rate.

Pandit Kunzru wanted to know the functions of the Middle East Supply Mission and what relation it had with the United Kidgdom Commercial Corporation. He also enquired why the Supply Department did not deal direct with the Middle East Supply Mission. As for tea, it had been said on behalf of the Government that the total exportable tea had been purchased by the British Ministry of Food. He hoped that it would not be another case of sugar exports from India referred earlier by him. Pandit Kunzru asked why an organisation similar to the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation had not been started by the Government of India to expand Indian trade abroad. Such an organisation, he said, would have brought Indian businessmen in direct touch with business interests abroad.

The Commerce Secretary, **Sir Alan Lloyd**, said that the Government would be willing to accept the resolution if the mover agreed to the addition of the word 'alleged' before "growing monopolist activities" in the resolution.

Mr. *Sapru* accepted the amendment.

Sir Alan Lloyd, proceeding, said that the Government had received a letter from the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry on the subject. The Government intended to give a detailed reply to that letter and he said that they would have no objection to their reply published in the press.

Referring to the resolution, Sir Alan wanted the Council to distinguish between war-time trade and post-war period trade and said there was no intention to set up another East India Company, or make the Corporation a permanent organisation for post-war trade. His Majesty's Government had taken upon themselves the responsibility for the supplies in the Middle East countries, and instead of securing these supplies through a State Department, they were doing it through the Coporation which was another name for a Governmental Department. The Corporation was not a profit-making body and supplies were organised through it because, left to private trade, it would have led to maldistribution. The Corporation was a war organisation and there was no intention to make it permanent. It is purely a Government show and its members worked in honorary capacity. The Corporation was working on expense basis.

The Commerce Department, Sir Alan declared, watched the activities of the Corporation with almost jealousy. It was their business to protect the interests of Indian trade and help Indian business to develop to its utmost capacity.

There was no question of their "willinglysurrendering." The Government's attitude was that nothing should unduly interfere with Indian trade and even when the purchases were made by the U. K. C. C. they were done through ordinary Indian trade channels. The Government gave certain facilities in regard to war supplies while no special facilities were accorded in respect of non-war supplies. It was for the war supplies, for instance, that the Supply Department made purchases from the market rates. As for the Middle East Supply Centre, it was a Government organisation engaged in the direction of supplies and not in trade.

In conclusion, Sir Alan said that the problem was not of such a gigantic magnitude to warrant a full-dress debate by the Council. He explained that during the last three months the total exports through the U. K. C. C. amounted to only 10 per cent of the total trade to the countries of the Middle East, while the remainder 90 per cent was carried by Indian merchants. In the case of sugar, the U. K. C. C. only acted as transporters, the British Government having purchased the sugar from India. Sir Alan reiterated that there was no intention to oust Indian businessmen from the export trade of India.

The Council adopted the resolution as amended by Sir Alan Lloyd.

MODIFICATION OF PRESS RESTRICTION

Pandit H. N. Kunzru next moved the following resolution :—

"The Council recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that the restrictions imposed on the Press which have given rise to serious dissatisfaction should be modified so as to take fuller account of the rights of the Press and the public and that, in particular, precensorship of news reports and statements should be abolished except in so far as it may be necessary for military purposes."

Pandit Kunzru said that the resolution was of importance not merely to the Press, but also to everyone who lived in this country. He might go further and say it was not merely of national importance but of international importance, for it was of the utmost importance at the present time that the Allied countries should be as much in touch with one another as possible. The result of the restrictions might be to make the country, as a whole, feel that it was surrounded by a wall which cut if off from the outside would.

Pandit Kunzru traced the origin of the system of Press-advising started in 1940, in order to afford guidance to correspondents, and went on to describe the various stages through which the system passed until now Press-advising had become practically compulsory. The original system, however, had worked fairly satisfactorily ; so had the subsequent system of consultation in regard to statements of important persons. The Government, while admitting that a large body of Editors had discharged their duties with a due sense of responsibility and in such a way as not to impede the war effort, said that there had been a small but diminishing section of the Press, which unfortunately did not show it was alive to its responsibilities. The Standing Committee of the Newspaper Editors' Conference, however, expressed the opinion, that the complaint of the Government was in no small measure due to the failure of several Provincial Governments to honour the Delhi Agreement. Pandit Kunzru referred to the instance of the United Provinces Government, which took action against the *National Herald* and the *Sainik*. Whatever the faults were of these newspapers, he submitted, there was no reason why the advice of the Press Advisory Committees—constituted under the Delhi Agreement—should not have been sought and why action should not have been taken, after giving the Committees an opportunity to exercise the normal influence.

During the last few months, Pandit Kunzru, proceeding said, the Government of India, not satisfied with the power of the Provincial Governments and their refusal to consult the Advisory Committees, began to tighten up the arrangements for the control of the Press by the imposition of Press restrictions and by letting the system of consultation diminish in importance. In a letter written by him to the President of the Newspaper Editors' Conference, Sir Richard Tottenham admitted there was only a diminishing section of the Press which had given cause for complaint, but he went on to make suggestions which made it appear that Press advising was practically compulsory.

Further tightening of press restrictions came after the All-India Congress Committee passed its resolution of August 8, continued the speaker. The Government then prohibited the publication of news unless it was derived from official sources, three news agencies and correspondents regularly employed by

the newspaper concerned. Editors of newspapers were also warned on August 10 against opposing measures taken by the Government to deal with the mass movement. This warning, said the Pandit, showed more eloquently than the restrictions, the spirit and temper in which the Government of India meant to insist on the observance of the restrictions. It was true that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar tried to clear up the position at a Press Conference that all that the Government desired was that no Editor should follow a line which would foment trouble or create unnecessary feeling against the measures adopted by the Government. The assurance given by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar did not go a long way to satisfy the Press. The Information and Broadcasting Department, said the speaker, was outwardly an independent Department, but in reality carried out the policy of the Home Department. The Pandit asked why the Department, which was responsible for the restrictions, did not itself come forward to explain those restrictions.

The restrictions, the Pandit proceeded, created serious dissatisfaction; the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference protested against it and submitted a representation. The restrictions were found irksome by foreign correspondents also. There was censorship not merely of news relating to the disturbances published in the country, but with regard to news sent out of the country and news coming from those countries to India. Generally speaking, messages giving the nationalist point of view were Press-advised to the last stage and important passages were deleted, so that they might fail to convey a true picture of the state of things existing in the country. Similarly Press comments from America and England of a pro-Indian character were not allowed to be published in India. An instance was President Roosevelt's reference to the applicability of the Atlantic Charter to all nations. He asked why adverse American comments were allowed to be published without let or hindrance in the Indian Press and favourable comments of the Chinese Press were not allowed to be published. The Home Department, he declared, should realise it was dealing with citizens and not with aliens.

So great was the severity of the restrictions, the speaker further pointed out, that not merely Indian correspondents but foreign correspondents sent a joint memorandum to the Viceroy complaining of the system. It was also understood that one or two American correspondents went out of India for the purpose of giving America a true account of the situation in the country.

After the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference expressed dissatisfaction with the restrictions, the Government of India invited a deputation of the Committee to meet them. At this Conference it was alleged by the Government of India that they succeeded in getting the agreement of the Standing Committee to the institution of pre-censorship of all news. Yet, from the correspondence which took place between Sir Richard Tottenham and Mr. K. Srinivasan, it was perfectly clear that the Standing Committee never agreed to wholesale pre-censorship. Finding the Government of India were adamant and not prepared to trust the newspapers to discharge their responsibility fairly, the Committee, as a way of getting relief from the severe restrictions, agreed to pre-censorship only of news belonging to certain categories, not all categories. Sir Richard Tottenham undoubtedly stated in his reply that the Home Department were not prepared to make any such distinctions. But, said the Pandit, while the Government of India had the power to insist on their own restrictions, they could not in fairness claim that the system had the consent of the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference. The Convener of the Standing Committee had denied and Mr. Srinivasan, the President of the Conference had supported this denial. The Government, said the Pandit, could use their authority and prevent a fair and accurate picture of the state of things in the country being known to the people of the country and outside, but they had no right to twist facts and make it appear that they had popular consent for the measures imposed on the Press. The Pandit gave instances of what he termed unfair Press-advising. He referred to some instructions issued to the Press in Delhi, one, for instance, against the publication of names of persons arrested in connection with the movement.

Sir Richard Tottenham, intervening, indicated that these instructions were confidential.

Pandit Kunzru asked if the Press was a private concern and was it Sir Richard Tottenham's contention that the people concerned were not to make representations to the representatives of the people? If so, where were they to go? Did it mean that while the Home Department could crush the Press, the Press

was not to have the right even of complaining of their hardships to members of the House ? He was not reading out the exact words from these instructions. That ought to satisfy the Home Secretary.

Pandit Kunzru went on to refer to the action taken against the Benares Hindu University. Not a word relating to this serious incident had been allowed to reach the public. Was there an iota of justice in this ? The Government owed it, in fairness to the Hindu community, to allow the news to be published.

The existing system of restrictions, the speaker said, was working in such a way that the people and the Press felt that the Government of India were not merely controlling the publication of news which might be of military importance or tend to promote disorder, but also suppressing news relating to the Nationalist movement and the excesses commited in suppressing the movement. They prevented accurate news relating to the state of things prevailing in this country from reaching America, China and Britain herself. That was the most serious charge that one could bring against the Government of India's policy. Without refusing to recognise the extraordinary character of the present times, he brought this charge against the Government. He hoped that the debate would immediately lead to a change in the attitude of the Government of India. He hoped that before long the Government would realise they were creating great distrust and dissatisfaction and by using unfair methods and preventing this country and the world at large from getting an objective and accurate picture of the state of things prevailing in this country, the Government were turning against them even those who deplored the policy of the Congress.

At the conclusion of Pandit Kunzru's speech, the House adjourned.

29th. SEPTEMBER :—Mr. *Dalal*, Mr. *P. N. Sapru* and Mr. *Hoosain Imam* took part in to-day's debate and Sir Richard Tottenham replied on behalf of the Government. Mr. **Dalal**, supporting the resolution, recognised that some restrictions were necessary on the liberty of the Press during the war and in times of disorder, but the limits of those restrictions should not exceed those meant for military purposes, and there was substance in the demand that there should be no pre-censorship of news reports and statements. In the face of the severe control over the happenings in India how, he asked, were the public to form an estimate of the situation ? A more ominous aspect of the situation was the tendency of certain Provincial Governments to start their own newspapers, for instance, in Bihar, where there was a complete black-out of private newspapers. He failed to see how the Government of India could permit such a development, and he hoped that the mischief would be nipped in the bud. The situation required that responsible newspapers should have the utmost freedom and be encouraged to co-operate in the task of restoring peace in the land.

Mr. **P. N. Sapru** referred to one result of the restrictions and said that people did not believe anything written in the Press, but thought that the disturbances were of a much greater magnitude than the Government wanted the people to believe. From the people's point of view, it was essential that the United Nations, whose success we ardently desired and with whom we were prepared to co-operate, should know the exact truth and nothing but the truth.

Mr. Sapru referred to Mahatma Gandhi's speech at the A. I. C. C. in which for half an hour the Mahatma dwelt on his personal relations wtih the Viceroy and said these relatious were even more cordial than with Lord Halifax. Even those portions of Mahatma Gandhi's speech, said Mr. Sapru, had not been allowed to be published in full in India. Sir Richard Tottenham apparently did not think that these compliments to the Viceroy should be broadcast. Mr. Sapru asked why no Member for Information and Broadcasting had been appointed even seven weeks after Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's resignation, and why no Standing Committee of the House had been associated with the Information Department. Was it because the Home Department wanted to muzzle the Press ? Was it the Government of India's wish to see more newspapers shut down in this country ?

Mr. **Hoosain Imam** said that most thinking people in India would like to help the Government in preventing the spread of the fire. In these difficult times, the Government were justified in putting some restraint on the Press ; and the Press would be wrong if it fought for its liberty, for, in order to save the greater liberty, it was essential that the smaller liberty should be given up ; but there was a limit beyond which it was not right or proper that either the Government or the Press should go. While Sir Richard Tottenham might not personally be responsible for all the actions on the Press censors, yet the Home Department

could not remain inactive in the face of actions which went against their policy. The samples cited before the House and in the Press did make out a case that the Press Advisers were using their powers in an improper manner. At this juncture, the Government should try to get the support of the citizens, and if it were not possible to get that support, the least that the Government could do was to avoid a conflict with the people as much as possible. When the Press complained of certain restrictions, how did it happen that more stringent restrictions had been imposed? He could not understand the present situation in which the Editors said that there was no agreement on the imposition of the present restrictions, while the Government said there was an agreement on them.

Sir Richard Tottenham began by remarking that the mover had referred to certain matters which went beyond the scope of the Home Department; but as he was answering on behalf of the Government, he would comment on those matters also.

The mover had referred to Press-advising and had given examples of what to the speaker seemed unintelligent press-advising. That was not the concern of the Home Department; and in so far as those examples might be indicative of undue zeal on the part of Press Advisers, Sir Richard had no doubt that the Information Department, which was the department concerned, would be prepared to look into the matter and issue such instructions as might be necessary.

Restrictions on foreign correspondents, again, was not a Home Department matter. That department had no power whatever to control messages of Foreign Correspondents. They came under Military Censors; and the operation of Military Censorship must for very good reasons be kept secret. Sir Richard reminded the House that press messages leaving this country left by the beam wireless and they could therefore be heard by the enemy. That aspect of the matter must be borne in mind by Military Censors.

As regards reference to complaints made by Foreign Correspondents, Sir Richard quoted from an interview given to the A. I. R. by the Correspondent of the *International News*, a well-known man, who stated that there was nothing unusual about the "brigands of the blue pencil" in India: and that during the five days of the A. I. C. C. meeting in Bombay, for instance, the censorship was as intelligent and liberal as he had ever seen in any country.

The allegation that a message giving President Roosevelt's speech had been interfered with by the authorities in India had been made some time ago and was very carefully investigated. Sir Richard assured the House that in no utterance by President Roosevelt have had one single word been altered by any authority in this country. The Government were completely unable to find the origin of this allegation.

Sir Richard went on to give the assurance that any action that the Government might have felt compelled to take with regard to the Press had not been taken light-heartedly, but after weighing most carefully what the Government regarded as public interest on the one hand and the rights of the Press on the other. Everybody knew the importance of the Press and the very great influence it wielded and the Government were not so unintelligent as not to know at least the expediency of maintaining good relations with the Press. Especially in the Home Department, he maintained, the policy had been and always would be to maintain and if possible to improve those relations. He also honestly believed that ever since the Advisory Committee System was introduced nearly two years ago, whatever the difficulties and setbacks it might have encountered, that system had produced one result, at least, of outstanding value to both the parties. It had brought representatives of the Government and the Press into personal contact across the table, and closer and more intimate personal relations had thus been established. He paid a tribute to the great help and understanding that the Government had received from many eminent editors and said that the Government and the editors had got to know each other better and respect each other's point of view.

Moreover, the Government of India had had the benefit since the beginning of the war of two gentlemen as Chief Press Advisers, who were liked, respected and trusted by all editors in the country. Sir Richard proceeded to remind the House that the subject "Books. Newspapers and Presses" occurred in the Concurrent Legislative List, which meant that both Central and Provincial Legislatures were competent to make laws on that subject; but the administration of the law was a provincial concern; that the Central Government might and did

suggest policy to the Provincial Governments, but the Provincial Governments must be left to carry out the policy and to judge the effect on the law and order situation of the publication of news regarding disturbances of the peace. He expressed gratitude for the admission made by the mover and his supporters, that censorship of news was necessary for military reasons and that their position was not that censorship was in itself unwarrantable, but that censorship for certain purposes was wrong.

Sir Richard referred to the Home Member's speech in the Assembly defining the Government's two-fold purpose, firstly, to deny publicity to a good deal that occurred at the time when it occurred, because it would have provided the Japanese with an almost direct invitation to invade the country, and secondly, the disturbances were infectious and news of disturbances in one place might produce a repetition or imitation in many other parts of the country. He himself was anxious, said Sir Richard, that a great deal more news should be published; for the more news was put out, the more advantageous it was from the Government's point of view as showing what they were up against and justifying the measures they had had to take against them, But military authorities said 'no,' and when the matter was discussed with them, it had to be admitted that they were right. Interruption of communications was a matter about which news would have been of great value to the enemy, and a very large part of the disturbances was nothing but interruption of communications of one kind or another. Was it only the Japanese who were the enemy, he asked? Was there not another enemy in India and had not the Government the duty and right to prevent him from getting news in the same way as the other enemy? From the two points of view he had referred to some restrictions on the news was absolutely necessary.

As regards the nature of the control, in so far as the Central Government is concerned, there had only been one general order issued under the Defence of India Rules, and that was on August 8 prohibiting publication of any factual news relating to the movement except news derived from Government sources or from recognised Press agencies and from recognised Press Correspondents who were required to register themselves with the District Magistrate. The order imposed no kind of restrictions on publication. It merely secured control over the origin of news, and it was designed to secure that whatever news was published came from reputable and reliable sources. The press agencies themselves willingly agreed to submit their messages on this subject for press advice, that is, the man on the spot where the events took place. The Government had hoped that Press correspondents would do the same, but they were not under any legal obligation whatever to do so. Of course, if they did not and if they sent messages which contained unauthenticated or objectionable news, the Government could cancel the registration of that correspondent, with the result that all messages from him on that particular subject would in future be illegal. People said that it was merely a roundabout way of imposing censorship, and Sir Richard agreed that there was some weight in that criticism. On the other hand, the order to which he had referred did not impose censorship directly on any editor or correspondent. It did give discretion to all responsible editors and to all responsible correspondents, and there were a number of papers which had found it possible to comply with that order, and at the same time publish a very fair and large amount of news connected with the movement. He had yet to hear of a single item of news about the disturbances which had been suppressed and which it would really have been in public interest not to suppress.

About the news connected with the Benares Hindu University, he personally believed it would not have been in the public interest at the time of its occurrence to publish it, but he added THE HINDU of Madras did publish it on September 16.

As regards Mr. Gandhi's speech at the A. I. C. C. it did not come under the order to which he had referred concerning factual news relating to the disturbances or to the mass movement, and it might have been submitted for press advice by the press agencies and it was probably, the press agencies themselves (he was not sure about this) who decided not to publish the whole of the speech in the papers.

Another point about this order was that it referred only to factual news. It imposed no kind of restriction, whatever, on editorial comment. In that

important matter, the Government did leave the entire discretion to the editors. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Information Member, made it perfectly clear at a press conference that there was no ban of any kind on expression of political views as such.

Any impartial observer coming to this country and reading our newspapers, Sir Richard went on, would agree that the Press here had a very wide latitude in the nature of political views and criticisms of the Government that it published. "The plain fact", he continued, "is that a certain section of the Press in India,—and I do not think it is more than a small section—has made up its mind to encourage this movement at all costs. We have in our possession a Congress circular issued in the United Provinces towards the beginning of August, which definitely instructed Congressmen, if the leaders were arrested to look to certain newspapers, which were named, for further instructions as to how to carry on. That is to say, certain newspapers were specified as agents of the Congress Party for the purpose of backing this movement. That particular section of the Press, making an excuse of the restrictions imposed but really as a political move designed to bring pressure on and to embarrass the Government, decided to close. I am glad to think that they have failed in their attempt to embarrass the Government. At present, I understand that not more than fifty papers or so are out of publication out of a total of several thousand newspapers in India. And as far as I can see, the absence of these papers has not made any very great difference. The only effect I can imagine they have had is that they have put out of employment a number of people whose living depended on work in these papers. That small section of the Press is a section with whom we found it impossible to do business."

On the other hand when at the Editors' Conference held the other day, the more responsible and reasonable Editors said they took objection to that part of the Government's general order which affected the relations between the correspondent and the Editor, the Government said they were quite prepared to meet them in every way they could, and it was the Editors and not the Government who suggested that if the papers could not be left complete freedom to publish anything they liked, it would be better for the Government to arrange for all material on this subject to be submitted for scrutiny to a specified authority and also to arrange for representatives of the Press themselves to be associated with that scrutiny. He did not mean that the Press volunteered to accept precensorship. What they did was to say that if they could not be allowed to publish anything at their own will, then this was a more satisfactory method of doing it. He personally admitted that he had never been very much in favour of precensorship, but that was what the Government were asked to do and the Government accepted that proposal so far as the Chief Commissioner's Provinces were concerned, and they recommended it to all the Provincial Governments. The present position was that certain Provincial Governments had accepted it and in these Provinces, the Government of India had cancelled their original order. Certain other Provincial Governments were considering it and certain further Provincial Governments, in consultation with their Editors, had decided that they did not want to change the system. As regards Delhi, it was true the new system had not come into full operation, but that was not the Government's fault. The Advisory Committee here was asked on September 6 to nominate representatives of the Press to be associated with the scrutinising officer, and the Chief Commissioner told Sir Richard that he had not yet received any reply.

"I do hope", Sir Richard said, "I have said enough to convince the House that we are not unreasonable, although we are not in a position to accept this resolution. We cannot accept it for two reasons. Firstly, because most of the restrictive orders now in existence are orders passed by Provincial Governments and we cannot accept a cancellation of those orders on their behalf. That must be done in consultation with them. In the second place, we cannot accept the resolution because I believe that if all restrictions were withdrawn, immediately a certain section of the Press would take advantage of that to endeavour to work up enthusiasm and popular feeling for this movement, which I think will be most regrettable."

"On the other hand," said Sir Richard, "I do maintain that the restriction that have been imposed are no more than have been found necessary to meet an entirely exceptional situation and as soon as that exceptional situation ceased to exist, no one would be better pleased than ourselves to see these special

restrictions disappear also. I am fully prepared to send the whole of this debate to Provincial Governments and ask them to consider what reduction in the restrictions would now be possible; but I am afraid I cannot do anything more than that. We are prepared to co-operate with any section of the Press which is prepared to co-operate with us; but equally we are determined to resist any section of the Press which attempts to stimulate or encourage this revolutionary movement, which, I believe, the House as a whole deplores and condemns."

Speaking personally, Sir Richard thought that one word had done more harm to India than anything else and that word, which was not an English word, was "Non-co-operation." "If," he said, "that ugly word could be banned, censored, suppressed and abolished by every class and community, including my own, what is called the Indian problem will cease to exist." (Cheers).

The resolution was finally rejected by 23 votes to 9.

POWER OF MILITARY COMMANDERS

Earlier in the day, the *President* ruled out of order Mr. *Hossain Imam's* adjournment motion to discuss the notification issued by the Government of India empowering Military Commanders to require persons to assist in doing work for them. Mr. Imam argued that the rule, though it was issued in January this year, was not to become operative until the time of its application. It had now been made applicable but in such a way as to be *ultra vires* of the Defence of India Rules, because it had been made applicable to the whole of India instead of being confined to those areas where the occasion for it had arisen.

The *President* disagreed with the argument and held the matter was not one of urgent importance as the notification had been issued so far back as January, 1942.

PRICE CONTROL POLICY

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru's resolution of the price control policy of the Government of India was next discussed. Pandit Kunzru's resolution recommended to the Governor-General-in-Council that "the present system of price control, which has proved inadequate and ineffective, should be replaced by another system which will be controlled more largely and directly by the State, cover the supply, distribution and prices of all essential commodities and pay due regard to the interests of the producer, consumer and middlemen."

Moving the resolution, Pandit Kunzru said that the system he proposed was never tried in India. The present system, he said, had proved ineffective and inadequate and hence the need for a new system. The Government had already launched a Grow More Food drive, and he anticipated that, with the exception of rice, other food grains would be adequate for the internal need of the country.

Referring to the price control policy, the Pandit said that the purchases of food grains for the Army had a disturbing effect on the market and inadequacy of transport facilities had further accentuated the situation. The Government had been meeting the situation by giving dearness allowance to their employees. This, he claimed, was not the right policy from a long-term stand-point.

Pandit Kunzru referred to the statement that a rise in prices of food stuffs was in the interests of the cultivator, and, therefore, there should be no price control at all. The speaker pointed out that the prices were left uncontrolled for a sufficiently long time and control was introduced only after conditions had become impossible. Then again, even at present, not all the commodities were controlled and yet the prices of uncontrolled food grains ranged higher to those of a controlled article like wheat. Secondly, effective prosecution of the war depended on production by worker, all of whom lived in the urban areas. From these Pandit Kunzru deduced that price control was necessary. *Pari passu* he showed that the present system of price control had been ineffective and had failed to achieve the desired results.

Pandit Kunzru urged that effective steps should be taken to encourage the cultivator to grow more food. This could be done by fixing the prices at an attractive level. Then again, there should be one agency for purchase of food grains both for civil and defence requirements and not only wheat but also other competitive food grains should be brought under control. A small number of dealers should be selected and licensed for purchase and distribution purposes and Government, both Central and Provincial, should build up small reserves for emergencies. He would like sugar, salt, kerosene and cloth to be brought under control also, and urged the fullest inter-departmental co-operation between the Commerce, War and Transport Departments. Lastly, he wanted

negotiations with the Indian States to bring them into line with British India and secure the fullest support in price control policy.

Sir *Jogendra Singh*, Member for Agriculture, wanted Pandit Kunzru to visit the countryside and see for himself how the people lived and how crops were raised and with a margin of profit for the primary producer. This would convince him that high prices of food grains generally complained of were not high, if all the relevent factors were taken into consideration. He urged that the Council should acquire "an agricultural bias." They should not apply Western methods of price control to India, because conditions in India were totally different from those in the West.

Rai Bahadur Ramsarandas, Leader of the Opposition, supported the resolution. He agreed that the present system of price control had failed and urged that the Government should build up stocks of food grains to control the prices by releasing a part of the stock whenever the price of a commodity rose above its control price. At the same time, he was opposed to creating monopolies for the purchrse of food grains.

The Council at this stage adjourned *sine die*.

The Central Legislative Assembly

Autumn Session—New Delhi—14th. to 24th. September 1942

Indian Companies Act Amend. Bill

The Central Legislative Assembly began its autumn session at New Delhi on the **14th. September 1942** with Sir *Abdur Rahim*, the President, in the chair. About 75 members were present. The Congress benches were empty. About 25 visitors, including the Chinese Commissioner in India sat in the galleries.

Four official Bills were introduced today. The Law Member, Sir *Sultan Ahmed* introduced the 'Repealing and Amending Bill.' The Commerce Member Mr. *N. R. Sarker*, introduced Bills to amend the Rubber Control Act and the Indian Companies Act. Sir *Edward Benthall* introduced a Bill to amend the Railways Act.

The Bill to amend the Indian Companies Act, which was introduced sought to remove some of the difficulties created by the Act in deciding whether a company is a banking company or not. It is explained that the chief difficulty arises out of the use of the term "principal business" in Section 277 F of the Indian Companies Act. Registrars of Companies have often found it difficult to decide, particularly in the case of smaller companies calling themselves banks, whether or not in terms of the definition, they are banking companies. The result has been that very great number of such institutions which may be regarded as non-scheduled banks operating in British India are not subject to the obligations imposed by law on banking companies, as for examble, maintaining a minimum cash reserve. The Bill so amends the Companies Act as to provide that any company which uses as part of its name the word 'bank', 'banking' or 'banker' shall be deemed to be a banking company irrespective of whether the business of accepting deposits of money on current account or otherwise, subject to withdrawal by cheque, draft or order, is its principal business or not. It is proposed that the Bill shall come into force on a date not earlier than one year from the date of its publication in the official Gazette after having received the assent of the Governor-General.

Rubber Control Amend. Bill

The Bill to amend the Rubber Control Act removes during the present emergency the incapacity of the Central Government to suspend those provisions of the Act which relate to the planting and export of rubber and to enable the Central Government to suspend some only without suspending all the other provisions of the Act.

The occupation by the enemy of most of the rubber producing countries in the Far East, it is explained, has resulted in a shortage of raw rubber for the United Nations. To conserve and increase the supplies, it is desirable to stop exports of raw rubber from India while fostering increased production of raw

rubber in India by the removal of restrictions on and generally facilitating new planting of rubber plants.

RAILWAYS ACT AMEND. BILL

The Bill to amend the Indian Railways Act seeks to remedy the present state of affairs by rendering railways liable to pay compensation in all train accidents, whether due to negligence or not, but to limit the liability in all such cases to a fixed sum in the case of any individual passenger. Under the existing provisions of the law, no compensation is payable to those killed in a train accident that is not due to negligence on the part of the railway administration or its servants.

CASUALTIES IN BURMA AIR RAIDS

A statement laid on the table of the House, showed that 1,102 persons were killed and and 1,650 injred in the two heavy air raids on Rangoon and 38 persons were killed and 80 injured in Moulmein. The majority of them are believed to be Indians. Apart from air raid injured treated in hospitals in Burma, some 133 hospital cases were brought to Calcutta on a ship carrying evacuees and some 25 injured persons are reported to have been landed in Vizagapatam. No record is available of the number of women and children included in these arrivals or of their province of origin. Between 75,000 to 80,000 Indians were evacuated to India by sea and about 4,025 by air. About four lakhs of Indians are believed to have come to India by land routes.

DAMAGE TO POSTS & TELEGRAPHS

The damage done to the Post Office during the recent disturbances was described by Sir *Gurunath Bewoor* in reply to a question by Mr. *K. C. Neogy*. He said :—

"Mobs attacked post office buildings, took out the furniture, records and forms and burnt or scattered them. In a number of cases, however, the buildings themselves were set fire to. In some cases, the cash and stamp balances in the offices, as well as valuable articles, were looted and apparatus damaged. Apart from the attack on post offices, a number of letter-boxes fixed in public places were stolen or damaged and in other cases acid or other burning material was thrown inside the letter-boxes, damaging their contents. A few cases have occurred of attacks on mail runners with resultant robbing of mails and the work of certain village postmen was interfered with in a few places. The total number of post offices attacked, as ascertained so far, was approximately 553, of which 53 were completely burnt down. Serious damage was done to about 200. Over 200 post offices had to be closed down in certain areas as the conditions were such that it was felt that the staff would not continue to work with safety for the time being.

Telegraph and telephone lines and posts were tampered with in a large number of places, both in urban and in rural areas, in some cases, the posts were pulled down over considerable lengths. In certain cases the wire was stolen. Some cases have been reported where parties which went to repair the lines were either attacked or interfered with by mobs, and, frequently, after repairs had been done, the lines were again tampered with.

"It is not possible at present to give any estimate of the total loss caused to the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department as a result of the acts of violence committed in different parts of the country. Reports received so far indicate that the total loss on account of cash and stamps looted is about one lakh of rupees. No estimate can yet be made of the loss to the department caused by the theft of valuable articles and wires and by the destruction of or damage to building, furniture, lines, wires and apparatus. This loss is in addition to the considerable loss of revenue caused by the loss of traffic on account ot the interruption of the normal channels of post and telegraph communications. Account has further to be taken of the very grave inconvenience and serious loss caused to the general public, and particularly to the industrial and commercial community and to all business interests. The period has varied in different areas according to the extent of the damage done, and the period during which the disturbances continued. Normal communication has now been restored, except in certain parts of some provinces, and every effort is being made to restore normal conditions everywhere as soon as practicable."

COUNTRY'S GEOLOGICAL RESOURCES

A vigorous denunciation of the Government of India's policy in the

matter of the development of India's geological resources was made by Mr. *K. C. Neogy*, on a motion made by Dr. *B. R. Ambedkar* for election of a member to the Advisory Committee attached to the Utilization Branch of the Geological Survey of India.

Mr. Neogy declared that, under the brief motion was sought to be covered, a dark and tragic chapter of British Indian history. He referred to the fact that in pre-historic days, India was a manufacturing country, from which important minerals and manufactured steel were exported to the other parts of the world, whereas, later on, with the advent of the British, the only interest shown by the Government was in getting coal supplies for ships which came from Europe with merchandise for sale in India. He had the suspicion that the Utilization Branch would be used to rehabilitate British interests which had been engaged in mining industries in Malaya and Burma and which had now been dislodged from there and had made their way into India. He wanted to know whether the proposed Advisory Committee would control the Government's policy in regard to the employment of experts, granting of concessions, and also what minerals were engaging the attention of this branch, and what facilities were made available to Indians to get training in geology and mining.

Dr. *Ambedkar* assured the House that there was nothing behind the Utilisation activities, of which either himself or the Government of India need be ashamed. He would point out, however, that he had expected that the motion he moved would go through in the usual way, and he had not come prepared to reply to a speech such as that made by Mr. Neogy. He, therefore, suggested that if Mr. Neogy must have the information he wanted before he allowed the motion to go through, further discussion be postponed.

The House agreed to the suggestion and then adjourned.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

15th. SEPTEMBER :—"On the basis of all the information at present available, we cannot absolve the Congress from responsibility for these very grave events," declared Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, to-day moving the official motion on the situation in the country,

Sir Reginald estimated the total damage done during the disturbances so far as well over a crore of rupees and dwelt on certain special aspects of the disturbances which he pointed out, were inconsistent with the theory that these disturbances were spontaneous outbursts arising out of the arrests of Congress leaders. He enumerated points which, in his view, supplied evidence of previous organisation, having the most sinister possible motives.

"To-day, although many terrible things have happened, control has been established almost everywhere and the country as a whole is quiet," said the Home Member ; "and although this suicidal movement is not yet finally quelled we can feel some justifiable confidence in our power to deal with any situation that may yet arise."

"There are some who charge the Government with over-hastiness in taking action when they did. The answer is that had the Government given opportunity for three or four weeks more of Congress propaganda of the kind that was then in progress, it is very doubtful if this rebellion could have been quelled without very much more destruction than has now taken place. What has happened is bad enough ; but delay might have have meant an appalling disaster for the whole people of this country.

"There are those, again, who say that repression is not the right remedy and that in order to restore peace, steps should be taken to release all those who have been endangering the country's defences and put them in a position to conduct the further war effort of India. That is, I think, the underlying significance of some of the amendments that have been tabled. Well, Sir, the position of this Government has been made clear in the communique to which I have already referred (communique of August 8) and there is little that I can add to it. One thing quite plain is that with an enemy at our gates and another enemy within them the prime duty of this Government is to undo the harm that has been done as soon as possible and to put this country in a state of defence against both.

"The picture which I have been compelled to place before the House is one that will give no satisfaction to thinking people or to those who are jealous of this country's honour and repute. They will regret orgy of destruction, the

waste of Indian lives and property—things that can only bring loss and hardship to Indians themselves. They will regret that the forces that should have been facing the enemy at our gates should have been diverted to the task of quelling an attempted internal revolution. They will regret that with Indian soldiers' repute never standing higher in the world, with victory drawing ever nearer and with it the promised fulfilment of India's highest dreams, one political party, for its own ends, should have descended to acts of sabotage as a means of enforcing its demands, regardless of the help thereby given to the enemy.

"I have before now given warning in this House of the danger of arousing the passions of the excitable masses through irresponsible agitation. These events afford more than sufficient justification for the preventive action taken by the Government in the past, for which we have often been attacked. They show how real is the peril in this country of unleashing the forces of disorder and how quickly, when that is done, the reign of hooliganism—always latent and waiting for its opportunity—tends—to establish itself, so that no man's life or property is safe. Now that the danger has become apparent to all it is, I am sure this House will agree, not only for the Government but for all who wish to save the country from very terrible danger to dedicate themselves, at whatever personal sacrifice, to the task of mobilising the active help of the people themselves in preventing further acts of violence and disorder. It is not enough to condemn these things in the abstract, it is for every citizen to see that they do not happen."

Earlier in his speech the Home Member made the following points :—

The Muslim community and scheduled castes have as a whole stood entirely aloof from the disturbances.

One of the high-lights of the situation had been the manner in which not only the police on whom the deadliest attacks usually fell, but all ranks of Government servants—even the humblest—had in the country as a whole stood firm and done their duty in the face of all attempts to subvert or terrorise them. "We shall not forget those who have given their lives in the execution of their duty", said the Home Member. "We may well claim that the loyalty of all classes of Government servants has proved their faith in the administration that they have served so well" (Cheers).

Another source of encouragement, observed Sir Reginald, had been the steadiness of the country as a whole notwithstanding the inconvenience and loss caused to the general population by these widespread disturbances. "What I would emphasise is that this movement cannot in any true sense be described as a people's movement. The whole thing is engineered and not spontaneous. There are already encouraging signs of a revulsion of public opinion against the madness of the past weeks but until the malign influences that have been at work have been fully counter-acted, the country cannot feel safe from further attempts to discuss the life of the people."

Giving figures, the Home Member said, that a very large number of policemen had been injured, while 31 were reported so far to have been killed. These included a number of brutal murders, in some cases of unarmed policemen

In addition to the police, there was a very wide use of troops, British and Indian in aid of the civil power, stated the Home Member. In no less than 60 places, troops were called, while on a number of occasions, they stood by. "These forces have not been used to open fire on crowds engaged in peaceful or legitimate political demonstrations," he added. "Had that been the case, the word 'repression' that we so often hear might have had some application. But in disorders of the kind that have occurred, the mobs or gangs of persons engaged in sabotage were in every case the aggressors. It has already been made clear in the Government communique of August 8 that the purpose of the Government is preventive rather than punitive and this is the principle that has governed and will govern our action. Complaints of the use of excessive force have no real meaning in situations such as those with which the police have had to deal. It cannot be expected of a small band of police confronted by a threatening mob that they should make mathematical calculations of the precise amount of force necessary to disperse it. We have to think of men doing their duty in the face of daily and even hourly danger to their lives, men charged with responsibility for the protection of vital communications. Hesitation at these moments would mean that they were overwhelmed or that the mob would attain its object. Their first concern is to take effective action and it is their duty to do so.

"Cases will, no doubt, be quoted in which it is alleged that force was used with no such provocation. I would ask hon. members to be sure that the stories are well verified before they give currency to them. If, however, any such act has occurred anywhere, it is a breach of discipline with which the Provincial Governments and the officers in command of their forces are as much concerned as any member of the public. It would, therefore, deprecate any sweeping allegations as regards the conduct of the police at a time when the whole country owes so much to their courage and steadfastness. The proper course in such cases will be to bring the allegations, if they are well authenticated, to the notice of the authorities immediately responsible for the discipline of their forces, and it can be assumed that, if satisfied, they will do what is proper. But it is putting an entirely wrong perspective on this matter to lavish sympathy on those who have brought on themselves the consequences of their own aggression and to attempt to put the Police or other Government forces on their defence whenever they have found it necessary in the circumstances of the emergency to use force in the execution of their duty."

Replying to the question, "Who is responsible for these disorders ?", the Home Member said: "Attempts have been made and will no doubt continue to be made to exonerate the Congress leaders or to represent that recent events are not the outcome of the mass movement sanctioned by the All-India Committee at Bombay. The terms of the resolution which they then passed are such that they can hardly disclaim responsibility for any events that followed it. But apart from that it is impossible to interpret the utterances of the Congress leaders themselves except on the assumption that they knew and approved of what was likely to occur."

After referring to the communique of the Madras Government which published the instructions issued by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, the Home Member said: "It may be said that there is no proof that these bulletins carry the authority of the Congress or the Congress leaders, although they profess to do so. I have however elsewhere brought out the point that the acts of sabotage that have occurred could not have been planned in a moment and show clear evidence of previous organisation. Whatever part the Congress leaders may have taken in the actual work of the organisation, it is impossible to believe for a moment in the light of their own utterances that they were ignorant of its existence or that their plans did not contemplate that it would be brought into play when they launched their mass movement.

'I am not at present prepared to say whence this organisation drew its inspiration. It will be our business to find out more of what we do not yet know. But if any doubt remained as to the identity of the Congress with these disturbances it could easily be removed by quoting the very numerous instances in which known Congressmen particularly in Bihar have been observed openly inciting mobs to violence and sabotage; while many others went underground immediately after the Bombay meeting and have remained there for reason best known to themselves. On the basis of all the information at present available, therefore, we cannnot absolve the Congress from responsibility for these very grave events."

Alleged Insult to Girl Picketers

The demonstrations outside the Assembly Chamber yesterday were referred to in an adjournment motion which was ruled out of order by the Chair.

The motion which was in *Sardar Sant Singh's* name sought to discuss "the insult offered to lady volunteers by the Delhi Police by dragging them after they had been put under arrest when they tried to picket the Legislative Assembly Chamber." Sardar Sant Singh in reply to the Chair's questions pointed out that the law contemplated arrest and removal but did not permit the use of force.

Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, objecting to the motion, said that picketing was a congnisable offence and in arresting picketers, whether male or female, the police were acting in exercise of their ordinary and lawful powers. The act of the arresting might involve physical restraint but it might be assumed that no excessive force was used. If, however, the arrested persons had any grievances they had their remedy in the courts.

Maulana Zafar Ali, interjecting, pointed out that, if force had to be used it should be used by women police and not by men police.

The *President* remarked that picketing of the Assembly in order to prevent members from attending the session, was an action which, Sardar Sant Singh as the member who specially asked for an early meeting of the House, should be the first to deprecate. The Chair thought that the volunteers were perfectly unjustified

in trying to prevent members from getting into the Chamber. So far as he understood, it was not alleged that excessive force had been used. If there was any case of excessive force, the volunteers had their remedy.

Sardar Sant Singh complained that this morning he found the entrance to the Chamber barred by the police. Even in spite of picketing by the volunteers yesterday, no member remained absent, and, said the speaker, there was no necessity for the police to blockade the gate. "We know our business and our responsibility," declared Sardar Sant Singh. "To permit the police to bar the way was an insult and a slur on us."

The *President* was heard to observe that the facts as far as had been ascertained were that Sardar Sant Singh had protested—in no calm manner—against the barring of the entrance and thereafter the passage left for members was widened and members had no difficulty in entering.

DEBATE ON POLITICAL SITUATION (CONTD.)

Following the Home Member's statement while moving the official motion on the situation in the country, Mr. *M. A. Kazmi* (unattached) moved a substitute motion asking that, in view of the fact that the present state of affairs in India has resulted mostly from the activities of agencies who, with the object of bringing the Indian National Congress into disrepute with the United Nations started propaganda against it by ascribing to it a programme of sabotage and destruction of Government property and change of creed from non-violence to violence, immediate steps be taken— even if no compromise be considered possible—to ascertain the views of the Congress leaders and to give them an opportunity of contradicting this charge and clearing their position and change the violent activities into non-violent expression of their dissent and create an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence by taking liberal steps which may inspire confidence in the minds of the people regarding the intentions of the British Government towards India.

Mr. *N. M. Dumasia* moved a substitute motion condemning the orgy of lawlessness and disorder, approving the action taken by the Government to suppress mob violence and "the civil disobedience" movement initiated by the Congress and to restore order in the country; and recommending that there should be no relaxation of measures for the protection of lives and property until the movement was withdrawn and peace and quiet restored in India.

Sardar Sant Singh moved his substitute motion recommending immediate declaration of the complete independence of India from November 1. 1942; immediate lifting of the ban on the Congress and allied institutions; immediate release of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congressmen detained or sentenced for any offence after August 8; remission of all fines; dissolution of Central and Provincial Legislatures; and holding of new elections at the earliest convenient date and invitation to the Congress and the Muslim League to form a Provincial National Government at the Centre. In case these two bodies did not agree to form the Government, then the Congress alone should be invited to do so and in case the Congress declined to accept the invitation, the League alone should be asked to do so till elections were held.

Sir Henry Richardson, Leader of the European Group, claimed that every proposal should be judged with reference to its effect on India's war effort. Judging by this test he wholeheartedly and unreservedly condemned the Congress mass movement. For the same reason, he was opposed to the proposal for a National Government as he was convinced that any attempt to bring about an immediate transference of power during the war, in the absence of agreement between the major political parties, would lead to chaos and possibly to disaster.

Sir Henry was totally against any enquiry into the action of Government servants in putting down lawlessness and said that it was of the utmost importance that officials should feel that they had behind them the solid backing of the House and of the responsible elements in the country.

Referring to the constitutional future of India, Sir Henry said that freedom for this country was assured by His Majesty's Government; and "we as a community will continue to exert ourselves to the utmost to assist in every possible way in implementing those promises at the earliest possible moment." Sir Henry Richardson defined a "National Government" as one which completely commanded the support of all parties and interests in the State and was able to set at rest political controversy for the time being and to ignore the demands of a purely party or sectional character. He said, "When you get down to the

practical business of the composition and jurisdiction of that Government, you will find that you are doing exactly the same task that a Constituent Assembly will have to perform after the war. That task is by no means incapable of achievement, but it is a task which demands considerable time, protracted negotiations and much effort. There is, however, one way in which a National Government can be achieved, namely, to put aside political controversy for the period of the war and devote ourselves wholly to the successful prosecution of the war. A careful study of the statements made by the various Indian political leaders will show that stage has not yet been reached.

Sir Yamin Khan referred to Mr. Kazmi's amendment and enquired who was behind the recent disturbances if it were not the Congress.

Sir Yamin Khan severely criticised the Government and particularly its C. I. D. for its unpreparedness to meet the situation. He felt that the Government were entirely at fault, in selecting "third rate officials" and "mere no bodies" as Executive Councillors. The Government could have relied on the Muslim League, for instance, if the Congress had failed to be realistic. He concluded: "How can we entrust our life and property in the hands of people who had shown utter incapacity to maintain internal security ?"

Mr. *N. M. Joshi* characterised the Home Member's speech as the result of "colossal ignorance" of the conditions in the country. He traced the history of the Bombay A. I. C. C. resolution and said that none had sympathised with or was pro-Nazi or pro-Japanese in this country, the Government, however, taking advantage of the communal divisions in the country, had created the present deadlock. It was only after Japan's entry into the war that Sir Stafford Cripps was sent out to India with proposals. Mr. Joshi had not concluded when the Assembly rose for the day.

Casualties by Police Firing

16th. SEPTEMBER :—In reply to a question in the Assembly to-day, Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, stated that casualties caused by police firing in the disturbances, according to most recent reports, were 340 killed and 850 wounded. The figures were, however, incomplete especially as regards part of Bihar.

Casualties caused by the Military, according to most recent reports, were 318 killed and 153 wounded.

The number of casualties suffered by the Government forces, or the Police were 31 killed and a very large number injured, although in some cases not seriously. Military casualties were 11 killed and 7 wounded. Civilian officials, excluding Posts and Telegraphs and Railway employees, were 7 killed and 16 injured.

Property burnt or damaged or otherwise sabotaged by rioters, in addition to properties of Railways and Posts and Telegraphs was as follows: About 70 police stations and posts were attacked, out of which 45 were destroyed. Some 15 other buildings were attacked, of which a great majority were destroyed. This number included many buildings, such as courts and treasuries. There were considerable damage to municipal and private buildings, details of which are not yet available.

Debate on Political Situation (contd.)

Resuming his unfinished speech to-day Mr. Joshi felt that the Congress should have accepted the Cripps' proposals, captured whatever power was offered to them and demanded more. But rejection of the Cripps' proposals did not lie with Congress alone. They were rejected by the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and even by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. The fact was that the British Government were not anxious for a settlement of the deadlock. "They gallantly talk of raising an army of one million men and speeding up of munitions production forgetting that a National Government would have raised an army of five millions and speeeded up munitions production ten-fold." Mr. Joshi referred to the recent speech of the Commander-in-Chief, in which His Excellency had stated that ultimately the armed forces would defend the country. Mr. Joshi wanted the Commander-in-Chief to remember the lessons of Malaya, Burma and China.

Mr. Joshi did not approve of the civil disobedience movement, but asserted that the Government had blundered also. The demand for National Government was not that of the Congress alone, it was the demand of the whole country. The Government by arresting the Congress leaders had fired the first shot and it was for them to retrace their steps by immediatly releasing the Congress leaders. It was idle to expect Congressmen behind bars to call off the civil disobedience

movement. Mr. Joshi next referred to the Home Member's remark that the Muslims and the Depressed Classes were not with the Congress and asked whether they were with the British Government. Proceeding, he said that if the proposal for a National Government was not acceptable to any party that proposal should be reserved to arbitration. "Did not the British arbitrate and give the Communal Award" he asked. "In the same way, they could give a political award, apportioning the share in power of each major community. In this connection, he appealed to the Congress to agree to the Muslim demand for self-determination. It was a reasonable demand, he declared. That way lay the solution of the present deadlock and of wresting power from the British.

Mr. *Dumasia* said that Mr. Gandhi should have foreseen the consequences before launching his mass movement. He wanted the Government to place the full facts before the House to show who was responsible for the disturbances. The Cripps' offer was still open to India and it was up to the Congress and the Muslim League to come together, accept the offer and work for the effective defence of the country. That way lay the safety of India.

Maulana Zafar Ali claimed that by placating Indians, the Government would have created impregnable defences against the enemy. But instead of placating Indians they imprisoned the Congress leaders. The Congress and the League had not barred the door for negotiations, and if they had failed with the Congress, they would have accepted the hand of friendship of the Mussalmans. It was time to cry halt to the policy of repression and he warned the Government that although the League had not joined the movement but had condemned it, it would fight and fight hard for the rights of the Mussalmans. It was, however, a folly to ignore the Congress and statesmanship demanded opening of negotiations with those who were behind the prison bars. That would create the proper atmosphere for negotiations between the Congress and the League and bring about a settlement of the Indian deadlock.

Sardar Sant Singh complained that the official spokesman, instead of offering some constructive suggestions, had given the House a narration of "incorrect facts." He said that the Home Member had declared that the Government had to meet "the enemy from outside and the enemy from inside". The path of wisdom lay in appeasing the enemy from inside, he declared. The Government and its allies, the British non-official Europeans, had offered India Independence after the war on conditions, which they would see, were not fulfilled. He asserted that the desire for freedom was universal in India and if the Government took a Gallup poll of its own employees it would find that 90 per cent were in favour of India's freedom. He further claimed that the responsibility for the recent disturbances was entirely that of the Government. For, he said, the Government ought not to have expected that the arrrest of Mahatma Gandhi would have no repercussions in the country. Sardar Sant Singh said that the war was not won by mere propaganda. Sincere co-operation of the people of the country was also a major factor in winning the war. The Government should, therefore, take all possible steps to win that co-operation of Indians.

Mr. *C. P. Lawson* mainly dealt with the demand for a National Government. He said: "We are certain that Self-Government will come to this country as soon as the war is over if this country will take it and the community which I represent not only actively supports this policy but hopes to play its part in India's future progress. We ask for no privileged position and we hope to carry equally with the citizens of the country the burden of the future."

Referring to the demand for a National Government, he said that when full sovereign power was to be transferred to this country, it must be carefully considered where those powers were to rest. If they were to rest with the Cabinet it must not be forgotten that no internal limitation remained upon their powers. They might be able to alter their own Cabinet constitution or the constitution of the country. They, therefore, should not condemn any community or political party which was reluctant to commit itself to a form of autonomous government which might prejudice its ability to press its claim for representation in or its right to fashion the legislature of the future.

Mr. *Anthony* (Anglo Indian leader) said that he knew that the spirit of the people was not pro-Nazi but neither was it behind the Government's war effort. The figures of recruitment and munitions production might please the Government, but they did not show the real state of feeling in the country. Referring to recent statements by British Ministers, Mr. Anthony said that "India refused to tolerate patronising or rule by tin-gods". The policy of negation had created a sense of

utter frustration in the country. Proceeding, the speaker said that Indians and the major political parties were not free from blame either. If they knew that the British policy was "divide and rule", they should have created unity amongst themselves to defeat the object of that policy. "Let the major elements in the national life of the country come together and resolve the deadlock. Let the majority community meet the demands of the minorities instead of holding out threats to them".

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* said that the causes of the present discontent in the country were deeply rooted in the history of Indo-British relations of the last two hundred years. From 1892 owards the British policy was directed to creating excuses, racial, communal and political against granting political power to Indians. He said that if the other parties had not yet joined the "Quit India" demand of the Congress, it was because the war was on. He severely criticised the Congress for presuming that it alone held the monopoly of patriotism in this country. He also condemned the demand for "Quit India". "This demand is positively sinister and is an open invitation to Japan to invade India," he declared. He said that the movement for "Quit India" was being carried on by students, girls and by Indian big business, who wished to replace British big business in this country. It was now the time to stand shoulder to shoulder with the British to fight the enemy. He was convinced that if we won, there would be a brotherhood of free nations. The liberty of the world was at stake and it was not the time for domestic quarrels. He criticised the Congress, the League and the Hindu Mahasabha for ignoring the workers and peasants and advised the Government that so long as workers and peasants were given shelter and bread they would remain with them.

The Assembly at this stage adjourned.

17th. SEPTEMBER :—Sir *Abdul Halim Ghaznavi*, speaking in the Assembly to-day, said that he was the first to condemn publicly the attitude of the Congress which drove it to declare lawlessness in the country in the name of a freedom movement. At the same time he did not agree with Mr. *Churchill* that the Congress was a non-entity. He asserted that the British Government was prone to make the same mistake as Mr. *Gandhi* and Mr. *Jinnah*. Mr. Gandhi claimed that the Congress represented the whole of India and Mr. Jinnah claimed that the Muslim League represented Muslim India. "Both are egregiously wrong", he declared, amid laughter. Mr. Churchill, he said, recognised the claims of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah whenever it suited him and discredited them whenever he deemed fit. "This time he has conceded that the 90 millions of Muslims are behind the Muslim League and opposed to the Congress, forgetting the existence of very important parties with large followings among the Muslims of India, like the Jamiat-ul-ulema, the Momins, the Ahrars and the Azad Muslims who do not owe allegiance to the Muslim League (cries of dissent). But I must say that the largest parties are not the only parties that count. All parties must be considered. All parties want freedom. The difference among them lies only in the path each elects to follow for the attainment of that freedom. The demand for a National Government is a national demand. It is also in conformity with the ideals for which the United Nations stand and fight this war."

Proceeding, Sir Abdul Halim said that there was deplorable distrust of Britain's intentions, and to ensure the wholehearted co-operation of India's 400 millions, it was most essential that Britain should forthwith transfer real power into the hands of the Indian people and make this the people's war.

Sir Abdul Halim severely criticised the British Prime Minister for alleging that the Congress was sustained by certain manufacturing and financial interests. He said that both the Indian and the British commercial communities were co-operating fully with the war effort. But the Indian commercial and industrial interests did want political freedom because it was the pre-requisite to economic freedom. They wanted freedom also to enthuse the masses to work more and produce more towards the war effort. He appealed to Britain to show magnanimity to part with the control of administration gracefully to Indians.

Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* wanted to hear from Indian members of the Executive Council—some of whom had stated that their suggestions were not being rejected by the Viceroy—what advice they were giving and what help they were giving to the parties in the country to come together and solve the situation. He referred to certain instances of alleged repression in Sind and expressed dissatisfaction with the enquiry already made by the Sind Government. He

asked for a public, judicial enquiry. He also asked that the Viceroy should invite all parties in the country to come together and find a solution for the country's troubles.

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* admitted that the Congress was the most powerful, organised political party in the country, although it did not represent the whole of India. The Muslim League as a whole did represent Muslim opinion. The demands made by the Congress in their resolution on the Cripps' proposals on April 9 did not have the complete and absolute support of the Muslim League. What, Sir Cowasjee asked, was it that the Congress desired to attain by the decisions it arrived at in Bombay on August 8? The Congress, for the first time, had called the Civil Disobedience Movement open rebellion. If the Congress by open rebellion succeeded in coercing the British to quit the country, did they believe that once they were in the saddle they would get the willing co-operation of other parties and the Muslim League? If that was their belief, why did they not get that co-operation before they attempted open rebellion.

Sardar Sant Singh : Because of the British.

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* : Never have I known of two parties who could be parted if they were aware of the fact that a third party was out to part them. (Cheers).

Sir Cowasji went on to refer to *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's* speech in Bombay, days before the Congress resolution of August 8, in which he spoke of the Congress programme as a hartal such as would make the Government sit up and think and yield to the wishes of the people. The Sardar had spoken of asking railwaymen to stay away from their work and so on. Congressmen, to whom he gave credit for commonsense and ability, could not have believed that they could carry out this programme without violence. Referring to allegations of repression by the Government, Sir Cowasji asked what had not the Congress Governments done in their time to deal with violence and disorders and to control the press in Bombay and Madras?

Mr. *P. J. Griffiths*, Deputy Leader of the European Group, speaking with usual vigour, was thankful that for once at least the Government had acted strongly and did what was required to put down the disturbances. The European Group stood behind the Government in the action taken. If he had any criticism to make, it was that in some respects the Government should have acted more promptly. He charged them with weakness in dealing with certain sections of the press and he believed that if the Government had shown more resolution in controlling the press for the first few days, much of what followed afterwards might have been avoided.

Three main factors had been at work, said Mr. Griffiths. The first was a profound and widespread distrust of British intentions, a suspicion that Britain did not intend to part with power. His community must accept some share of the responsibility for the prevalence of this mistrust but he wanted to make it perfectly clear that he regarded himself solemnly and completely bound by the promise of His Majesty's Government that India was to have complete self-government at the earliest possible moment after the war. He did not mean by that ten, fifteen, or twenty years after the war but the time mechanically necessary for a Constituent Assembly to meet and complete its work. "The whole of the European community stands behind this promise" he declared. "To the best of our ability we will help in implementing it. If by any chance any Government goes back upon that promise I will be the first to lead a movement against that Government". (Cheers.) Could India have a more solemn promise than that given by three European members of the House, two of whom Sir Henry Richardson and Mr. C. P. Lawson were leading businessmen? If even these assurances were not sufficient, it would be beyond the wit of man to dispel these lingering suspicions. It was said that Britain was unwilling to transfer power immediately. To whom, he asked, were they to transfer it? (Voices: To whom will you transfer after the war?) It was also stated that Britain did not keep her promises and the question was asked: What about the last war? But, he asked in reply, what was the promise made after the last war? The promise was increasing association of Indians in the task of Government. Had not that promise been implemented to the hilt in the number of Indians in the present Government? (Laughter and cries of 'Oh Oh'). He wanted Indians to accept the assurance, genuine and sincere assurance given in the House on behalf of the European community.

Passing on to the second factor in the present situation, Mr. Griffiths said

that it was the economic factor, the scarcity of foodstuffs, kerosene and other things, which had caused the widespread feeling in the country that the Government was not tackling this problem with sufficient earnestness. He thought that Governments were too much inclined to say that it was a difficult problem and ask what could they do? It might be that there was a case for a separate Member of the Council to deal with this problem but in any case by one means or another, the Central Government and the Provincial Governments had to solve this problem. The third factor, Mr. Griffiths said, was the determination of the Congress Party to force its will on this country at all costs. The Congress had done great work in the past but had now fallen on bad leadership, tinged with totalitarian views, which had forced the emergence of the Pakistan idea. "However much we are desirous and determined to help India's independence", he declared in conclusion, "we will not stand for the tyranny which, under the cloak of non-violence, is used by the Congress as an instrument for enforcing their will on unwilling fellow subjects." (Cheers).

Mr. *Nauman* (Muslim League) unreservedly condemned lawlessness in his Province of Bihar and was surprised that the Congressmen did not own up to it.

Pandit Maitra: But they (Congressmen) are in jail.

Mr. *Nauman*: There are enough Congressmen outside the jails to own that the Congress was responsible for the recent disturbances.

He, however, paid a tribute to Congressmen and pointed out that in spite of the neutral attitude of the Mussalmans Congressmen did not molest or coerce them. He felt that the Police in India was not adequate and sufficiently armed to cope with eventualities and urged that at least ten policemen should be armed in every police station. He also explained why the Mussalmans had remained neutral. They had refused to join the movement, because the Congress had not agreed to their demand for self-determination. The British Government had likewise not met their demand for a share in the power and authority of the administration.

Mr. *Kazmi* (unattached) claimed that it was wrong to condemn the Congress without giving any chance to its members to defend themselves. He said that the Government could be defended for maintaining law and order but not for any excessive use of power or force. He also explained the object of his amendment, which he said did not seek any privilege for the Congress but was designed to afford them an opportunity to defend themselves against the charges levelled against them inside and outside the House.

Sir *Ahmed Nawaz Khan* (nominated) said that the real cause of the present trouble was the suspicion that the British Government did not intend to part with power. The British Government had made its position clear and it was up to the people of India to reach an agreement and wrest that power

Mr. *K. C. Neogy* (Nationalist) said that it was not possible to appreciate the present position without taking into account the fact that "two dominating factors contribute to the general political atmosphere in the country. The first is that", he added, "there is installed to-day in the seat of power as British Prime Minister one who has been an inveterate enemy of India all his life. The other equally tragic factor is that, in India itself, authority is actually monopolised by a set of reactionary diehards. The Home Member confined himself to the incidents since the arrest of the Congress leaders and laid the whole blame on them. He ignored the widespread prevalence of anti-Government feeling in the country that had been steadily growing in volume and intensity long before the Congress Working Committee met at Allahabad." As an instance, Mr. Neogy said that the general economic distress had been rapidly increasing of late. The people were now faced with a shortage of food due to various factors some of which were connected with the war. Medical help, inadequate in the best of times, was already beyond the means of the vast majority of the people. On top of this came the evacuation measures involving thousands of poor and ignorant people. After citing a number of incidents, Mr. Neogy assured the House that those instances were supported by documents, some of which he had brought to the notice of the authorities. Mr. Neogy went on : "While popular feeling has thus been deeply embittered, the arrival of Indian evacuees from Burma, carrying tales of heartless treatment and racial humiliation on an unprecedented scale, set the whole country ringing with denunciation of the present Government. It is against this back ground of mass discontent and disaffection that the decision taken by the Congress in sheer desperation and the untoward repercussions that followed the arrest of Congress leaders, should be examined."

Referring to the Government action to meet the situation, Mr. Neogy said: "In the name of combating violence and sabotage, which no one in his senses can exonerate or fail to condemn, the Government resorted to methods reminiscent of some of the brutalities ascribed to the Axis Powers. Society at large had been penalised for the offences of the few. Collective or communal fines have been imposed. The Press has been gagged so successfully that nothing but officially approved news can be published either in India or abroad. The voluntary system of Press Advising has now been transformed to compulsory pre-censorship. Press comments from Britain, America and China of a pro-Indian character were either discouraged or sometimes even suppressed in India in the name of Military Censorship. Prominence was given to adverse comments only. Certain foreign journalists had to fly to Chungking to outwit the Censor."

Rao Bahadur Sivaraj, Depressed Classes Leader, declared that it was wrong to call the Congress movement a mass movement, particularly because neither the Mussalman nor the Scheduled Classes participated in it. The Government's policy of surrender to the Congress was largely responsible for the present disturbances. By their past experience, Congressmen were confident that they could sufficiently coerce the Government to gain their objective. In fact, the attitude of Sir *Stafford Cripps* in New Delhi was nothing but another example of this desire to appease the Congress and the Muslim League and leave the rest to their fate.

In this connection, Mr. *Sivaraj* referred to Mr. *P. G. Griffith's* speech earlier in the day that Britain had always honoured its pledges to India. Mr. Sivaraj said that, after giving a solemn pledge in the August offer to the Depressed Classes, that their position would be adequately safeguarded, His Majesty's Government sent out Sir Stafford Cripps to India, who totally ignored the Depressed Classes.

The speaker said that his community was totally opposed to the Constituent Assembly method and the whole question should be referred to an international tribunal of the United Nations. "We are convinced that the British Government, placed as they are, are not likely to do justice to us. For this reason, we want reference to an international tribunal." Referring to the war effort of his community, Mr. Sivaraj said that as they had kept aloof from the Congress movement they should be exempted from collective fines and should be compensated for any damage done to their houses and other property,

18th. SEPTEMBER:—Speaking in the Assembly to-day, the last day of the debate on the present situation, Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, Law Member, declared: "I have never regretted the decision which I, along with all my colleagues, took on August 8, because, placed as we were, we had to choose between complete abdication of our responsibilities as a Government and surrender to the challenge thrown out to us. And now, after all that has happened, we feel convinced that our decision was right. (cheers). We made it perfectly clear in the resolution that we issued immediately after, that we were aware of the preparations that were being made in the name or on behalf of the Congress, for the various act of sabotage, and if there was any doubt about the accuracy of the estimate that we made of the situation at that time, that doubt is completely dispelled by the events that have happened."

"It has been suggested," Sir Sultan went on, "that we should have waited for the letter of Mahatma Gandhi to His Excellency the Viceroy. We however, knew of the repeated advice conveyed to Mahatma Gandhi from different quarters which had influence with him, of the unwisdom of coupling the demand for the independence of India forthwith, with the threat of launching Civil Disobedience if it was not conceded. But Mahatma Gandhi was adamant; he was out to force everybody's hands. We knew he had over-ruled the wishes of some of the important members of the Working Committee, who wanted to take a more sober, moderate course. We knew that his more militant associates had defined what this mass civil disobedience was to be.

"We also had the advice of the Provincial Governors warning us of the grave dangers of any delay in taking action, and subsequent events have proved that they were right. Under these circumstances no Government, I submit to the House, with any sense of responsibility, could have possibly waited a minute longer after the ratification by the All-India Congress Committee of the resolution of the Working Committee. Could any Government agree to negotiate with a

party who came with certain demands in its right hand and a pistol in the left ? It is too late in the day now for any one to make the impossible attempt to absolve the Congress from the fullest responsibility for all that has happened in this country" (loud cheers).

"Before the ink was dry on the All-India Congress Committee's resolution, the whole of India was in flames, and acts of destruction followed with lightning rapidity and virulence, almost unparalleled in the history of India. It was most remarkable that the movement was most violent in provinces where the Congress Ministries had functioned before they went out of office (hear, hear)."

Passing on to the complaint that the Government had not produced any constructive programme of reform to deal with the situation, *Sir Sultan* expressed surprise that such a demand was being made when the rebellion was still not completely quelled. Under the present conditions to expect the Government to sit down to consider and formulate constructive measures—whatever the meaning of the phrase might be—was to say the least of it exceedingly unreasonable.

"Apart from that," he said, "the Cripps Proposals were, and to-day remained the constructive proposals put forward by His Majesty's Government. These unfortunately have been spurned. Let me frankly tell the House that the acceptance of those proposals, in my opinion, would have resulted in the Swaraj for which India has been longing. But, they were rejected on the ostensible ground of the Viceroy's veto and so on. Has it been realised that the convention which the Congress demanded would have come in as a matter of course, once there was the sanction behind it of the representatives of the people ? Conventions would not be conventions if they were put on the statute."

"Then again", he asked, "are constructive proposals only to be initiated by the Government, and have tbe honourable members who have collected here no part or share in it ? May I appeal to them not to go back to their homes without making some tangible contribution to the constructive measures which will command a fair measure of agreement among the parties. Any proposal which has the unanimous support of the hon. members opposite cannot be lightly treated by any Government here or in England. But if the House wants the Government to impose upon the country a constitution irrespective of agreement of the parties during the extraordinarily critical period we are passing through, it will be neither fair to itself nor to the country. Is it realised that a National Government cannot be imposed, but it must be the creation of the fairly unanimous will of the peoples ?"

Sir Sultan concluded with the declaration that a National Government had to satisfy one test which was crucial at the present time, and that was that its main purpose was to resist the Axis Powers to the last drop of its blood. "We, Indian members of the Executive Council, are as anxious as anyone in this House or outside, to have the freedom of the country as soon as possible, and we are here only to advance that interest. We are, however, clear in our own minds that freedom secured from the British without the agreement of the major parties, even if it were possible, would lead us to anarchy and civil war, and thus to abject slavery under the Japanese, and we sitting on these benches will sooner prefer annihilation to the position thus created.

The Labour Member, Dr. *B. R. Ambedkar*, speaking after the Law Member dealt with the two aspects of the debate, namely, the action of the Government in arresting the Congress leaders and the demand for a National Government. The Labour Member said that it had been suggested that as the Congress was pledged to non-violence, the Congress leaders, if they had not been arrested, would have kept their followers non-violent. He asserted that there had been a virtual landslide in the Congress policy of non-violence, which had been deeply buried now. He referred to the incomings and out-goings of Mr. *Gandhi* from the Congress leadership from 1939 onwards on the very issue of non-violence, and said that at the Wardha meeting of the A. I. C. C. in December 1941, Mr. Gandhi, who had been deposed from Congress leadership at Bardoli, had refused to force the issue to a vote. Congressmen were saturated with violence under the very nose of Mr. Gandhi himself, and a great many of them had become indifferent to the creed of non-violence.

Dr. Ambedkar next referred to Mr. *Jai Prakash Narain's* papers taken away by the police from the Deoli Detention Camp in December 1941. The scheme propounded by Mr. Jai Prakash Narain in those papers, inter-alia, claimed that Mr. Gandhi's satyagraha had been a force and the Congress should think of achieving political instead of moral victories. The scheme also envisaged fusion

of various revolutionary parties to work underground and count among other things political dacoities to finance their object. From this, Dr. Ambedkar deduced, that the Congress should not be trusted in its lip service to non-violence. "This was one of the reasons for the Government to arrest the Congress leaders immediately the Congress resolution had been endorsed by the A. I. C. C.," declared the Labour Member.

Alluding to the demand for a National Government, Dr. Ambedkar had no hesitation in saying that the Central Executive as it was constituted to-day, provided a Government which excluded autocracy and imposed collective responsibility. Section 33 of the Government of India Act laid down that supervision, direction and control of the Government was vested in the Governor-General-in-Council. Every Member of the Council was a colleague of the Governor-General.

Dr. Ambedkar went on, amid frequent interruptions, to deal with the question of veto. After pointing out that the Viceroy's veto was confined to matters relating to the safety and tranquility of India he asked, what was the difference between Autocracy and Responsible Government, between the Government under Hitler and that in Great Britain. The difference was that in an autocratic Government there was no veto and in a Responsible Government there was a veto. The only quarrel arose on the question where the power of veto should repose. If we were not to have the veto of the Secretary of State, where we to have it ? If it was transferred from the Secretary of State, he said, the only place where it could be placed was in the legislature. The next question was, could it be transferred to the legislature as it existed to day ? It was quite true that, having regard to the efflux of time this House is in a diseased state. It had been sitting for nine years, and he did not know to what extent the present members of the House could be said to derive a mandate which could be regarded as direct and fresh (Cries of: "Why did you call this session ? All this has nothing to do with the motion).

Dr. Ambedker invited the House to consider the question whether during the period of the war, it was possible to enter upon the task of fashioning a Legislative Assembly in a manner which would secure the support of all communities. His submission was that the demand for a National Government was not only a result of confused thinking, but of the desire of most of the people to avoid the most crucial question, namely, communal settlement. Until we got a communal settlement, it would be quite impossible to fashion this House into an instrument for receiving the veto (Cheers).

Mr. *N. M. Joshi*, on a point of order, asked if it was good Parliamentary practice for the Government side to make provocative speeches at the end of the debate instead of at the beginning, thereby preventing a reply from the Opposition.

The *chair* held that it was not a point of order.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, putting the Muslim League case, remarked that Dr. Ambedkar's observation about this House were in bad taste. If there had been no elections during the past three years, the responsibility could not be thrust on the shoulders of the House. The responsibility was that of the Government, of which Dr. Ambedkar was a part.

Dr. *Ambedkar*: What is the electorate ?

The *Nawabzada* replied ? There is greater popular sanction behind the Legislature than behind the Government of which Dr. Ambedkar is a member. (Cheers and cries of "resign")

Referring to the appeal made to the Muslim League to come forward and find a solution of the deadlock, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali said that the Congress Party had made an honest and sincere declaration that there was no room for negotiation unless the British withdrew. In view of that declaration, those who appealed to the Muslim League must first try to convert the Congress to the sensible point of view that a Hindu-Muslim settlement was necessary for achieving Indian independence.

The question had been asked by Mr. *Griffiths*: To whom are we to hand over power ? "Well", said the Nawabzada, "Hand over Hindu India to the Hindus and Muslim India to the Mussalmans. What is the difficulty about it ?"

Referring to the motion before the House, he explained the party's position and said: "We had no share, authority or voice in this Government. We are certainly not here to register their decrees and give our approval to their actions. The Muslim League party, therefore, has decided not to vote for the motion."

"As regards the amendments, our position is this. We are for the independence of India, for the freedom of India, and are prepared to form a Provisional

Government in co-operatin with any party in this country for the purposes of prosecuting the war successfully and defending our hearths and homes provided we are given a guarantee by every party and by the British Government that the hundred millions of Muslims will have, not the right of self-expression as Mr. Churchill said, but the right to determine their own destiny and establish a completely independent State in areas where they are a majority."

Appealing to the Hindus to consider the matter, the Nawabzada said: "Cannot we, Hindus and Muslims in India, give to each other what is our due? Is it better for us to live in a divided India? I assure you, if we could agree to recognise the rights of each other, if we follow the spirit of give and take, no power can stop India from achieving independence. Take three-fourths of India and give us one-fourth of India and let us both join together and take the whole of India from the British Government". (cheers)

Dr. *Bannerjee*, Leader of the Nationalist Party, while admitting that the Congress was partly responsible for the present situation, declared that Government were even more responsible and had made an even greater mistake. During the three weeks between the meeting of the Working Committee and the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, the Government could have called a conference of representatives. But the Government missed all that time, and the consequence was the growth of anti-British feeling. "The policy of repression," declared Dr. Bannerjee, "must be replaced by a policy of conciliation. The administrator has played his part; let him stand aside and make room for the statesman." He urged the convening of a concerting of measures to transfer some measure of power to them. He went on to ask who spoke as the representative of the Government of India? Was it Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, who asked the House to prepare a scheme, or was it Dr. *Ambedkar*, who thought the House was diseased?

"You can make the Government responsible to the present Legislature without much difficulty." he went on. "Dr. Ambedkar poured contempt on this House. Do other members of Government share that view? If so, why does not the Government order a general election?"

Mr. *Hoosainbhai Lalji*, Leader of the Independent Party, severely criticised the observations of Dr. *Ambedkar* on the "unrepresentative" character of the Assembly. He enquired whether the members of the Executive Council were more representative than the members of the Assembly. The members of the Executive Council were nominated by the Viceroy and remained in office during His Excellency's pleasure. This factor could not endow them either with a representative character or with collective responsibility. As for the veto, it was in the hands of the Secretary of State, sitting 6,000 miles away from India. If the Assembly had become so unrepresentative, the Government could have it dissolved and sought the verdict of the country. He bitterly complained against the treatment meted out to the Assembly on previous occasions. "When Sir *Stafford Cripps* came out to India to negotiate and seek approval for his proposals, this House was left in the cold and never consulted. But when there were widespread disturbances in the country, the Government had come up before the House to obtain its verdict. This was very unfair," he declared.

With reference to the political deadlock in the country, Mr. Hoosainbhai said that there were parties who were non-co-operating while there were others who offered their co-operation on certain terms. There was a large body of responsible persons who were not included in either of these categories and were anxious to do their best for winning the war. The Government, however, ignored them and made no use of their co-operation. He welcomed the offer of the Law Member that the House should produce a scheme for solving the deadlock and he hoped that they would take full advantage of it.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Narang, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party, criticised the procedure adopted for the debate. The Government had placed no substantive proposal before them and it was difficult to table amendments or exercise their votes.

Referring to the Home Member's speech, Mr. *Narang* said that it was the first comprehensive statement on the recent disturbances. He agreed that the Government could not abdicate its functions and meet the disturbances by "non-violent non-co-operation." The Government had their responsibilities and obligations to other parties besides the Congress, and they

could not agree to the Congress demand to quit India. Referring to the question of responsibility for the disturbances, the speaker said that Mr. *Gandhi's* statement had always been of an inconsistent and contradictory nature. He, for instance, virtually hounded out Mr. *Subhas Bose* from the Congress and then sent a telegram of condolence to Mr. Subhas' mother on Mr. Subhas' reported death, describing him a national hero. Mr. Patel, who was Mr. Gandhi's right hand man, had declared before the A. I. C. C. meeting that the Congress movement would last only a week. This could be interpreted that the Congress had planned the movement. It was however, still very difficult to sift evidence and apportion exact responsibility for the disturbances. Mr. Narang welcomed the Law Member's suggestion that the House should produce a constructive scheme for solving the deadlock and hoped that they would be able to put their heads together and evolve a satisfactory solution.

Mr. *M. S. Aney*, Leader of the House, winding up the debate on behalf of the Government (in the absence of the Home Member due to illness), said that two points had been stressed during the debate. Firstly, the advisability of the steps taken by the Government in arresting Congress members and Mahatma Gandhi and the manner in which Government's policy had been carried out in dealing with the situation following the arrests: Secondly, the constitutional problem of India.

Dealing first with the manner in which the disturbances had been met, Mr. Aney pointed out that the authorities had to meet an uncommon situation. It was not easy to put down riotous and rebellious people. In meeting the situation, force had to be used and in the use of that force, a certain latitude had to be given to the persons who were on the spot. If, however, there are excesses, it was in the interest of the Provincial Governments and the officers responsible for the discipline of the forces to take note of the facts and enquire into complaints. He believed that complaints would be considered and grievances put right.

Mr. Neogy, Mr. Aney went on, had referred to the allegation that Sir *Madhao Rao Deshpande* of Nagpur had been forced to remove litter from the streets at the behest of some officer. Mr. Aney said he had met Sir Madhao Rao in Delhi recently; Sir Madhao Rao as an old friend told him many things but never mentioned this. Sir Madhao Rao had left and since then Mr. Aney had been trying to get in telephonic touch with him but had failed. He was, however, in a position to make the statement that enquiries had been made by the Chief Secretary of the C. P. Government, who had found that the allegations made were entirely without foundation. Sir Madhao Rao himself, according to the Chief Secretary, denied them entirely.

Mr. *Neogy*, on a point of explanation, said that he had heard the report from Dr. B. S. Moonjee, who gave him the facts and added that a complaint was made to the police and the police said that unfortunately they could not recognise Sir *Madhao Rao*.

Mr. *Aney* said he was not questioning the *bona fides* of Mr. Neogy, but it was possible that Dr. Moonje was misinformed.

Dr. *Bannerjee* said he had also heard the report from Dr. Moonje.

Referring to the allegations made about the evacuees in Chittagong, Mr. *Aney* explained that there were twenty or thirty thousand of them and that twelve officers working under the Collector were investigating and trying to fix allowances for them. He assured the House that the Government of India were not negligent of the interests of Indians who had come across from Burma. Complaints about the commandeering of boats were also being sympathetically considered. Three sepoys against whom complaints had been made were standing their trial before a Magistrate.

Mr. Aney went on to deny that the Government of India treat the House with contempt. (A voice: Is that the collective opinion?) The interpretation put upon certain observations made by Dr. *Ambedkar* was not correct. He had Dr. Ambedkar's authority to say that he did not mean disrespect or contempt for the members. The House, after all, knew that its members were on the Consultative Committee before which matters of a confidential nature were brought about defence problems, and members had been taken round to see the defence preparations. These things would not have been done if Government had no confidence in the members. One of the factors on which Government relied was the support of the House and Government made every possible effort to keep members

informed and get their support. The very fact that the House was meeting now and had been summoned much earlier than usual was proof of confidence.

A voice: What about Ordinances ?

Mr. *Aney* explained that emergencies arose from moment to moment and things had to be done through Ordinances when Government could not wait till the process of legislative procedure which took time was gone through.

On the question of the advisability of the steps taken in arresting Congress members, he thought that it had been debated in the House in such a way that Government could afford to remain silent. Arguments on both sides had been elaborated with great ability and force. Giving his own personal reactions, he said that when he got information about the arrest—he was away from Delhi at that time—he first thought it was a mistake. But as he proceeded on his journey and saw the riotous mobs and the extent of damage done, he thought what a great mistake he would have committed if he had voted in the Executive Council against the decision, as he might have voted if he had not seen with his own eyes the nature and extent of the disturbances. By voting against the decision, he would have committed the greatest mistake of his life. He now knew that the collective wisdom of the Council was right.

It has been stated, he went on, that a mistake was made in denying time to Mahatma Gandhi to meet the Viceroy. He could have understood this demand, said Mr. Aney, if the resolution of the A. I. C. C. really left some scope for negotiation. As he read it, the resolution left no such scope. He did not see what the advantage would have been of an interview between Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy. If he might guess what would have taken place, Mahatma Gandhi would have told the Viceroy: "My friend, here is the resolution. What it demands is in the interest of England and the world. If you do not give that demand, God help you." (Laughter). That, judging by whatever little knowledge he had of the workings of Mahatma Gandhi's mind, was all that could have happened.

Replying to Dr. Bannerjee's question why Government did nothing for three weeks between the meetings of the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C., Mr. Aney said that the Working Committee's resolution was only a kind of recommendation and it had no force as a resolution until it was ratified by the A. I. C. C. As against Dr. Bannerjee's question he would like to put the counter-question: What efforts were made by representative Indians to prevail upon the A. 1. C. C. to consider the dangers inherent in the resolution ?

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, intervening, said that such attempts were in fact made at the meeting of the A. I. C. C. and most serious warnings were uttered against precipitate action in passing the resolution.

Mr. Aney said, he thought that Dr. Bannerjee meant more than that. Mr. Aney was afraid that if efforts were made by Indians themselves and proved futile, the Government of India were justified in believing that their efforts would not have met with bettter success (Cheers).

In conclusion, Mr. Aney stated that the Government had given to the House an opportunity to express itself on the situation and to hear Government's explanation. According to approved parliamentary procedure, no vote of the House would be demanded and he suggested that the amendments might accordingly be withdrawn.

The three amendments were withdrawn and the House adjourned till the 21st.

Utilization of Mineral Resources.

21st. SEPTEMBER :—The House transacted official business to-day. It agreed, after some discussion, to the election of three members from the House to the Advisory Committee connected with the work of the Utilization Branch of the Geological Survey of India. The original motion made on the opening day of the session by Dr. *Ambedkar*, Labour Member, was for the election of one member to the Committee. On this motion, Mr. *K. C. Neogy* criticised the policy followed in the development or India's mineral resources. Replying to this criticism, Dr. *Ambedkar* to-day drew attention to the answer to a question which he had given in the House since then. The Government, he said, had not neglected the development of India's mineral resources. But the Geological Survey did not have as many technical officers as in England. As regards employment of British evacuee experts from Burma, he said there was no choice, because no other experts were available. He gave the assurance that under the proposed new arrangements, there would be better co-ordination between this body and the Board of Scientific and Industrial

Research. *Pandit Maitra* urged that three members of the Assembly should be elected to the Committee, and asked for an assurance that Indian Industries would not be made subordinate to European interests. Messrs. *Hussainbhai Lalji, Esaak Seth, Nauman, Sir Ziauddin Ahmed* and *Jamnadas Mehta* also spoke, and thereafter, the Labour Member accepted the proposal for the appointment of three members to the Committee.

OFFICIAL BILLS

Four official Bills were then passed, namely, the Bill to amend the Indian Companies Act, two Bills to amend the Civil Procedure Code and a Bill to amend or repeal certain enactments.

During the discussion on the Bill to amend the Indian Companies Act, Mr. *N. R. Sarker*, Commerce Member, pointed out that the interests representing small banks were consulted and were in favour of the Bill.

The first Bill to amend the Code of Civil Procedure seeks to provide that in any suit or appeal in which it appears to the court that a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution Act or an Order in Council made thereunder is involved, the court shall first give notice to the Advocate-General of India or of the Province as the case may require, and may, if satisfied that it is necessary or desirable for the satisfactory determination of the question, order that the Government concerned shall be added as a party.

The second Bill to amend the Civil Procedure Code seeks to fill in a *lacuna* in the present Act by enabling the Government to recover court fees awarded to it in pauper suits as if the amount of such awards were arrears of land revenue.

22nd. SEPTEMBER :—The House to-day passed the Commerce Member's Bill temporarily to amend the Indian Rubber Control Act and referred to a Select Committee Sir *Edward Benthall's* Bill further to amend the Indian Railways Act so as to render railways liable to pay compensation in all train accidents whether due to negligence or not, but to limit the liability in all such cases to a fixed sum of Rs. 7,000 in the case of any individual passenger.

TREATMENT OF INDIANS IN DOMINIONS

Passing on to non-official business, the Assembly agreed to Mr. *Govind Deshmukh's* motion to refer his Reciprocity Bill to a Select Committee after rejecting an amendment moved by Mr. Aney, Leader of the House, suggesting adjournment of the debate till the next session of the Assembly. Mr. *Aney*, in commending his amendment, urged that at a time like the present when the need was a united stand against the common enemy, it was most inopportune to discuss proposals for retaliation against parts of the Commonwealth where Indians had grievances, however just those grievances might be. It was particularly inopportune now when most of the Dominions and Colonies themselves had undertaken to postpone all discriminatory legislation.

Opposing Mr. Aney's amendment, Sir *Raza Ali* explained that the Bill was not provocative in any sense, and that even if the Bill was passed, it was left to the Governor-General to fix the date of its enforcement and to set up machinery to carry out its provisions. In Sir Raja Ali's view, the time had come when the House should get ready to face any eventualities that might occur after the war. He also reminded the House that the motion was only for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee and that the Select Committee might meet next session if that was considered necessary. He contended that further postponement of the Bill—it had been postponed from the last session in deference to the wishes of the Leader of the House—would have prejudicial and damaging repercussion outside India. The House, as already stated, rejected Mr. Aney's amendment and agreed to refer the Bill to a Select Committee.

M. L. A.'S AND ATTENDANCE IN COURTS

A number of other private Bills were either introduced or motions made for their circulation. Among private Bills introduced was one by Mr. *Hussainbhoy Laljee* seeking to provide that no member of the Central Legislature shall during the continuance of its session or sitting or during 14 days before or after such session or sitting, be compelled to attend a court under processes, civil and criminal. This privilege, says the Statement of Objects and Reasons, is necessary, for the efficient discharge of their duties, particularly in these days of party politics, when it is possible not only for elements given to the tactics of abstention from Legislature but others, who are anti-war for their own reasons, to manoeuvre things so as to make

it difficult for those who wish to attend to their legislative and war duties by dragging them to the courts situated far away from the seats of the Legislatures. The Bill, it is also pointed out, merely extends the principle recognised in the Act of 1925 under which members of legislative bodies were exempted from liability to serve as jurors and assessors and from arrest and detention by civil process at the time of the meetings of these bodies.

Ban on Khaksars

Sir *Raza Ali* next moved the Muslim League Party's reeolution recommending that the ban on the Khaksar movement be lifted and Allama Mashriqui and all other interned Khaksars be released immediately. Sir Raza, in his speech, wanted authoritative statements from the Government spokesman on three points, (1) whether it was correct that no action had been taken by the Government of India against the Khaksars under Regulation 3 of 1818, (2) that no Khaksars were under detention under the Defence of India Rules and (3) that Allama Mashriqui had been released sometime in January last from Vellore and was at liberty to go anywhere in Madras Presidency. Sir Raza Ali went on to deal with the Allama and the Khaksar Movement, in which, he said, anybody could join, be he Christian, Jew or Hindu. After referring to the disturbances in which Khaksars were involved in the Punjab and U. P.. Sir Raza Ali said all that was 2½ years ago. Things were very different now. The Khaksars had come to their senses since then and no attempt had been made by them to cause trouble to the Government. Sir Raza had not concluded his speech commending the resolution when the House adjourned till 3-30, to discuss Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's adjournment motion.

Finance Member's Mission to England

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, moving his adjournment motion on the Finance Member's mission to England, declared that what the House wanted was that it should be taken into confidence at a provisional state of negotiations between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India on the questions which the Finance Member had discussed during his recent mission to England. The House did not want to wait till the Government of India had made up their minds and come to a settlement and published the terms of the settlement in their Budget Statement. Under the existing settlement, Mr. Mehta went on, India's basic defence expenditure was some Rs. 38 crores. But actually in 1940-41 India paid Rs. 53 crores in addition to it, while the budget estimate for 1942-43 was Rs. 80 crores above the basic figure. The present information was that India was spending Rs. 20 crores a month as her war expenditure or Rs. 240 crores a year, which might grow every week; and, if the war continued for two or three years longer, India's war expenditure might go up to the staggering figure of a thousand crores. After the last war, India made a gift to His Majesty's Government of £120 million. There was a loophole in the existing finacial settlement, he said. It was the provision that India was to bear the cost of such war measures as could be regarded as purely Indian liabilities by reason of their having been undertaken in India's own interests. It had been said that Aden, Egypt, Burma and Malaya were the external defences of India and therefore, Indian liabilities cover expenditure on these defences. Nor was it certain what were India's own interests and who was to decide these interests. He wanted the Finance Member to take the House into his confidence and allay these apprehensions.

Mr. *Mehta* made a passing reference to Dr. *Ambedkar's* description of the House as diseased. "We may be diseased", he said, "but we can still kick". The Treasury Benches, however, he added, were a "museum of India's disunity and the museum is complete with the recent expansion." (Loud laughter).

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir*, supporting the motion, said not only this House, but the very large public outside interested in India's finances had a right to know what was the nature of the discussions going on between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government. The very fact that the Finance Member had to fly to England to discuss them showed that they were matters of importance. Even at this stage, if they could get a definite assurance that there would be no radical changes in the terms of the agreement announced by the Finance Member at the last Budget Session, it would allay apprehension. It was important, he said, that Indian public opinion should know whether the discussion in England had something to do with the terms of settlement quoted by Mr. Mehta. Sir Cowasji wanted to know, in short, how much the Finance Member could tell the House.

Pandit Maitra asked if it was the intention to present the House with a *fait*

accompli. He referred to the acute economic distress in the country and uttered a warning that, if the people were confronted with a colossal expenditure of Rs. 700 or 800 crores, it would be the breaking point. He wanted to know what was the bill that India would have to foot for the war. Mr. Maitra asserted that the object of calling such a brief session of the Assembly as the present was not to give an opportunity to discuss the political situation, but to deprive the House of its legitimate full session.

Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, replying to the debate, thought that the House was really doing less than justice to what must be regarded as the rights of any Government. After all, it was not very long since his return. The Government had been preoccupied with matters of great urgency during the period since his return and practically the whole of last week, all members of Government were busily engaged in attending to the business of the House. The Government required some time to consider the subject for itself, and it was somewhat surprising to him that the House should, in effect, have taken the attitude that its curiosity must be satisfied at the earliest possible stage, whether or not the Government had time to consider these matters. (Cries of "No, no. That is not what we say.")

Developments of the war situation since the last Budget was presented, Sir Jeremy went on, had resulted in a great intensification of the measures taken for the defence of India. To take a most obvious example, an enormous increase in the strength of the Air forces stationed in this country had taken place. The anti-aircraft had been greatly strengthened, and it was clear that even under the terms of the existing financial settlement, certain questions might arise regarding the share which might be allocated to India of the cost of the measures which related to India and which at the same time covered a wider objective. Problems of this nature had arisen under the settlement from an early stage and had been dealt with in accordance with well-defined principles. What he had constantly referred to as measures of local defence was clearly understood, and when the mover talked as though further liabilities might be imported into this category, he was erring. Giving an instance, the Finance Member said that the cost of the G. H. Q. might be regarded as a measure of local defence of India but since its organisation, the G. H. Q. had to deal with matters beyond the geographical frontiers of India and it had been agreed that His Majesty's Government should pay on a 50-50 basis. The Finance Member said that it was hardly possible to indicate expenditure of this and similar kinds except in relation to the total picture. It was not the intention of the Government to present a supplementary budget and, therefore, the occasion for a review of the extent of expenditure would not arise until the next budget. But a different type of question might arise whether any liability should be accepted which went beyond the principles of the existing settlement. If the Government were contemplating acceptance of a liability of this nature, the House would be entitled to an opportunity to consider it. Discussion of such a matter of principle might well take place apart from the actual budget debate. The point at issue, Sir Jeremy proceeded to say, would depend on the nature of the decisions which the Government took. If the Government were to take decisions which did not involve a departure of principle, then the position would be entirely different from the situation if the Government were contemplating the acceptance of a new type of liability or a liability which went beyond the principles of the existing settlement. He concluded with the assurance that the Government had full regard to the rights of the House in matters of this kind.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* expressed dissatisfaction with the Finance Member's reply. He said that he did not demand any premature disclosure of any information nor of any information which might be of use to the enemy. "We are in no hurry and can wait for, say, two months. What we do demand is that we must be taken into confidence before a final decision is reached. A four days' special session could be sufficient to discuss the question. Referring to the existing financial arrangement, Mr. Mehta reiterated that Clause III of that agreement was vague unless the terms "India", and "war measures" were clearly defined. He said : "Our fear is that even if the Government kept within the letter and spirit of the terms and interpretation of the existing agreement, the expenditure under it might rise to such an extent that it might become beyond the capacity of India to pay. What we therefore demand is that the defence expenditure should be placed in conformity with India's capacity to pay."

The House rejected Mr. Mehta's motion by 41 votes to 9 and adjourned.

Adjournment Motions Ruled Out

23rd. SEPTEMBER:—The *President* took up an adjournment motion tabled by *Mr. Govind Deshmukh* to discuss "the move of the Durban City Council to expropriate Indian-owned lands in Durban to be allocated to European or coloured housing schemes to be sanctioned by the Union Government". Mr. Deshmukh said he did not wish to move it but asked the Member in charge of Indians Overseas to bear in mind the apprehensions of Indians in Durban in this matter and take steps to prevent expropriation of their lands.

Two adjournment motions in the name of Mr. *M. A. Kazmi* to discuss the treatment of Mr. *Mandi*, Dr. *Katju* and others in detention under orders of the United Provinces Government, particularly denial of facilities for correspondence, were ruled out by the Chair on the ground that the matter was the concern of the Provincial Government.

Release Of Khaksar Leaders

The Assembly next devoted the whole of the day's sitting to a further debate on the Muslim League resolution on Khaksars moved by Sir *Raza Ali* and finally passed it without any division in the following form :

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the ban on the Khaksar Movement be lifted, the restrictions placed on the liberty of *Allama Mashriqi* be immediately withdrawn, and that all other Khaksars interned under Regulation 3 of 1818, or the rules made under the Defence of India Act be immediately released." Government Benches remained neutral.

Explaining Government's standpoint, Sir *Richard Tottenham*, Home Secretary, declared in the Assembly that Government had not proceeded in this unreasonably or arbitralily but had good reason for every step they had taken to deal with the organisation. Sir Richard proceeded to emphasise that, in the first place, the Government regarded the whole of this matter as essentially a law and order problem and they must act in the closest consultation and co-operation with Provincial Governments, for, Provincial Governments were directly responsible for the maintenance of law and order. This was not a matter on which for political or sentimental reasons, the Government of India could afford to persuade Provincial Governments against their will. Reference had been made to the charge that the Khaksars were or might be 'fifth columnists' in touch with the enemy. "The Government of India", he declared "have never made this charge against the Khaksars, nor do they make it now." Secondly Sir Richard said it was difficult to withdraw the ban on the Khaksars in certain parts of India and not in others. The Khaksars were an all-India organisation and it would be akward if they were dealt with differently in different parts of the country. Thirdly, he referred to the offer of help in the war made by the organisation.

It sounded as an offer which it would be wrong to reject, but, as he understood it, what the offer meant was that the Khaksars wished to be allowed to contribute a contingent to the army but to retain its own identity and possibly serve under its own officers. That, he said, could hardly be accepted. After all, he went on, there were ample opportunities for those who wished to join the army or the police force as individuals ; and an offer of the kind made by the Khaksars was not necessary. Sir Richard proceeded to observe that the result of Government's dealings with the Allama had not been such as to inspire a great deal of confidence. He reiterated that Government regarded this primarily a law and order matter and they found it impossible to accept the resolution without further consultation with Provincial Governments. Government did wish to keep an open mind in the matter as far as possible and they were fully prepaped to take into consideration the views expressed in the House and reconsider the whole matter in the light of those views and in consultation with Provincial Governments. Government would proceed with the consultations as quickly as possible, but he suggested that if the mover withdrew his resolution, that would be the best conclusion to the debate. If he wished to press the resolution, Government would remain neutral. The House at this stage adjourned.

Police Excesses in August Disturbance

24th. SEPTEMBER:—The debate on Mr. *K. C. Neogy's* resolution urging the appointment of a Committee to enquire into the excesses of the police and military in the action taken to quell the recent disturbances resolved itself, in the main, into allegations and counter-allegations. Mr. Neogy and later Mr. N. M. Joshi gave numerous instances of such excesses in several parts of India, notably Bihar,

U. P., C. P., and Bombay. *Sir Sultan Ahmad* Law Member, gave from the Government's side equally lurid accounts of methods employed by the mobs, mainly from his own Province of Bihar. Mr. *Neogy* then moved his resolution, which read, as follows:—

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that a committee composed of nine members of this House with a majority of non-officials selected in consultation with leaders of the parties, be set up immediately to enquire into the nature of organisation leading to dislocation of communication, murder, loot and forcible extortion of money under the threat of murder, the allegation that some factory-owners helped hooligans by deliberately turning out their labourers after paying their full wages and the allegations of excesses committed by the military and the police in dealing with the recent disturbances in the country in a manner that may not benefit the enemies and to report thereon to the Governor-General-in-Council."

Addition of the words relating to dislocation of communications, etc., and the action of factory-owners was proposed by an amendment moved by *Sir Ziauddin*.

Mr. *Neogy* said he did not want to contest the right of the Executive Government to use force to repel force and to uphold law and order. He pointed out that although the entire country had been convulsed by acts of unheard of sabotage and violence, martial law had not been proclaimed and civil authorities, at least in theory, were functioning in the affected areas, although the spirit of martial law determined their line of action. He divided "excesses" into a number of categories, such as cases of shooting at random, damage to property and excessive force in dispersing non-violent crowds and other kinds of assault.

Mr. Neogy mentioned the case of a zamindar of U. P. who had "a long pedigree of loyalty to Government" but who had now served Government with a notice under the Civil Procedure Code claiming damage to property committed by the police on August 26. Referring to other types of "excesses", Mr. Neogy said that some 34 Commercial Associations in Bombay passed resolutions condemning repressive measures, particularly the compelling of householders, merchants and passers-by to clear the streets. A senior member of the Bar in Patna, who was out on his morning walk, was caught hold of and ordered to clean the road. Mr. Neogy referred to the refusal to hold enquiries in C. P. and U. P. and said that the only conclusion to be drawn from such refusal was that the acts of the police and military had been done with the full knowledge and concurrence of the Provincial Governments. Such refusal was a direct encouragement to the police. Mr. Neogy made it clear in conclusion that he did not want anything done to weaken the hands of the Government in meeting the situation but Government had already allowed the situation to get out of their hands and it was high time that they sought to control the forces of law and order.

Mr. *N. M. Joshi* said that Mr. Neogy had rendered a distinct service to the country by bringing the present motion before the House. A large number of members of the House held the opinion that the alleged excesses of the police and the military required to be enquired into by the House. The policy of the Government in arresting the Congress leaders, said Mr. Joshi, was a great disaster. He had no doubt in his mind that the large bulk of protests against the Government's action in arresting Congress leaders spontaneously broke out into acts of violence, in respect of which both the mobs and the police and military were equally guilty. Mr. Joshi speaking from personal knowledge gave several instances of "excesses". By giving freedom to Provincial Governments in the matter, the Government of India were guilty of direct encouragement to the police and the military.

Sir *Frederick James* said that the classes of excesses to which the mover had referred applied to those who had begun the movement and upon whom the sole responsibility for the disturbances rested. Sir Frederick suggested that there were reasons to infer that the movement started under the auspices of the Congress Party had indirectly the sanction of the leader of the Congress Party, who was the idol of every Hindu in the land. (Babu *Baijnath Bajoria* and Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, "No, no, not every Hindu"). Sir Frederick said that in most Hindu homes, the portrait of the Mahatma was on the wall, and was garlanded. (Cries of "No, no, how many houses have you seen?"). Sir Frederick said that many friends of his who were not friends of the Congress had the Mahatma's portraits. He suggested the only thing that to-day stood in the way of utter chaos, civil warfare and continuous bloodshed were the forces of the police in the various Provinces behind whom were the military prepared to intervene when needed. It would be the duty of this Government, as of any Government, Hindu, Muslim or composite, to strengthen and

not weaken the forces which stood against the floods of revolution. An enquiry such as the resolution demanded was not the way in which those who were defending authority should be supported.

Sir Frederick asked the House to remember the responsibility which was upon the shoulders of every citizen to do what he could to strengthen the hands of authority at this time and responsibility of Provincial Governments to see that so far as lay in their power the weapons which they had to use in dealing with this attempted revolution were used only as much as was necessary.

"From the reports which have been received the Government are fully satisfied that the troops and the police have done their duty remarkably well under that trying and perilous conditions", demanded *Sir Sultan Ahmed*, Law Member, intervening at this stage. "Government", he went on, "do not suggest that, in a serious disturbance such as this, there may not have been some cases in which excessive force has been used or in which innocent persons have suffered. If there have been such cases which are authenticated, the attention of the Army Department and the Provincial Governments will be drawn to them so that they may try to see that those who have been guilty of such excesses do not escape punishment. The military authorities are exceedingly jealous of their reputation and the reputation of their soldiers, and I have no doubt that, once a case of unjustifiable shooting is brought to their notice, they are sure to take action themselves. As regards the police, there may be a question whether the Governor-General-in-Council would have any power to appoint a committee of members of the Central Legislature to enquire into the operation of police forces, an entirely Provincial subject. Here again, we feel sure that gross and callous cases of police excesses, if any, will most certainly be examined by the Provincial Governors.

"The main objection to the proposal as I have submitted before is the disastrous effect it would have on the morale of the services concerned if an enquiry such as has been suggested was ordered. The Sind Government agreed to hold an official enquiry into certain allegations against the police in Karachi which incidentally turned out to be completely unfounded and it had immediately an adverse effect on the morale of the police forces in that area. The cases that have been mentioned in this House will no doubt be noted, and the attention of the proper authorities drawn to them, but I submit that simply because some people come and start stories before some of us it does not necessarily follow that they are true. Most of them turn out to be without foundation and may be on a par with the Sir Madhavarao Deshpande story. Lots of stories had been brought to me from Patna which on enquiry from persons concerned have been found to be absolutely untrue. One of these concerned an hon. Member of this House. Any attempt to bring discredit on the forces who have so courageously and loyally performed their onerous duties in the face of tremendous odds, would be most unfortunate.

"We are in the midst of a life and death struggle; the enemy is knocking at our doors and surely on such an occasion it is better to look forward rather than to look backward and to see whether the orgy of destruction cannot be put behind us and all endeavours concentrated to bring peace and tranquility in the country, and defeat our external enemies. May I, in conclusion, respectfully suggest that this chapter should now be closed, and we must now go ahead? Enough damage has been done by this senseless anarchy. Let us not let down those who have stood by us and who deserve our gratitude, because if we do, that will not only be the end of all discipline, but we must also be prepared for disasters of the worst kind in the country."

Mr. *Azar Ali* warned the Government that conditions in the country were very serious; they were serious not only to the people but to the Government and to the United Nations. He gave an instance of high-handedness of the police against certain Zamindars in his constituency and observed: "Ever since the Viceroy's Council was expanded, hooliganism has started and spread." (Laughter).

Further debate was adjourned to the next session and the House adjourned *sine die*.

Laws passed in 1941—42

Government of Bengal

The Eastern Frontier Rifles (Bengal Battalion Amendment) Act, 1941 (Bengal Act VII of 1941). (*1-9-41*):—To amend the Eastern Frontier Rifles (Bengal Battalion) Act, 1920, in order to increase the period of enlistment of new entrants to the battalion from three to seven years.

The St. Thomas' School (Amendment) Act, 1941 (Bengal Act VIII of 1941). (*17-9-41*):—To amend the St. Thomas' School Act, 1923, to provide for two additional co-opted Governors of St. Thomas' School from the teaching staff of that School.

The Bengal Court of Wards (Amendment) Act, 1941 (Bengal Act IX of 1941). (*29-9-41*):—To amend the Court of Wards Act, 1879, so as to provide that the expression "Civil Court" used in the said Act includes the High Court in Calcutta.

The Bengal Patni Taluks Regulation (Amendment) Act, 1941 (Bengal Act X of 1941). (*15-10-41*):—To amend the Bengal Patni Taluks Regulation, 1819, for the purpose of remedying certain defects in section 6B of the Regulation as inserted by the Amending Act of 1940 in respect of division of a patni taluk.

The Bengal Raw Jute Taxation Act, 1941 (Bengal Act XI of 1941). (*14-11-41*):—To provide for the levy of a tax on raw jute purchased by the occupiers of jute mills and by shippers of jute to carry out measures for the stabilisation of jute prices and to further the interests of the growers of jute in the Province and of the jute industry generally.

The Bengal Public Demands Recovery (Amendment) Act 1942 (Bengal Act I of 1942). (*26-3-42*):—To amend the Bengal Public Demands Recovery Act, 1913, for the purpose of protecting honest debtors from detention in civil prison and to confine such detention to debtors proved to be recalcitrant or fraudulent and dishonest and for providing certain other reliefs.

The Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Amendment) Act, 1942 (Bengal Act II of 1942). (*7-5-42*):—To amend the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act, 1935, for the purpose of providing machinery for the restoration of debtors to possession of their immovable properties sold in execution of decrees during passage of the said Act through the legislature.

The Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Temporary Provisions) Extending Act 1942 (Bengal Act III of 1942) (*15-5-42*):—To extend the operation of the Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1940, which was due to expire on May 29, 1942, for one year more pending the introduction of permanent and more comprehensive legislation on the subject.

The Bengal Criminal Law (Industrial Areas) Amendment Act of 1942 (Bengal Act IV of 1942). (*1-6-42*):—To prevent theft of unidentifiable articles in industrial areas.

The Bengal Touts Act, 1942 (Bengal Act V of 1942). (*31-5-42*):—To make better provision for regulating the employment of clerks of legal practitioners and for the suppression of touts in Courts and certain Offices in Bengal.

The Bengal Agricultural Income-tax Bill, 1941. (*Introduced in the Legislative Assembly*) :—To secure an addition to the revenues of Bengal, and for that purpose to impose a tax on agricultural income derived from land and buildings situated in Bengal.

The Bengal Finance (Amendment) Bill, 1941. (*Introduced in the Assembly*):—To amend the Bengal Finance Act, 1939, for the purpose of realising the tax from an assessee who leaves Bengal for other parts of British India without paying his tax and without leaving any property behind and also for the realisation of tax from the estate of a deceased assessee and providing means by which the heir of a deceased assessee can claim a refund due to such assessee.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1942. (*Introduced in the Assembly*) :—To provide for the regulation, control and development of secondary education.

The Calcutta and Suburban Police (Amendment) Bill 1941. (*Introduced in the Council*) :—To amend the Calcutta Police Act, 1866, and the Calcutta Suburban Police Act, 1866, for the purpose of ensuring proper control of seamen's lodging houses and thereby to protect the seamen who take shelter therein.

The Bengal State Aid to Industries (Amendment) Bill, 1941. (*Introduced in the Council*):—To amend the Bengal State Aid to Industries Act, 1931, for the purpose of affording financial assistance to cottage industries and to industries on a small scale in the shape of loans,

cash credits, etc., on a scale wider and more generous than that provided for in the parent Act and for the purpose of remedying certain other minor defects in the Act.

The Bengal Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Bill, 1941. (Introduced in the Council) :—To regulate the employment of women in tea factories and plantations for certain periods before and after child-birth and to provide for the payment of maternity benefit to them.

The Workmen's Compensation (Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1941. Introduced in the Council). To amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, in its application to Bengal to provide for the appointment of official medical referees to whom any medical questions in dispute between employers and workmen may be referred by the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation for a report and whose report shall be binding on both parties.

The Government of Bihar

The Bihar Agricultural Income-Tax (Amendment) Act, 1942. (10-1-42). To clarify the validity of expression (agricultural income) in the Bihar Agricultural Income Tax Act, 1938, and to amend the said Act.

The Bihar Excise (Supplementary) Act, 1941 (11-1-42) :—To extend the application of the provisions of the Bihar Excise Act, 1940, to every intoxication drug.

The Bihar Local Self-Government and Cess (Amendment) Act, 1942. (25-2-42) :—To amend the Bihar and Orissa Local Self-Government Act of 1885 and the Cess Act, 1880, in connection with Government relation with the District Board in some respects.

The Bihar Alluvion and Diluvion (Amendment) Act. 1942. (23-2-42) :—To entitle the estates to resume immediate possession of the lands, which have reappeared and reformed after once being lost and washed away.

The Bihar Power Alcohol Act, 1942. (14-7-42) :—To provide for the fostering development, and regulation of the industry of power alcohol.

The Bihar Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Extension to Agricultural Land) Act, 1942. (15-7-42) :—To extend the operation of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Amendment) Act, 1938, to agricultural land (the term property in the Act 1938 including 'agricultural land') and to give better rights to women in respect of property in general.

The Bihar Co-operative Societies (Amendment) Act, 1942. (7-7-42) :—To authorise the Registrar to revise or to replace the compromise between a registered society and its creditors for their interest.

The Bihar Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1942. (7-9-42) :—To extend the period of limitation for filing suits for the recovery of bhaoli rents.

Government of Orissa

Orissa Act VI of 1941 (Orissa Tenancy Second Amendment Act, 1941). (28-10-41):—To extend the time for payment of fees for transfer of occupancy holding before the commencement of Orissa Act VIII of 1938.

Orissa Act I of 1942 (The Madras Estates Land Orissa Amendment Act, 1942):—To extend the provision contained in section 127 of Madras Act VIII of 1934 which prohibits eviction of tenants in whole inam villages which are not estates.

Orissa Act II of 1942 [The B. and O. Co operative Societies (Orissa Auditing and Validating) Act, 1942.]:—To validate the appointment of agents and sub-agents by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies to manage the affairs of Central Banks.

Orissa Weights and Measures Bill, 1942):—To standardize the weights and measures which are now in vogue in the Province.

The Bihar and Orissa State Aid to Industries (Orissa Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To ensure quick disposal of applications for small loans by the Director of Development without reference to the Board of Industries

The Orissa Forest Bill, 1942 :—To verify the provision of the Madras Forests Act, 1882, and the Indian Forest Act 1927 which are in force in the South and North Orissa respectively.

Government of N. W. F. Province

The Punjab District Board (N.-W. F. P. Amendment) Act, 1941. (Governor's Act I of 1941). (31-3-41):—To provide for the realisation of all rates and taxes imposed under the Punjab District Board Act, 1883, as arrears of land revenue.

The North-West Frontier Province Sales of Motor Spirit (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Governor's Act II of 1941). (16-6-41):—To authorise the Provincial Government to exempt any person or class of persons from the provisions of the N. W. F. P. Sales of Motor Spirit Act. 1939.

The Indian Penal Code (North-West Frontier Province Amendment) Act, 1941. Governor's Act III of 1941). (22-11-41):—

To amend sections 363, 364, 365 and 369 of the Indian Penal Code in its application to the North-West Frontier Province. The punishment in these sections was raised to 14 years.

The Frontier Crimes Regulation (North-West Frontier Province (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Governor's Act IV of 1941). (22-11-41) :—To amend section 37 of the Frontier Cri...es Regulation. It provides for the enhancement of sentences provided in the section.

The North-West Frontier Province Midwives (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Governor's Act I of 1942). (2-9-42):—To provide for the registration of midwives in the N.-W. F. P.

The Punjab Municipal (N.-W. F. Province Amendment) Act, 1942. (Governor's Act II of 1942). (27-3-42). The term of office of the President of a Municipal Committee was extended from one year to three years.

The Punjab District Boards (N.-W. F. P. Amendment) Act, 1942. (Governor's Act III of 1942). (27-3 42):—The term of office of the Chairman of a District Board was extended from one year to three years.

The N.-W. F. P. Courts Regulation (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Governor's Act IV of 1942). (1-7-42):—To remove an ambiguity for the filing of appeal from a Subordinate Judge to the District Judge.

The Punjab Municipal (N.-W.F.P. 2nd Amendment) Act, 1942. (Governor's Act V of 1942). (24-8-42):—Certain provisions of the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911, as extended to the N.-W.F.P., were made more stringent for checking corruption and irregularities.

The N.-W.F.P. Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Extension to Agricultural Land) Act, 1942. (Governor's Act VI of 1942). (28-9-42) :—The operation of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937, amended by the Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Amendment) Act, 1938, was extended to agricultural land with retrospective effect.

The N.-W.F.P. (Upper Tanawal Excluded Area) Post Office Regulation, 1942. (No. 1 of 1942). (13-3-42):—The Indian Post Office Act, 1898, was applied to Upper Tanawal, an Excluded Area in the North-West Frontier Province.

Government of the Punjab

The Colonization of Government Lands (Punjab Amendment) Act. (10-12-41):—To include predeceased son's widow and predeceased grandson's widow in the list of persons enumerated in Section 20 (*d*) of the Colonization of Government Lands (Punjab) Act, 1912.

The Punjab Electricity (Emergency Powers) Act. (30-4-42.):—To enable the Government to assume control of a licensed electric supply undertaking in cases of emergency and to provide for the continuance of public street lighting service for six months at a time upto a maximum of two years.

The Court Fees (Punjab Amendment) Act. (24-2-42) :—To enable the former practice of the arbitrators and liquidators and of co-operative societies issuing processes without payment of fees to be continued.

The Punjab Village and Small Towns Petrol (Amendment) Act. (24-2-42) :—To amend the Punjab Village and Small Towns Patrol Act, 1918, so as to include small towns committees and notified area committees within the definition of "Village Punchayat."

The Punjab Legislative Assembly (Allowances of Members) Act. (10-3-42) :—To substitute a system of fixed annual remuneration to the members of the Assembly, for the residence and conveyance allowance for each day of residence under Act IX of 1937.

The Punjab General Sales Tax (Amendment) Act. (3-3-42) :—To amend the Punjab General Sales Tax Act, 1941, so as to raise the exemption limit from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 and to enable Government to levy the tax to any desired stage.

The Music In Muslim Shrines Act, (25-4-42) :—To prohibit the singing of girls and women in the shrines of recognised Muslim Saints.

The Badshahi Mosque Fund Cess Act. (28-3-42) :—To levy for one year a cess at the rate of one pice per rupee of the annual value, on the land owned by Muslims, in order to meet the cost of repair and maintenance of the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore.

The Punjab Relief of Indebtedness (Amendment) Act. (16-4-42) :—To set at rest certain doubts arising in consequence of certain judgments and to remove certain defects in the Punjab Relief of Indebtedness Act, 1934.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly (War Service) Amendment Act. (4-11-42) :—To amend the Punjab Legislative Assembly (War Service) Act. 1940, so as to enable the members to be engaged in employments connected with the prosecution of War, without losing their seats in the Assembly.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly (Allowances of Members) Amendment Act, (3-11-42) :—To amend the Punjab Legislative Assembly (Allowances of Members)

Act, 1942, so as to enable members to draw their allowances from month to month subject to certain conditions.

The Punjab Motor Spirit Taxation of Sales (Amendment) Act. (9-11-42) :—To raise the rate of tax on retail sales of motor spirit from five pice to six pice per gallon.

The Punjab Land Preservation (Chos) (Amendment) Act. (16-11-42) :—To extend the Punjab Land Preservation (Chos) Act, 1900, so as to bring the whole of the Kangra District within the scope of its application.

The Punjab General Sales Tax Act (Second Amendment) Act. (17-11-42) :—To amend the Punjab General Sales Tax Act, 1941, so that the tax shall become payable by the dealer in the year immediately following the year for which the tax has been charged.

The Suits Valuation (Punjab Amendment) Bill. (27-10-42) :—To rectify certain defects of a purely verbal nature which resulted from the form in which the Punjab Act I of 1938 was drafted and to make the determination of value for purposes of jurisdiction by the trial court, in a suit for Accounts final.

The Press and Registration of Books (Punjab Amendment) Bill :—To remove doubts arising out of the absence of time limit for the validity of declarations under the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, and making the filing of a fresh declaration obligatory, if a Press is restarted after having ceased to function.

The Sugarcane (Punjab Amendment) Bill :—To amend the Indian Sugarcane Act, 1934, in its application to the Punjab, with a view to protecting the growers of sugarcane to provide for the better organisation of cane supplies to sugar factories and to prevent unhealthy competition between them.

The Punjab District Board Bill :—To repeal the District Board Act, 1885. The proposed Bill gives full liberty to the Boards to elect non-official chairmen and extends their life to five years. A provision has also been made for prompt discharge of executive duties by the executive authority.

The Transfer of Common Land (Interpretation of Contracts) Bill :—To ensure that so long as *Shamilat* is not specifically alienated, it will be presumed not to have passed to the transferee of any *Khewat* area.

The Punjab Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Bill :—To provide for the licensing of ginning and pressing factories in order to eradicate the malpractices of mixing, watering, adultertion with seed, etc., prevailing among cotton producers.

The Punjab Electricity Duty Bill. To levy a duty on electrical energy consumed for lights and fans and other appliances.

Government of Assam

The Assam Embankment and Drainage Act of 1941. (Act VII of 1941). 3-5-41):—To make provision for the construction, maintenance, management, removal and control of embankments and for the better drainage and improvement of lands in Assam.

The Assam Legislative Chamber (Members' Emoluments) (Amendment) Act, 1941 (Act VIII of 1941). (3-5-41):—To amend the Assam Legislative chamber (Members' Emoluments) Act, 1938, to give the Provincial Government power to make certain rules under the Act.

The Assam Finance Act, 1941. (Act IX of 1941). (7-8-41):—To fix the rates at which agricultural income shall be taxed under the Assam Agricultural Income-Tax Act, 1939.

The Assam Legislative Chambers' Officers' Salaries Act, 1937, and 1941, and Members' Emoluments Act, 1938 (Temporary repeal) Act, 1942. (Act I of 1942). 25-1-42):—A proclamation having been issued under section 93 of the Government of India Act on December 25, 1941, this Act was enacted to repeal the operation of the Emoluments and Salaries Acts of Assam Legislature.

The Assam Local Board Elections (Emergency Provisions) Act. 1942. (Act II of 1942). (22-2-42):—To legislate for further postponement of the Local Board Elections in Assam.

The Assam Temporarily settled districts Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1942 (Act III of 1942). (25-3-42):—To amend the Assam (Temporarily settled districts) Tenancy Act, 1935, in certain aspects.

The Assam Finance Act, 1942. (Act IV of 1942). (21-3-42):—To impose for the year *1942-43* rates of taxation under sections 3 and 6 of the Assam Agricultural Income Tax Act. 1939.

The Assam Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Act V of 1942) (29-4-42) :—To do away with the necessity of issuing both token and licence in acknowledgment of the payment of taxes.

Government of Sind

Act IX of 1941. (21-5-41):—To make provision for the setting up of Debt Conciliation Boards to relieve agriculturists from indebtedness.

Act XIV of 1941 (21-7-41) :—To

validate the elections for the purpose of filling the places of members of certain District Local Boards in the Province of Sind, whose terms of office expired on March 31, 1941.

Act I of 1942. (8-4-1942):—To provide for suppressing criminal activities of persons commonly known as Hurs or Lurs in the Province of Sind.

A Bill to extend provisions of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act 1937, to agricultural lands, in its application to the Province of Sind. Bill No VI of 1942):—It extends the provisions of the Act, in its application to Sind, to agricultural lands.

A Bill to make provision for the promotion of peaceful and amicable settlement of industrial disputes and conciliation and arbitration and for certain other purposes. (Bill No. VII of 1942):—To make strikes and lock-outs in industrial undertakings illegal until the whole machinery, provided under the Bill, for discussion and negotiation has been made use of.

Government of Bombay

Bombay Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Act 1941. (Bombay Act X of 1941). (27-5-41) :—To empower Government to refer any industrial dispute to arbitration of Industrial Court in certain circumstances and to make a strike or lock-out illegal before the completion of such arbitration proceedings or the coming into operation of the award, whichever is later.

Bombay (Emergency Powers) Whipping Act, 1941. (Bombay Act XI of 1941). (27-5-41) :—To provide the punishment of whipping for the commission or abetment of any offence under sections 147, 148, 324, 325, 326, 435 or 436 of the Indian Penal Code, in addition to the punishment provided for such offence under the said Code. It also repeals Bombay Act No. X of 1933.

Bombay District Police and City of Bombay Police (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Bombay Act XIII of 1941). (5-8-41) :—To give power to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, and the District Magistrates to authorise the Police to erect road barriers for stopping vehicles temporarily to satisfy themselves that the provisions of any law have not been contravened in respect of such vehicle or by the driver or person in charge of it.

Bombay Agricultural Pests and Diseases Act, 1941. (Bombay Act XIV of 1941). (3-9-41) :—To prevent the introduction, spread or reappearance of insect pests, plant diseases and noxious weeds injurious to crops, plants or trees.

Bombay Abkari (Second Amendment) Act, 1941 (Bombay Act XV of 1941). (9-10-41) :—To preserve the arrangements of Government control in excise administration both in prohibition and non-prohibition areas, which were impugned by the High Court in what is known as the Todiwalla Case.

Bombay Industrial Disputes (Second Amendment) Act, 1941. (Bombay Act XVI of 1941). (3-11-41) :—To make it unnecessary on the part of employers to give notice of any change in the terms of employment, when the effecting of such change has become lawful by reasons of a notification issued under Section 8 of the Factories Act, 1934.

City of Bombay Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act I of 1942) (27-1-42). To guard Government's interest in premises held on lease or other tenures immediately from the Crown. If the arrears of property taxes due to the Municipal Corporation are not discharged by any lessee, the Corporation can sell only the interest of the lessee in the land but not the reversionary interest of Government also therein.

Local Authorities Loans (Bombay Amendment) Act. 1942. (Bombay Act II of 1942). (10-2-42) :—To enable Government to pay the Local Boards by way of loans the amount of the local fund cess that would have been ordinarily due for collection but is uncollected or suspended and to recoup it, when it is collected in subsequent years.

City of Bombay Police (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act III of 1942). (2-3-42) :—To remove a loophole in the Act of 1902. The High Court had held that a small knife carried by a person could not be regarded as an offensive weapon within the meaning of Section 23 (2) (*a*). As it is essential to have effective means to prevent the carrying of knives in times of disturbances, section 23 (2) (*a*) and section 113 have been amended suitably.

Bombay Town Planning (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act IV of 1942). (27-7-42) :—To empower the Administrator of superseded municipality to carry out Town Planning Schemes during the period of supersession or dissolution of a Municipality.

Bombay Small Holders Relief (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act V of 1942). (25-3-42) :—To extend the life of the Act of 1938 by one more year.

Bombay Finance (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act VI of 1942). (26-3-42):—

To extend the life of the Act of 1932 by one more year subject te certain further amendments. The first amendment effected is intended to enable the Stock Exchange to recover stamp duty on the transactions entered into by a member who is declared a defaulter. The second amendment is intended to reduce the rate of Urban Immovable Property tax from 8 to 7·2/3 per cent and from 4 per cent to 3·5/6 per cent. The last amendment provides for exemption from the tax in the case of open lands within the limits of the Bombay Suburban and Thana Districts.

Bombay Rent Restriction (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act VII of 1942). (25-3-42) :—To extend the life of the Act of 1939 by one more year.

Bombay Motor Vehicles Tax (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act IX of 1942). (2-4-42) :—To amend section 14 of the Act of 1935 so as to make it lawful to levy tolls on bridges reconstructed after the commencement of the Act. Section 14 provided for the levy of tolls on bridges constructed after the commencement of the Act and it was considered doubtful whether the tolls could be levied on any bridge reconstructed after commencement of the Act.

Bombay Civil Courts (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act XI of 1942). (29-4-42) :—To enable the District Judge of a neighbouring District who will be appointed Joint Judge in the absence of the District Judge during the vacation, to dispose of civil work in either District.

Bombay Primary Education (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act XII of 1942). (4-5-42) :—To enable Government to make nominations on the school board where such nominations are absolutely necessary. Under the existing provision the main difficulty was that a new school board could not begin to function until all its members were elected. To meet this lacuna Government can now make nominations. The Act also provides that the municipal representatives under the proviso to section 3 (2) need not necessarily be members of such municipalities.

City of Bombay Municipal Corporation (Extension of term) (Amendment) Act. 1942. (Bombay Act XIII of 1942). (28-5-42) :—To extend the terms of office of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay for a further period of one year, that is till march 31, 1944.

Criminal Tribes (Bombay Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act XIV of 1942). (31-7-42) :—To modify the provision of section 23 of the Act of 1924 so as to delete the provision regarding minimum penalties. The Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee observes in its report that the section was most obnoxious and that the sentences inflicted under the section were brutal. The Act is intended to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee.

City of Bombay Municipal (Third Amendment) Act, 1942. Bombay Act, XV of 1942). (25-8-42) :—To meet the situation which arose in the Bombay Municipal Corporation by which meetings of the Corporation and of certain Committees could not be convened. The Act empowers the Municipal Commissioner to convene such meetings, reduces the quorum and increases the number of Councillors required for passing adjournment motion. The Act is a temporary measure up to the 1st day of April, 1944.

Bombay Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Extension to Agricultural land) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act XVII of 1942). (8-10-42) :—To extend the operation of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937, and the Amending Act of 1938 to agricultural land in the Province with retrospective effect.

Bombay Molasses Act, 1942 (XVIII of 1942). (8-10-42) :—To enact a separate law to prevent the sale of molasses and its passing into the hands of the illicit distiller. It penalises the possession of molasses except under a licence.

Indian Post Office (Bombay) Amendment) Regulation, 1942. (Regulation No. 1 of 1942) (4-6-42) :—To make the rates chargeable for the time being in the rest of British India for inland postage to be chargeable also in the partially excluded Areas in this Province.

Government of Madras

The Madras Elementary Education (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XV of 1941). (27-6-41) :—To remove the statutory limit placed on the rate of the elementary education tax and to free the Government from the obligation to increase their contribution in respect of any increase in taxation made after the commencement of the Act.

The Madras Nurses and Midwives (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XVI of 1941). (22 8-41) :—To appoint the Matron Superintendents of the General Hospital and of the Government Hospital for Women and Children as *ex-officio* members of the Madras Nurses and Midwives Council.

The Madras City Municipal, Dis-

trict Municipalities and Local Boards (Second Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XVII of 1941). (*17-9-41*) :—To extend up to 1-4-42 the terms of office of aldermen and councillors of the Corporation of Madras whose term would have expired on 1-11-41 and of the members of all other local bodies who would have vacated their offices during 1941.

The Madras Proprietary Estates' Village-service and Hereditary Village-offices (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XVIII of 1941). (*23-9-41*) :—To make insolvency a bar to appointment as village-headman or karnam or to continuance in either of those offices; to clarify the power of the Revenue Divisional Officer to disapprove of an appointment made by a proprietor; and to allow a second appeal to the Board of Revenue against orders of removal or dismissal passed by a District Collector on appeal.

The Madras Public Health (Amendment) Act, 1941, (Madrass Act XIX of 1941). (*22-9-41*) :—To remove certain difficulties which have been experienced in giving effect to the provisions of the Madras Public Health Act, 1939, since it came into force in March 1939.

The Canals and Public Ferries (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XX of 1941). (*3-10-41*) :—To declare that any private ferry shall be subject to any rules which the Government may make to ensure the safety of the passengers.

The Madras Medical Registration (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XXI of 1941). (*6-11-41*) :—To limit the validity of the registration of a person who lacks the specified qualifications but who is employed in a medical institution managed by a mission, to the time during which he continues to be employed in such an institution.

The Madras City Police (Second Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XXII of 1941). (*7-11-41*) :—To control bucket shops more effectively.

The Madras City Police and Towns Nuisances (Amendment) Act: 1941. (Madras Act XXIII of 1941). (*26-11-41*) :—To authorise the Commissioner of Police to order certain persons whose acts are likely to result in danger or harm to person or property, to leave the City of Madras and to prevent the annoyance caused to neighbouring residents by the indiscriminate use of loud-speakers in public places.

The Madras District Municipalities (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act I of 1942). (*7-2-42*) :—To empower the Government to direct the executive authority of a municipal council to apply to the District Judge for a decision in cases where the question whether or not a municipal councillor has become disqualified for his office arises.

The Madras Registration of Births and Deaths (Amendment) Act 1942. (Madras Act II of 1942). (*17-2-42*) :—To make it obligatory on the part of a parent or guardian of a child to give information regarding its name to the Registrar within thirteen months of the date of its birth.

The Madras University (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act III of 1942). (*18-2-42*) :—To make it clear that the quorum of 35 fixed for a meeting of the Senate is not required at a convocation of the University or a meeting of the Senate held for the purpose of conferring degrees, titles, etc., and to validate degrees, etc., conferred before the commencement of this Act without such a quorum.

The Madras Finance Act, 1942. (Madras Act IV of 1942). (*14-3-42*) :—To reduce the general sales tax payable for the year beginning on April 1, 1942, from Rs. 5 to Rs. 4 a month in the case of persons whose turnover does not exceed Rs. 20,000 and from one-half of one per cent to one-quarter of one per cent of the turnover in other cases.

The Madras University (Second Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act V of 1942). (*28-3-42*) :—To empower the Chancellor to extend the term of office of certain elected and nominated members of the Senate, the Syndicate and the Academic Council and to postpone election or nomination to these bodies in certain cases. Such extension or postponement may be made for a period not exceeding six months at a time but not beyond 31-3-1944.

The Madras City Municipal, District Municipalities and Local Boards (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act VI of 1942). (*31-3-42*) :—To extend up to November 1, 1942, the term of office of the aldermen and councillors of the Corporation of Madras and of the members of municipal councils and local boards who would have vacated their offices on April 1, 1942.

The Madras District Municipalities (Second Amendment) Act 1942. (Madras Act VII of 1942). (*28-3-42*) :—To enable the Government to fix a suitable date for the submission of budgets by municipal councils.

The Tanjore Chattram Endowments (Utilization) Act, 1942. (Madras Act VIII of 1942). (*3-4-42*) :—To validate the contributions already made by the

Tanjore District Board from the funds of the Tanjore Chattram Endowments toward the maintenance of certain educational medical institutions and to provide for the continuance of such contributions in future also.

The Andhra University (Amendment) Act, 1942. (*Madras Act IX of 1942*). (*26-4-42*) :—To empower the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University to take action in emergencies subject to the control of the Chancellor and to require him to send a report of such action to the Chancellor and to the officer or authority concerned.

The Madras University (Third Amendment) Act. 1942. (*Madras Act X of 1942*). (*19-5-42*). To empower the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University to take action in emergencies subject to the control of the Chancellor and to require him to send a report of such action to the Chancellor and to the officer or authority concerned.

The Madras District Municipalities and Local Boards (Amendment) Act, 1942. (*Madras Act XII of 1942*). (*24-5-42*) :—To withdraw from local bodies the option previously given to them of reverting Government medical officers to Government service after giving three months' notice to the Surgeon-General.

The Madras Irrigation (Voluntary Cess) Act, 1942. (*Madras Act XIII of 1942*). (*8-6-42*) :—To provide for the levy of a voluntary cess for the maintenance of certain irrigation and drainage works serving ryotwari tracts in the Province of Madras.

The Indian Tolls (Madras Amendment) Act, 1942. (*Madras Act XIV of 1942*). (*9-6-42*) :—To make it clear that the Government may make rules regarding the farming out of the collection of tolls leviable under the Indian Tolls Act, 1851.

The Madras City Municipal (Amendment) Act. 1942. (*Madras Act XV of 1942*). (*22-6-42*) :—To take power to make rules to exempt certain small electrical installations, etc., from the licensing provisions in section 288 of the Madras City Municipal Act, 1919 ; to subject the power of the Corporation of Madras under that section to some measure of control in important matters ; to make offences under section 215 of that Act continuing offences ; and to exempt keepers of lodging-houses registered under the Madras Public Health Act, 1939, from the necessity of obtaining licences under the City Municipal Act.

The Periyar Irrigation Tanks (Preservation) Amendment Act., 1942. (*Madras Act XVI of 1942*). (*11-7-42*) :—To rectify a defect found in the principal Act in regard to the apportionment of the liability of the cost of repairing a tank between the landholders concerned and the Government.

The Madras Debt Conciliation (Amendment) Act, 1942. (*Madras Act XVII of 1942*). (*8-7-42*) :—To provide for the registration of an agreement arrived at between the creditors and debtor before a Debt Conciliation Board, within thirty days of the making of the agreement, without the necessity of the personal appearance before the registering officer of any of the parties to the agreement or of any of the members of the Board.

The Madras District Municipalities and Local Boards (Second Amendment) Act, 1942. (*Madras Act XVIII of 1942*). (*20-7-42*) :—To restrict the imposition of fines to bill collectors and inferior and menial servants employed under local bodies.

The Andhra University (Temporary Amendment) Act, 1942. (*Madras Act XIX of 1942*). (*6-8-42*) :—To permit the Andhra University to move its headquarters and certain colleges out of Vizagapatam until the termination of the present war and for two years thereafter.

The Madras City Police, Towns Nuisances and Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (Amendment) Act, 1942. (*Madras Act XX of 1942*). (*20-8-42*) :—To empower the agents of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty of Animals specially authorised by the Government to arrest without warrant persons committing in their view any act constituting cruelty to animals and to make all offences under the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, 1890, cognizable.

The Madras Rivers Conservancy (Amendment) Act, 1942. (*Madras Act XXI of 1942*). (*14-9-42*) :—To amend sections 11 and 13 of the principal Act so as to make it clear that plantation and construction on river-beds are governed entirely by section 13 and to empower the Conservator of Rivers in an emergency to enter upon an adjoining public or private land and take earth or do any other Act necessary for repairing erosion or other damage to embankments.

The Madras Legislature (District Organizers Removal of Disqualifications) Act, 1942. (*Madras Act XXII of 1942*). (*17-9-42*) :—To remove the disqualification imposed on persons holding the office of District Organizer of the National War Front, for being chosen as, and for being, members of the Madras Legislative

Assembly or of the Madras Legislative Council.

The Madras Nurses and Midwives (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act XXIII of 1942) (15-9-42) :—To empower Government to nominate an officer of the Medical Department of the Government as a member of the Madras Nurses and Midwives Council.

The Madras City Municipal District Municipalities & Local Boards (Second Amendment) Act 1942. (Madras Act XXIV of 1942.) (5-10-42) :—To extend up to 1-11-43 and still further, if necessary, the term of office of the members of local bodies whose term of office would have expired on 1-11-42 and to replace district boards and municipal councils which have been superseded or dissolved by small nominated bodies which will continue for the duration of the War and for a period not exceeding twelve months thereafter.

The Madras Probation of Offenders (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act XXV of 1942), (17-11-42) :—To provide that a person who is dealt with under the provisions of the principal Act except under section 7(3) should not suffer any disqualification attaching to a conviction for an offence.

The Madras Estates Land (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act XXVI of 1942). (22-11- 42) :—To provide that retired judicial and revenue officers possessing the necessary qualifications should also be eligible for appointment as members of the special tribunals constituted under section 185-A (2) of the principal Act.

The Madras Pawnbrokers Bill 1940 :—To regulate and control the business of pawnbrokers in the Province of Madras.

The Madras District Municipalities (Second Amendment) Bill. 1941 :—To remove certain difficulties encountered in the working of the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, and to make amendments for the purpose of improving the municipal administration.

The Madras Village Panchayats Bill, 1941 :—To make better provision in a separate enactment for the administration of village affairs by panchayats.

The Madras Local Boards (Second Amendment) Bill, 1941 :—To remove Panchayats from the scope of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920, and confine the operation of the Act to district boards and to make certain other amendments to the Act either for the purpose of removing certain difficulties encountered in working the Act or for the purpose of improving the administration of district boards.

The Madras Industrial Disputes Bill, 1942 :—To make provision for the promotion of peaceful and amicable settlement of industrial disputes by conciliation and arbitration.

The Madras City Municipal and District Municipalities (Amendment) Bill, 1942. (This was assented to on 22-11-42. and will be published as an Act shortly) :—To empower the municipal executive authority to require owners of buildings to construct house drains not only where a public drain or outfall has actually been provided but also in cases where one is about to be provided or in the process of construction.

The Presidency-Towns Insolvency (Madras Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To make the official assignee and his establishment part of the staff of the High Court and to authorise the transfer to the account of the Provincial Government of all moneys likely to be surplus in the hands of the official assignee.

The Legal Practitioners, (Madras Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To confer on the High Court a power to make an order as to costs in cases of professional misconduct by legal practitioners and to make provision for the more effective suppression of the touting evil.

The Madras Hereditary Village Officers (Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To rectify certain defects found in the Madras Hereditary Village Offices Act, 1895.

The Madras Cotton Control (Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To enhance the penalty for an offence against the Madras Cotton Control Act, 1932, and to provide for the custody and examination of cotton seized under the Act and for its destruction if it is found by the Court to contain pullichai cotton.

The Madras Agriculturists Relief (Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To enable parties to apply to the court for a declaration of the amount of the debt as scaled down under the Madras Agriculturists Relief Act, 1938, due by a debtor and to file appeals against such declarations and certain other orders of a court.

The Madras Prohibition (Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To check illicit distillation and distribution of liquor by enhancing the maximum penalty for such distillation and distribution from imprisonment for 6 months or fine of Rs. 1,000 or both to 2 years imprisonment or fine of Rs. 5,000 or both.

The Andhra University (Second

Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To make certain amendments to the Andhra University Act, 1925, for the purpose of removing difficulties experienced in working the Act.

The Madras Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To provide that a person accused of a minor offence under the Madras Motor Vehicles Taxation Act, 1931, may appear before the court by pleader instead of in person or may plead guilty of the offence by a letter addressed to the Court, remitting at the same time the sum specified by the court.

The Madras City Police (Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To amend section 7 of the Madras City Police Act, 1888, so as to make Deputy Commissioners of Police *ex-officio* Presidency Magistrates for certain limited purposes.

The Madras Medical Registration (Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To make amendments in the Madras Medical Registration Act, 1914, which have been found necessary in working the Act.

The Madras Electricity Duty (Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To amend the Madras Electricity Duty Act, 1939, so as to provide that the price of electricity sold to the Federal Government, etc., should be less by the amount of the duty levied under that Act than the price charged to other consumers of a substantial quantity of electricity.

The Madras Debt Conciliation (Second) (Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To Provide that where a creditor does not furnish to the Debt Concilation Board a statement of the debt due to him by a debtor, the debt itself is not discharged, but that the creditor should not challenge the accuracy of the particulars as to the debt given in the debtor's application.

Government of United Provinces

The Indian Stamp (United Provinces Amendment Act, 1941. (9-6-41) :—To extend the operation of the United Provinces Stamp (Amendment) Acts of 1936 and 1938, which were to expire on June 30, 1941.

The United Provinces Muslim Waqfs (Validating and Amendment) Act, 1941. (17-6-41) :—To validate the provisions of Section 47(2) of the United Provinces Waqfs Act, 1936.

The Court Fees (United Provinces Amendment) Act, 1941. (19-6-41) :—To extend the operation of the United Provinces Court Fees (Amendment) Acts of 1936 and 1938, which were to expire on June 30, 1941, and to remove certain defects discovered in the working of the Act and levy small court fees on certain applications and appeals under the Motor Vehicles Act, 1939.

The United Provinces Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Act, 1941. (12-8-41) :—To amend the United Provinces Motor Vehicles Taxation Act, 1935, so as to bring it into line with the Motor Vehicles Act, 1935, and to amend certain sections regarding refunds and remission of tax.

The United Provinces Land Revenue (Amendment) Act, 1941. (28-8-41) :—To amend the settlement sections of the United Provinces Land Revenue Act, 1901, so as to bring them into line with the new Provisions relating to the determination and modification of rent in the United Provinces Tenancy Act, 1939.

The Khat Haripur Bias (Jaunsar Bawar Pargana) Tenants Protection (Amendment) Regulations. 1941. (29-9-41):—To correct an accidental mistake which occurred in sub-section(1) of section 7 of the Khat Haripur Bias (Jaunsar Bawar Pargana) Tenants Protection Regulation, 1940, in referring to the notification mentioned therein.

The United Provinces Water Supply and FireService (Air Raid Precautions) Act, 1941. (2-10-41) :—To take powers to ensure that adequate fire fighting organisations are created and maintained and that essential water supplies are available to deal with an incendiary bomb attack during the present war.

The United Provinces Excise (Supplementary Amendment) Act, 1941. (6-11-41) :—To rectify the defect in the United Provinces Excise (Amendment) Act, 1941, in not being reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General and to protect the Provincial Government and its officers from liability in respect of anything in good faith ordered or done under the provisions of the said Act.

The North Western Provinces Village and Road Police (Amendment) Act, 1941. (19-11-41) :—To Amend section 13 of the North Western Provinces Village and Road Police Act, 1873, as adapted by the Government of India (Adaptation of Indians Laws) Order, 1937, in order to bring it in conformity with the other relevant sections of the Act.

The Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories (United Provinces Amendment) Act, 1941. (19-11-41) :—To provide for the submission of monthly returns of cotton ginned by ginning factories.

The United Provinces District Boards (Amendment) Act, 1942. (20-1-42):—To modify the mandatory provisions of section 63-A-(11) (b) of the United Provinces District Boards Act, 1922, so

as to give discretion to the Education Department to trasfer a Deputy Inspector of Schools to another District or not when the Education Committee passes a resolution on the subject.

The Naik Girls' Protection (Amendment Act, 1942. (*11-1-42*) :—To remove certain defects in the working of the Naik Girls' Protection Act, 1929, which were brought to the notice of Government.

The United Provinces Regularization of Remissions (Amendment) Act, 1942. (*31-1-42*) :—To amend the United provinces Regularization of Remissions Act, 1938, so as to make it clear that the existing second proviso to section 2 of the Act does not apply in the case of octennial or quin-quennial settlements under section 96 of the United provinces Land Revenue Act, 1901, and also to make it clear that the provisions of the Act apply to suits, applications and appeals which were filed prior to the commencement of the Act which may still be pending.

The United Provinces Goondas (Amendment) Act, 1942. (*9-1-42*) :—To prevent goondas externed from Cawnpore from continuing their nefarious activities through agents or by surreptitious visits to Cawnpore and to deal effectively with the goonda problem in other cities of the Province.

The United Provinces Special Armed Constabulary Act, 1942. (*14-2-42*) :—To form a temporary force of Police to be known as Special Armed Constabulary which will carry out certain internal security measures, in particular protection of railways, as a result of the war emergency and to provide for the surrender of the right of resignation for a period of five years by the members of the force, and to increase disciplinary powers and to enhance penalties for certain offences.

The United Provinces Debt Redemption (Amendment) Act, 1942. (*8-3-42*) :—To amend the definition of "local rate" in the United Provinces Debt Redemption Act, 1940, in order to remedy a certain anomaly and to accord the same protection to the under-proprietors as exists for other agriculturists.

The United Provinces (Additional Salt Duty) Regulation, 1942. (*16-3-42*) :—To extend the provisions of section 5 of the Indian Finance (Supplementary and Extending) Act. 1931, so far as they relate to the levy and collection of salt duty to the partially excluded areas in the United Provinces.

The United Provinces Rates of Postage Regulation, 1942. (*31-3-42*) :—To amend section 7 of the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, in its application to the partially excluded areas in the United Provinces, so as to make the rates prevalent in the rest of British India automatically applicable to the partially excluded areas.

The Cinematograph (United Provinces Amendment) Act, 1942. (*27-3-42*) :—To provide for regular inspection of electric installations in cinema houses in the interest of public safety from outbreaks of fire and to provide for the charging of the necessary fee for the same.

The United Provinces Municipalities (Amendment) Act. 1942. (*31-3-42*) :—To check the nuisance of public begging in Municipalities by providing for the detention of public beggars in a poor-house or a jail.

The United Provinces Civic Guards and Air Raid Precautions Employees Indemnity Act, 1942. (*11-4-42*) :—To regulate the relationship between members of Civic Guards and Air Raid Precautions Services and their employers and to provide for the settlement of disputes which may arise between an employee called on civil defence duty and his employer in regard to re-instalment of the employee etc, and also for questions relating to remuneration arising in this connection.

The United Provinces Sales of Electricity Surcharge Act, 1942. (*1-5-42*):—To provide for the temporary imposition of surcharge on sales of electrical energy to finance the protection of electric installations against enemy attacks.

The United Provinces Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Extension to Agricultural Land) Act, 1942. (*28-6-42*) :—To extend with retrospective effect the provisions of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937, as amended in 1938, to agricultural land in the United Provinces.

The United Provinces District Boards (Second Amendment) Act, 1942. (*5-7-42*) :—To remove defects and all loopholes in the existing provisions of the United Provinces District Boards Act, 1922, which made it possible for the Chairman of a District Board to burke motions of no confidence.

The United Provinces Municipalities (Second Amendment) Act, 1942. (*5-7-42*) :—To remove defects and all loopholes in the existing provisions of the United Provinces Municipalities Act, 1916, which made it possible for the Chairman of Municipal Board to burke no-confidence motions.

The Court Fees (United Provinces Amendment) Act, 1942. (*16-7-42*) :—To make amendments in the table of rates of *ad valorem* fee tenable on the insti-

tution of suits, consequential on the changes in the rates made by clause (ii) of section 29 of the United Provinces Court Fees (Amendment) Act, 1938.

The United Provinces Shri Badri Nath Temple (Amendment) Act, 1942. (20-8-42) :—To raise the number of representatives from the Tehri State on the Shri Badri Nath Temple Committee from three to four.

The United Provinces District Boards (Third Amendment) Act, 1942. (16-9-42) :—To secure power to postpone district board elections for a further period not exceeding one year at a time due to conditions arising out of the War.

The United Provinces Municipalities (Third Amendment) Act, 1942. (16-9-42) :—To secure power to postpone municipal elections for a further period not exceeding one year at a time due to conditions arising out of the war.

Government of Central Provinces

The Berar Laws (Provincial) Act, 1941. (Act XV of 1941). (17-6-41) :—To supplement the Berar Laws Act (Central) 1941 (Act IV of 1941) so as to provide for the *proprio vigore* extension of Central Acts, the subject matter of which is included in List II of the Seventh Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, and which were operative in Berar by virtue of the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902. It also provides for the *proprio vigore* extension of all Provincial Acts applied or deemed to be applied to Berar under the said Order in Council.

The Central Provinces and Berar Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Extension to Aricultural Land) Act, 1942. (Act VI of 1942). (6-6-42) :—To extend the operation of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937, as amended by the Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Amendment) Act, 1938, to agricultural land.

The Central Provinces and Berar Special Armed Constubulary Act, 1942. (Act VII of 1942). (10-6-42) :—To constitute a speial branch of the police force for certain internal security measures, and in particular, the protection of railways.

The Central Provinces and Berar Postponement of Elections (Municipal Committees and Notified Area Committees) Act. 1942. (Act X of 1942). (4-7-42) :—To provide for the postponement of general elections in urban areas till December 31, 1942, owing to war conditions.

Proceedings of

The Indian National Congress

The All India Muslim League

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

and

Other Provincial Conferences

JULY—DECEMBER 1942

Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances 1942—43

The following statement as a preface was issued by Mr. *R. Tottenham*, Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, from New Delhi on the 13th. February 1943 :—

"In response to demands which have reached Government from several sources, Government have now prepared a review which brings together a number of facts, whether derived from official documents or otherwise, bearing on the responsibility of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress High Command for the disturbances which followed the sanctioning of a mass movement by the A. I. C. C. on August 8th, 1942. Almost all the facts presented in this review are, or should be, already within the knowledge of the public. The review does not purport to disclose all the information in the possession of the Government. In addition to the facts here stated, there is a large volume of evidence which it is undesirable to publish at present.

CHAPTER I

The "Quit India" Movement : Setting the Stage

In an article written on April 19th, 1942, which appeared in "*Harijan*" of April 26th, Mr. Gandhi first gave public expression to the theory which was to crystallize into his "Quit-India" move. In this article, after deploring the introduction of foreign soldiers into India to and in India's defence, Mr Gandhi asserted that if the British were to leave India to her fate, as they had to leave Singapore, non-violent India would lose nothing and Japan would probably leave India alone. "Whatever the consequences, therefore, to India," he continued, "her real safety and Britain's too lie in orderly and timely British withdrawal from India."

It will be suggested that during the period between Mr. Gandhi's first advocacy of British withdrawal from India and the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay on August 7th, the Congress High Command and in the later stages the Congress organisation as a whole were deliberately setting the stage for mass movement designed to free India finally from British rule. The type of movement that they envisaged and the plans they made for it will be examined later. An essential preliminary to any such examination however, is a clear understanding of the real motives underlying the move; and though no detailed record of the many discussions which took place at Sevagram and elsewhere during this period is available, Mr. Gandhi's writings in "*Harijan*", and the record of the discussions in the Working Committee during its meeting at Allahabad at the end of April are sufficient to provide an ample insight into the true motives of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress in demanding the immediate withdrawal of the British power from India. The period falls naturally into two halves, in the first of which, lasting up to the passing of the Working Committte's resolution of July 14th, Mr. Gandhi held the stage alone and the essential structure of his proposals for withdrawal of the British was developed. In the second half, extending to the Bombay meeting of the A. I. C. C., the emphasis lay on the struggle to be launched by Congress should the British not withdraw voluntarily, and the centre of interest shifted from Sevagram to other parts of the country, where Congress leaders placed before the people their varied interpretations of the resolution of July 14th.

In the article on Foreign Soldiers in India already alluded to, Mr. Gandhi expressed the opinion that should the British withdraw from India, Japan would leave her alone and that the withdrawal was therefore necessary for India's safety. This theme of India's safety from Japan dominates all Mr. Gandhi's earlier writings on the subject. It finds expression in "*Harijan*" of May 3rd, when, in denying that by asking the British rulers to withdraw he was inviting Japan to attack India, Mr. Gandhi stated : "I feel convinced that the British presence is the incentive for the Japanese attack." It is even more precisely expressed in "*Harijan*" of the following week, in which Mr. Gandhi says: "The presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India.

Their withdrawal removes the bait." It was not till May 24th, nearly a month after the debut of 'Quit India'. that Mr. Gandhi first admitted the possibility of Japan still invading India despite the withdrawal of the British. His advice to the people was then characteristically that they should offer stubborn non-violent non-co-operation to the Japanese, which he suggested would be infinitely more effective in the absence of the British.

Although his earlier proposals for British withdrawal all emphasised the importance of this withdrawal being a voluntary act willingly performed, Mr. Gandhi had already by May 10th decided that he must devote the whole of his energy to this 'supreme act' : and it is clear hat very shortly afterwards, he began to think in terms of a struggle to achieve his object. The following paragragh appears in "*Harijan*" of May 31st, in an article entitled 'Friendly Advice', in which Mr. Gandhi says that he is taking every care humanly possible 'to prepare the ground' :

"Of course the people must not on any account lean on the Japanese to get rid of the British Power. That were a remedy worse than the disease. But as I have already said, in this struggle every risk has to be run in order to cure ourselves of the biggest disease—a disease which has sapped our manhood and almost made us feel as if we must for ever be slaves. It is an insufferable thing. The cost of the cure, I know, will be heavy. No price is too heavy to pay for the deliverance."

In its earlier stages, Mr. Gandhi's 'Quit India' move was meant and was widely interpreted as a proposal for the physical withdrawal from India of the British, and of all British and Allied troops. As late as June 14th, he makes, for the purpose of his scheme, the assumption "that the Commander-in-Chief of the united American and British Armies has decided that India is no good as a base, and that they should withdraw to some other base and concentrate the allied forces there." Added strength is given to the belief that this is a correct interpretation of Mr Gandhi's original intentions by the prominence, to which attention has already been drawn, of the theme that the British withdrawal would remove any Japanese motive for invading India ; for with the British and Allied armies still in India, how is the bait removed ? At the same time he made it clear that on the British departure the Indian Army would be disbanded. Opposition to Mr. Gandhi's move, which besides developing strongly in Britain and America as was to be expected, had also been expressed in portions of the Press in India on which he and the Congress had become accustomed to rely for support, centred chiefly round this proposal for the withdrawal of the Allied armies in the face of what appeared imminent Japanese aggression. Realists were unable to see how India's defence and the cause of the Allies would thus be strengthened and indeed Mr. Gandhi's defence of this position by the assertion that, in the absence of the violent resistance of the British, Indian non-violent resistance would be able to attain the maximum effectiveness did appear somewhat inadequate in the face of his well-known admission that only a very doubtful proportion of the Indian people was sufficiently imbued with the doctrine of non-violence to be capable of offering successful non-violent resistance. Bowing to the gathering force of this opposition, and also, as we shall seek to show later, with a possible view to reconciling disagreement among members of the Working Committee, Mr. Gandhi discovered the 'gap' in his original proposals. In "Harijan" of June 14th, he paved the way,—by the slightly cryptic assertion that, if he had his way, the Indian National Government when formed would tolerate the presence of the United Nations on Indian soil under certain well-defined conditions but would permit no further assistance.—for the more definite statement made to an American journalist in the following week's "Harijan," when in reply to a question whether he envisaged Free India's allowing Allied troops to operate from India, he said : "I do. It will be only then that you will see real co-operation". He continued that he did not contemplate the complete shifting of Allied troops from India and that, provided India became entirely free, he could not insist on their withdrawal.

Before any attempt is made to assess the motives actuating Mr. Gandhi in his 'Quit-India' move, reference must be made to the important evidence as to the working of his mind and the reactions of the members of the Working Committee furnished by the record (Appendix I) of the latter's Allahabad meeting, which was recovered in a subsequent police search of the All-India Congress Committee's office. Mr. Gandhi was not present at this meeting, but he sent for the consideration of the Working Committee a draft resolution which

was the direct precursor of the resolution of July 14. "Japan's quarrel" he states in the draft, "is not with India. She is warring against the British Empire.....If India were freed her first step would probably be to negotiate with whereas if the British withdrew India would be able to defend herself against the Japan." Britain, Congress was of opinion, was incapable of defending India, Japanese or any other aggressor. The draft goes on to assure the Japanese Government that India bears no enmity against Japan and desires only freedom from alien domination, which she will attain and retain through her non-violent strength. The hope is expressed that Japan will not have any designs on India; but should she attack India, all Indians who look to the Congress for guidance would be expected to offer non-violent non-co-operation to the Japanese.

The draft revealed a marked division of opinion in the Working Committee and the remarks of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, its two principal opponents, are of sufficient interest to merit quotation at length :

"Withdrawal of troops and the whole apparatus of civil administration," said Nehru, "will create a vacuum which cannot be filled up immediately. If we said to Japan that her fight was with British Imperialism and not us she would say 'we are glad the British army is withdrawn ; we recognise your independence. But we want certain facilities now. We shall defend you against aggression. We want aerodromes, freedom to pass our troops through your country. This is necessary in self-defence.' They might seize strategic points and proceed to Iraq, etc. The masses won't be touched if only the strategic points are captured. If Bapu's (Mr. Gandhi) approach is accepted, we become passive partners of the Axis powers.....The whole background of the draft is one which will inevitably make the world think that we are lining up passively with the Axis powers. The British are asked to withdraw. After the withdrawal we are to negotiate with Japan and possibly come to some terms with her. These terms may include a large measure of civil control by us, a certain measure of military control by them, passage of armies through India, etc.....Whether you will like it or not, the exigencies of the war situation will compel them to make India a battleground. In sheer self-defence they cannot afford to keep out. They will walk through the country. You can't stop it by non-violent non-co-operation.....the whole thought and background of the draft is one of favouring Japan. It may not be conscious. Three factors influence our decisions in the present emergency (*i*) Indian Freedom (*ii*) sympathy for certain larger causes (*iii*) probable outcome of the war—who is going to win. It is Gandhiji's feeling that Japan and Germany will win. This feeling unconsciously governs his decision."

To this penetrating analysis of Mr. Gandhi's draft, Mr. Rajagopalachari added :

"I do not agree that if Britain goes away India will have some scope for organising itself even if Japan should make some headway. Japan will fill the vacuum created by the British withdrawal. Our reaction to the evils of Britain should not make us lose our sense of perspective. It is no use getting upset on small matters. Do not run into the arms of Japan, which is what the resolution comes to."

For those of the Working Committee who supported the draft, let Achyut Patwardhan speak :

"If we do not take decisions, Jawaharlalji's attitude will lead to abject and unconditional co-operation with British machinery which must collapse.....Our co-operation with Britain is an invitation of Japan.....The war is an imperialist war. Our policy can be that we take no sides. The world is in the grip of a fear complex. I would consider the position if the Allies could defeat the Axis, but I see clearly that Britain is going towards the deep."

And finally, Mr. Rajendra Prasad :

"We cannot produce the proper atmosphere unless we adopt Bapu's draft."

—a draft, to repeat, of which the whole thought and background is one of favouring Japan, a resolution which amounts to running into the arms of Japan.

CHAPTER II

WARDHA TO BOMBAY—THE MOTIVES AND AIMS OF THE RESOLUTIONS

By the time the Working Committee met at Wardha in July, Mr. Gandhi's proposals were complete in their essentials. These were not later changed, and the succeeding period was concerned rather with how the essentials were to be brought about and how the dish was to be served up in such a way as least to antagonize world opinion.

On July 14th, the Working Committee passed a resolution which differed in only one fundamental respect from Mr. Gandhi's Allahabad draft—in that the Congress agreed to the stationing of Allied troops in India to ward off Japanese attack. It is difficult to find an adequate explanation, in the events of the period between the Working Committee's Allahabad meeting in April and their Wardha meeting in July, of this reversal of their former decision. In particular, the external threat to India was virtually unabated and the psychological background of the resolution remained the same. It is hard to resist the conclusion therefore that the decisive factor by which those realists who had formerly opposed the resolution were swayed was Mr. Gandhi's decision to permit the retention of the Allied troops in India—a decision which may well have been due to his eyes having been opened by an American journalist to what America would think of the original plan. A further legitimate inference is surely that the necessity of carrying his former opponents in the Working Committee with him was a reason, if not *the* reason, for Mr. Gandhi's striking change of front on this fundamental issue ; such an explanation is at least as plausible as that a man of Mr. Gandhi's mental calibre should be guilty, in placing a carefully pondered scheme before the world, of such a glaring oversight as his later explanation required one to believe. But this theory goes far to resolve a further difficulty : it was always hard to believe that Mr. Gandhi, a well-known opponent of any form of military regime, should fail to see the obvious danger that, with the British civil Governments removed, the troops who remained and who would require to safeguard their communications and supplies would immediately establish some form of military rule over at least the major part of the country ; this danger was forcibly expressed to him by many, including Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, and the following extract is from a letter written by the latter to Mr. Gandhi and subsequently made public (Appendix II) :

"Your proposal that while the civil power may be withdrawn the British and Allied forces may continue in India in anticipation of a treaty with a problematical provisional Indian Government will only lead to the exercise of all governmental functions by the military forces. This will happen if only for their own safety and effective functioning. They are further likely to be urged towards this step by local chieftains and suffering people. This would be the reinstallation of the British Government in a worse form."

No satisfactory solution of this difficulty was ever made public by Mr. Gandhi ; but it is impossible to suppose that he had achieved no solution and it must be inferred that the solution was one which he preferred should remain a secret. Now while the details of Mr. Gandhi's personal solution of this problem must remain a matter for speculation, an explanation which fulfils the logical requirments of the above situation immediately comes to mind ; it is that, as we have shown above to be probable, Mr. Gandhi's admission of this amendment to his scheme was intended primarily as a bid for American support and perhaps secondarily as a sop to his opponents on the Working Committee, but that he envisaged, or planned to create, circumstances in which this permission would be meaningless, that is to say, circumstances in which the troops would either be forced to withdraw, or would if they remained be rendered ineffective. The nature of Mr. Gandhi's plans will be discussed later ; meanwhile, some slight added plausibility is given to this view by the following reply of Mr. Gandhi's to one of his early questioners as to the nature of his proposed movement :

"It will be a move which will be felt by the whole world. It *may* not interfere with the movement of British troops, but it is sure to engage British attention."

But the chief attraction of this explanation is that it provides a background of logical thought for Mr. Gandhi's most illogical writings on this subject and also supplies continuity of motive ; for without some such explanation, we are faced with the paradox of Mr. Gandhi, having proposed a scheme one of the principal objects of which was to avoid India's becoming a theatre of war, and suddenly introducing a new feature the result of which was apparently likely to be the direct negation of that object.

From the foregoing somewhat lengthy survey two basic motives emerge as the foundation of Mr. Gandhi's proposals :—the first is a desire to free India finally from British domination ; the second is a desire to avoid at all costs India's becoming a theatre of active warfare, a battlefield between Britain and Japan.

Few will deny the existence of the first of these motives. Complete freedom

for India is the openly expressed goal of Congress. Controversy enters only over the time factor. Why, many have asked, when freedom had been promised to India after the war, should the Congress engage upon a venture the extreme riskiness of which had been pointed out on many occasions by Mr. Gandhi himself? There were, it may be suggested, two main reasons. The first was a growing sense of frustration in Congress itself. This is well illustrated by the following extract from an article by Mr. Gandhi entitled 'To Resist Slave Drivers' which appeared in "Harijan" of June 7th:

"I waited and waited until the country should develop the non-violent strength necessary to throw off the foreign yoke. But my attitude has now undergone a change. I feel that I cannot afford to wait. If I continue to wait, I might have to wait till doomsday. For the preparation that I have prayed and worked for may never come, and in the meantime I may be enveloped and overwhelmed by the flames that threaten all of us. That is why I have decided that even at certain risks which are obviously involved I must ask the people to resist the slavery."

The Congress campaign of selected satyagraha having failed to achieve any practical object and having long ceased to attract any attention, had finally been called of; and partly on account of this and partly owing to the general lack of political interest which marked the period before the Cripps mission, Congress influence with the masses was at a low ebb. The arrival of Sir Stafford Cripps and the negotiations which appeared to come so near to success roused political feelings to a fever pitch. The very suddenness with which final failure came, and the recriminations which succeeded it, opened the door to the inculcation of a deep and widespread bitterness against Britain and against the Government in this country. The Congress High Command was at this time a house divided, serious disagreements which had shown themselves during the Cripps negotiations continuing over the question of non-violence with particular reference to the defence of India against Japan. A powerful and unifying cause was thus necessary then, both to save the Congress from internal disruption and to rescue their hold over the masses. What better cry than the removal of the British, especially when common cause could be made in spreading bitterness against Britain and exploiting the agitation in some parts of the country against the discomforts inevitably attendant on war? The second reason connects with the second main motive postulated above. The threat of Japanese invasion seemed imminent. If an armed clash in the East was to be avoided, action must be immediate, as soon as the necessary preparations could be made.

The second motive was never explicitly admitted by Mr. Gandhi or the Congress, but it is implicit in all the former's earlier writings on the 'Quit India' theme and is even more clearly shown in the draft resolution sent by him to Allahabad. Mr. Gandhi, and not only he but also apparently Achyut Patwardhan and the members of the 'non-violent' clique in the Working Committee, were convinced that the Axis must win the war and that Britain would prove incapable of defending India against Japan.

That this attitude persisted long after the Allahabad Working Committee meeting is shown by the following remark made by Mr. Gandhi in "Harijan" of July 19th, in reply to a question whether it would not be wiser to postpone his movement until Britain had settled with the Germans and the Japanese.

"No, because I know you will not settle with Germans without us".

A passage in Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy of August 14th is significant in this connection:

"I have taken Jawahar Lal Nehru as my measuring rod.

His personal contacts make him feel much more *the misery of the impending ruin of China and Russia* than I can".

They foresaw a British rearguard action across India and the devastation that this must entail; and it is no coincidence that, at the same time as Mr. Gandhi was devoloping his 'Quit India' theme in "*Harijan*" he was also inveighing against any form of 'scorched earth' policy. (Mr. Gandhi's solicitude for the property, largely industrial property be it noted, which it might have been necessary to deny to the enemy contrasts strangely with his readiness to sacrifice countless numbers of Indians in non-violent resistance to the Japanese. The property must be saved; it is perhaps legitimate to ask—For whom?) It seems possible that at first Mr. Gandhi genuinely hoped that, with the removal of the British from India, Japanese incentive to attack would be removed; and that he hoped to be able to treat with Japan after the British

withdrawal is clearly shown in his Allahabad draft resolution. Subsequently proposals for non-violent non-co-operation with Japan, should she attack India after the British withdrawal, were developed. We have however his own admission that he could not guarantee that non-violent action would keep the Japanese at bay; he refers indeed to any such hope as an 'unwarranted supposition'. Since, therefore, Mr. Gandhi had no illusions as to the likelihood of effective non-violent resistance to the Japanese aggression on India after the departure of the British, he was prepared to concede to their demands. Such an inference accords with what have shown to be his frame of mind at the time and it is strengthened by the following extract from an appeal addressed by him to the Japanese which appeared in "Harijan" of July 26th :—

"And we are in the unique position of having to resist an imperialism that we detest no less than yours (the Japanese) and Nazism".

That Mr. Gandhi would have preferred to see India entirely free from any form of domination, whether British or Japanese, cannot be doubted ; and it seems clear that only in the grip of some dominant emotion would he have contemplated such a capitulation ; this emotion was, it seems clear, his desire to preserve India from the horrors of war.

The principal difficulty in the way of accepting any such interpretations of Mr. Gandhi's motives during this period is the apparent contradiction in his consenting to the retention of Allied troops on Indian soil. It has already been shown that the reasons advanced by Mr. Gandhi for this admission, which bid fair to disrupt his whole scheme, are not such as can reasonably be accepted. And this entire difficulty disappears with the explanation previously given of the motives underlying his consent to the retention of the Allied troops.

Efforts have been made above to demonstrate that the dominant motives underlying Mr. Gandhi's 'Quit India' move, dominating to some extent even his intense desire to see India freed from foreign rule, was his wish to avoid India's being turned into a battlefield between Britain and Japan. It remains to examine the ostensible motives with which Mr. Gandhi and the Working Committee presented their move and to assess the genuineness of these motives in the light of the foregoing material.

Three main *ostensible* aims are common to both the Wardha resolution of July 14th [Appendix III (I)] and the Bombay resolution of August 8th [Appendix III (2)]. These are :—

(1) To remove foreign domination over India.

(2) To check the growing ill-will against Britain, with its danger of passive acceptance by the masses of aggression against India; to build up a spirit of resistance to aggression among Indians; and by granting India's millions immediate freedom to release that energy and enthusiasm which alone can enable India to play an effective part in her own defence and in the war as a whole.

(3) To achieve communal unity, by the removal of the foreign power with its policy of divide and rule, which will be followed by the formation of a Provisional Government representative of all sections of the Indian people.

Three further aims appeared for the first time in the Bombay resolution.

(4) To bring all subject and oppressed humanity to the side of the United Nations, thus giving these nations the moral and spiritual leadership of the world.

5) To assist Asiatic nations under foreign domination to regain their freedom and to ensure that they are not again placed under the rule of any colonial power.

(6) To bring about a world federation, which would ensure the disbanding of national armies, navies and air forces, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all.

The genuineness of the first of these aims is undeniable. The freedom of India, in whatever terms it may hrve been expressed, has long been the main goal of Congress and it may have been shown above how this aim coincides with one of the main motives underlying the 'Quit India' move.

The second ostensible aim consists of two supplementary halves—to check India's growing ill-will against Britain and to enable India to play a more effective part in the war. It has been suggested that far from seeking to allay the bitterness left by the failure of the Cripps Mission, it was the aim of the Congress to seize upon the opportunity thus offered to regain her lost hold over the masses. Added reason to believe that this interpretation is correct is given by the fact, as will be seen later when the type of movement for which the

Congress was preparing comes to be examined, that racial antagonism was deliberately aroused by the Congress leaders who, during the period between the Wardha and Bombay resolutions, toured the country-side preparing the masses for the coming rebellion. The further claim that the move was designed to enable India to play a more effective part in her own defence is belied by Mr. Gandhi's own writings. As already shown, Mr. Gandhi had little belief in the effectiveness of non-violence as a means of resisting Japanese invasion ; he referred to such a belief, in fact, as an "unwarranted supposition" and it was on these grounds that he purported to consent to the retention of foreign troops in India for her defence. Grounds have, however, already been given for doubting whether this was the real reason. It is also amply clear from Mr. Gandhi's own writings that the presence of allied troops in India vitiated to his mind such effectiveness as non-violent resistance by Indians to the Japanese could be supposed to have. Thus, in his draft Allahabad resolution he says :—

"In such places where British and Japanese forces are fighting our non-cooperation (with the Japanese) will be fruitless and unnecessary."

This theme is repeated in the "Harijan" as the following extracts will show :—

"I make bold to say that, if the British withdraw and people here follow my advice, then non-co-operation will be infinitely more effective than it can be today, when it cannot be appreciated for the violent British action going on side by side."

"It must be admitted, therefore, that there will be little scope for non-violent resistance of aggression, with the Allied troops operating in India, as there is practically none now."

To summarise briefly, Mr. Gandhi did not believe that non-violence alone was capable of defending India against Japan. Nor had he any faith in the ability of the Allies to do so ; "Britain", he stated in his draft Allahabad resolution, "is incapable of defending India." His 'Quit India' move was intended to result in the withdrawal of the British Government to be succeeded by a problematical provisional Government or, as Mr. Gandhi admitted to be possible, by anarchy ; the Indian army was to be disbanded ; and Allied troops were to be allowed to operate only under the terms imposed by this provisional Government assisted by India's non-violent non-cooperation to Japan, for which, as Mr. Gandhi had already admitted, there could be little scope with Allied troops operating in India. Finally, even if, in the face of the above arguments, it could be supposed that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress proposed to pin their faith on the ability of Allied troops to defend India, it should be noted that the former himself admitted that the ability of Allied troops to operate effectively would depend upon the formation of a suitable provisional government. Now since this government was to be representative of all sections of Indian opinion, it is clear that neither Mr. Gandhi nor the Congress could legitimately commit it in advance to any particular course of action ; they could not, that is to say, undertake that it would support the Allies in defending India against Japan. They could not in fact make any promise on behalf of this provisional government unless they intended that it should be dominated by Congress ; and the whole trend of Congress policy coupled with the extravagant promises made in the Bombay A. I. C. C. resolution on behalf of this provisional government, leave little doubt that this *was* their intention,—a view held, significantly, by the Muslim League and Muslims in general. You have then a situation in which the Allied troops would be dependent for support on a Government dominated by a clique which it has already been shown to be thoroughly defeatist in outlook, and whose leader had already expressed the intention of negotiating with Japan.

It is not the intention here to examine the third aim, the establishment of communal unity followed by the formation of a provisional government, at all closely. It has been suggested in the preceding paragraph that the Congress intended this government to be under their domination and a note has been made of the strength added to this view by the unity of Muslim opinion that the Congress move was aimed at establishing Congress-Hindu domination over India. It will

suffice here to show, from Mr. Gandhi's own writings, the doubts that he entertained as to the feasibility of establishing any such government.

"Under my proposal, they have to leave India in God's hands—but in modern parlance to anarchy, and that anarchy may lead to internecine warfare for a time or to unrestrained dacoities".

"I have not asked the British to hand over India to the Congress or to the Hindus. Let them entrust India to God or in modern parlance to anarchy. Then all the parties will fight one another like dogs, or will, when real responsibility faces them, come to a reasonable agreement. I shall expect non-violence to arise out of that chaos."

That Mr. Gandhi's doubts on this subject were fully shared by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is shown in the letter addressed by him to Mr. Gandhi, a copy of which is attached as Appendix II.

No detailed examination is necessary of the last three ostensible aims outlined at the top of page 182. It will be observed that they all have this point in common—they have no application to India and are concerned solely with the effect on the world of India's proposed move. It is surely significant that these three aims should have made their first appearance in the Bombay resolution, after a period when the Congress had been subjected to strenuous criticism both in Britain and America for what was almost universally held to be a betrayal of the Allied cause. That the additions were the result of this criticism may be taken for granted. Whether the authors of the resolution genuinely believed that the Congress demand would, if accepted, help rather than hinder the cause of the United Nations and intended that it should have that effect, depends on the answer to two questions. In the first place, could any body of men who honestly desired that result have deliberately called the country, if their way of achieving it was not accepted, to take part in a mass movement the declared object of which was to have precisely the opposite effect by paralysing the whole administration and the whole war effort ? In the second place, bearing in mind that less than a year previously it had been proclaimed under Mr. Gandhi's orders to be a "sin" to help the war with men or money, can it be denied that these men saw their opportunity in Britain's danger and believed that the psychological moment for the enforcement of their political demands must be seized while the fate of the United Nations hung in the balance and before the tide of war turned—if it was ever going to turn—in their favour ? The answer to these two questions is left to the reader.

CHAPTER III

THE CONTEMPLATED CHARACTER OF THE MOVEMENT

So far an attempt has been made to show the true motives underlying Mr. Gandhi's 'Quit India' move and to establish the hollowness of the grounds advanced for this move in the Congress resolutions of July 14th and August 8th. We shall now proceed to examine the nature of the steps which Mr. Gandhi proposed to take, should the British not accede to his request for thir voluntary withdrawal.

As early as May 10th, Mr. Gandhi had determined that the withdrawal of the British was a "supreme act" to the realisation of which he must devote his whole energy. It very shortly became clear that he was already thinking in terms of a final struggle against the British, should they refuse to withdraw and in "Harijan" of May 31st he referred to it as a struggle in which every risk must be run in order that India should be cured of the disease of British domination, and of the spirit of hatred and slavery which it had engendered. Of this, he said :—

"It is an insufferable thing. The cost of the cure I know will be heavy. No price is too heavy to pay for the deliverance."

From this point onwards Mr. Gandhi's conception of the struggle developed rapidly. His writings on the subject are too lengthly to quote in full, but the following excerpts from "Harijan" illustrate the direction in which his mind was moving :—

"It will be a move which will be felt by the whole world. It *may* not interfere with the movement of British troops, but it is sure to engage British attention."

"My proposal for the withdrawl of the British power involves two actions. One is to deal with the present emergency, and the other to secure freedom from British supremacy. The second admits of delay. There is a lot of confusion about its implications. I am trying to the best of my ability to deal with the questions as they arise from time to time."

"The first admits of no delay and demands specific actiou irrespective of the

proposal for British withdrawal. This is in connection with (1) the behaviour of troops, (2) the impending salt famine, (3) control of food-grains, (4) evacuation for the sake of the military, (5) discrimination between Europeans and Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Burmans on the one hand and Indians on the other hand."

"It is worth fighting for, it is worth staking all that the nation has."

"They (Indians) will fight, not to seize power but to end the foreign domination, cost what it may."

"But you may know that it will be a mass movement of a strictly non-violent character and then you can fill in the details. It will include all that a mass movement can include .....I do not want rioting as a direct result.....If in spite of all precautions rioting does take place, it cannot be helped.....I am not going to court imprisonment. The struggle does not involve courting imprisonment. It is too soft a thing.....My intention is to make the thing as short and swift as possible."

"Ours is an unarmed revolt against British Rule."

"Therefore I shall take every precaution I can to handle the movement gently, but I would not hesitate to go to the extremest limit, if I find that no impression is produced on the British Government or the Allied Power.....

It will be your biggest movement ?—

Yes, my biggest movement."

"I have no false notions of prestige, no personal considerations would make me take a step that I know is sure to plunge the country into a conflagration."

"Is the possibility of strike precluded ?"

"No", said Gandhiji, "strikes can be and have been non-violent. If railways are worked only to strengthen the British hold on India, they need not be assisted."

That the movement was to be the final effort of the Congress party, in which it must win freedom or be wiped out, was made clear by Mr. Gandhi in his speech at the Bombay meeting, after the A. I. C. C. had passed the 'Quit India' resolution.

"Every one of you should," he said, "from this moment onwards, consider yourself a free man or woman and act as if you are free and are no longer under the heel of this imperialism.....You may take it from me that I am not going to strike a bargain with the Viceroy for ministries and the like. I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom .. ... *We shall do or die.* We shall either free India or die in the attempt."

In conclusion there are the famous words uttered by Mr. Gandhi at a press conference in Wardha, after the Working Committee had passed the resolution of July 14th, which show clearly how even at that early stage he was fully determined on a final struggle :—

"There is no room left in the proposal for withdrawal or negotiation. There is no question of one more chance. After all it is an *open rebellion.*"

There also lies the answer to those who have since accused Government of precipitating the crisis by the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders, and have suggested that the period of grace referred to by Mr. Gandhi in his Bombay speech should have been utilised for negotiation ; "there is no room left for withdrawal or negotiation", Mr. Gandhi had said a month earlier. Moreover the Wardha resolution merely threatened a mass movement if the demands of Congress were not accepted. The Bombay resolution went further. It no longer *threatened* a movement with the delay that might entail. It *sanctioned* the movement ; and if any further delay was intended, are there not at least good grounds for believing in the light of all that had been said, that it was to be used not for the purpose of negotiation but for putting the finishing touches to a plan to which its authors were already committed but which might not yet be completely ready to put into execution ?

The general character of the movement contemplated by Mr. Gandhi emerges clearly from the foregoing extracts. It was to be a struggle, a fight to the finish, in which foreign domination must be ended, cost what it may ; it was to be an unarmed revolt, short and swift, sure to plunge the country into a conflagration—a grimly accurate forecast !—in which Mr. Gandhi was prepared to risk the occurrence of riots, in which he was prepared to go to the extremest limit, including, if necessary, the calling of a general strike ; the struggle was to include everything that a "non-violent" mass movement could do, including strikes and the stoppage of railways, and possibly interference with British troop movements ; and full use was to be made of existing grievances against the British ; former Congress methods such as courting imprisonment were to be eschewed as too soft for the present occasion : finally every man and woman was to consider himself free and act for himself. These last words, or at least their sense, find a place

in the resolution itself; and any body of men that makes such an appeal to its followers can hardly disclaim responsibility for anything that may follow.

A question of sufficient importance to demand separate consideration is whether a movement of the kind that Mr. Gandhi is shown to have been contemplating, could, by its nature, be non-violent, and further whether Mr. Gandhi intended that it should be so or hoped that it would remain so.

It is significant that the entire phraseology of Mr. Gandhi's writings in connection with the movement is of a type associated in the ordinary man's mind with violence. Thus the struggle is referred to as a revolt and a rebellion in which the people must stake their all and be ready to do or die. The ordinary man to whom these writings were addressed was surely not to be blamed if he understood them as exhorting him to take up whatever arms lay handy and fight his British rulers. Supporters of non-violence will reply indignantly by pointing out that the word non-violence appears frequently in Mr. Gandhi's writings on the subject. It is necessary, therefore, to examine exactly what Mr. Gandhi meant in his use of this word in this context and how far he believed that the "conflagration", once under way, would remain non-violent. It has already been shown that Mr. Gandhi had little faith in the effectiveness of non-violence to resist Japanese aggression, while Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru made no secret of their opinion that only armed resistance could defend India against Japan. Mr. Gandhi, however, had openly expressed the view that the British and Japanese imperialisms were equally to be detested. Why then should it be supposed that he would consider non-violence any more effective against the British than against the Japanese? Again, he had, as shown above, no illusions as to the very doubtful proportion of Indians who were full believers in his theory of non-violence, yet he proposed embarking on a movement in which he expressed the hope that all classes and communities would join and in which he directed every man and woman to consider themselves free and to think and act for themselves. Contrast this with his previous movement, the "satyagraha campaign" of 1940-41, in which, in order to maintain the desired standard of non-violence, he had been forced to limit participation to specially selected *satyagrahis*, who were even then only allowed to commit a special formal offence; remember too that he had before him the example of his previous movements, each professedly non-violent, yet each giving rise to the most hideous violence. The certainty that his moment could not remain non-violent is plain enough and, if further indication were wanted, it is supplied in the extracts from Mr. Gandhi's own writings quoted in the preceding paragraphs, which make it clear that even if violence and rioting occurred during the movement this would not deter him, that he was prepared to go to the extremest limit.

It is perhaps worth examining one of Mr. Gandhi's own many definitions of non-violence, and endeavouring to relate it to this particular case:—

"If a man fights with his sword single-handed against a horde of dacoits armed to the teeth, I should say he is fighting non-violently. Haven't I said to our women that, if in defence of their honour they used their nails and teeth and even a dagger, I should regard their conduct as non-violent. She does not know the distinction between Himsa and Ahimsa. She acts spontaneously. Supposing a mouse fighting a cat tried to resist the cat with his sharp teeth, would you call that mouse violent. In the same way, for the Poles to stand bravely against the German hordes vastly superior in numbers, military equipment and strength, was almost non-violence."

In other words, in any fight, the weaker of the two combatants may employ as violent measures as he likes or is able, and may still be considered to be fighting non-violently; or to put it in another way, violence when employed against superior odds automatically becomes non-violence. Surely a very convenient theory for the rebels in "an unarmed revolt".

Having endeavoured to show the type of struggle envisaged by Mr. Gandhi, it is time to turn to his colleagues in the Congress High Command and observe how they interpreted his views to their Congress followers and to the masses. During the period between the Working Committee's resolution of July 14th and the Bombay meeting of the A. I. C. C., almost all the Members of the Working Committee and many other important Congress leaders were engaged in endeavouring to explain and interpret Mr. Gandhi's proposed move to the public and to indicate in broad terms the nature of the struggle upon which, if the A. I. C. C. ratified the Working Committee's resolution, the Congress would embark if the British refused to withdraw. Thus Pandit Jawahar Lal

Nehru in the United Provinces, Babu Rajendra Prasad in Bihar, Mr. Shankerrao Deo and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in Bombay and many others addressed public meetings and Press conferences, urging the masses, in speeches many of which were openly seditious, to be prepared for the fight to the finish against the British which the Congress would shortly launch.

Before endeavouring to give examples from these speeches, attention may be drawn to two points which stand out in all this activity: the first is the insistence with which almost all speakers urged that every man should be prepared and willing to act on his own initiative ; the second is the extraordinary attention paid by the speakers to the student community. Thus Congress speakers in Bihar and the Central and United Provinces, made a point of canvassing the support of the student community, while Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is known to have taken steps to enlist the support of students from the Benares Hindu University, a fact of particular significance in view of the prominence later assumed by this University in the serious disturbances which occurred in the east of the United Provinces. In Bombay, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. Shankerrao Deo publicly exhorted students to take an active part in the movement and to assume the leadership of Congress should Mr. Gandhi and the other leaders be arrested.

Space does not permit of a full or even representative reproduction of the many speeches made by Congress leaders during this period and the following selection aims at displaying only the broadest trends :—

Typical of the speeches of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru at this time were his words to a mass meeting of peasants in Allahabad on July 27th, when he warned them that there would be a mass movement in the country within a very short time and said that it was the duty of every *kisan* to understand the movement properly and to respond to the call. In other speeches he made it clear that there was no question of Congressmen deliberately choosing to go to jail ; that the Congress might perish in the terrible ordeal which was ahead of it ; but that a free India would emerge out of its ashes.

"India is now determined to take a dip in this world-wide storm. In a few weeks we will have a mass movement. This will be our final struggle and we must be prepared to face the worst."

Finally at the Bombay A. I. C. C. meeting, Pandit Nehru said that the Congress had now burnt its boats and was to embark on a desperate campaign.

The following is an extract from the speech made by Babu Rajendra Prasad at a meeting of the Working Committee of the Bihar Congress held on July 21st and 22nd :—

"One thing required special attention that no act should be done which would weaken the moral strength of the people. According to Gandhiji's view the movement would kindle a fire all over the country and would only be extinguished after either obtaining the independence of the country or wiping out Congress organisation altogether."

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who paid particular attention to students, addressing a student meeting in Ahmedabad is reported to have asked them to pick any item from the struggles that had been fought so far, since 1919, and also to tell every Britisher to quit India immediately ; Congress would not come any more to tell them what to do and what not to do, and they must take the initiative and do what seemed proper under the circumstances ; they should consider themselves free men and disobey all Government's orders ; they would have to pass on this message from house to house, as most newspapers would be suppressed ; it would be necessary for them to become living newspaper ; if they failed in their duty, it would bring nothing but disgrace on them.

Mr. Shanker Rao Deo, speaking at a public meeting held by the Bombay Congress on August 4th, said that in the coming struggle they would have to request workers in factories in which war material was being produced, and railway workers and others, to stop work until the British left India. The following is an extract from another speech in Bombay by Mr. Shanker Rao Deo.

"Some students ask us whether they have to leave schools and colleges during the struggle. My answer is that they will have to do it, if ordered by Gandhiji. Students have always wanted revolution. Here is their opportunity. Revolution is coming to them, they should embrace it now without losing the opportunity."

Finally, in yet another speech, he said that the movement would be like a mutiny based on non-violence and would resemble the fight of 1855.

The above examples, which could be greatly multiplied, serve to give

considerable further insight into the type of movement which the Congress intended to launch. It must be remembered that the members of the Working Committee, and through them the other first rank Congress leaders, were in the closest contact with Mr. Gandhi during this period and the working of their minds, exhibited in their speeches, must be regarded as in some sort a projection of Mr. Gandhi's own thoughts. Reference has already been made to the emphasis laid on the importance of each individual acting for himself; and the type of action which he was urged to take confirms and strengthens the previous impression of a fundamentally violent movement of an "all-in" nature. Thus, in addition to the more orthodox *hartals*, and no-rent and no-tax campaigns, defiance of all forms of Government authority was enjoined upon the people, they were urged to endeavour to undermine the loyalty of the police and the military, and of Government servants as a whole; prisoners were recommended to foment disorder inside the jails; and the stoppage of work in mills and factories, including war factories, was recommended, as also strikes on the railways. Finally, there is the significant reiteration of the theme that students are to play an all-important role and are to take over the leadership of the Congress, should the established Congress leaders be arrested. No one knowing the inflammable nature of their audience, and the intolerance that youth has always displayed of the Gandhian creed of non-violence, could possibly address such appeals to students as those quoted above by Mr. Shanker Rao Deo and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, without realising the violence which must inevitably result.

Enough has now been said to show the general nature of the movement contemplated by Mr. Gandhi and projected by his lieutenants on to the public screen. To what extent were more detailed instructions regarding the conduct of the movement in existence before the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay and did they conform to the general outline of the movement which we have pictured above?

The first example will again be chosen from "*Harijan*"; in the issue of August 9th there appeared an article entitled "Ways of non-violent co-operation". Though not phrased in terms of definite instructions for the coming campaign, it is quite clear that the article was meant to be read in that context. It describes detailed methods of paralysing Government, and of conducting strikes. A feature of the examples quoted is the racial theme underlying the struggle in each case. In the two subsequent issues of "*Harijan*", edited by Mr. Gandhi's mouthpiece, K. G. Mashruwalla, detailed instructions for conducting various phases of the movement were given, to which a further reference is made later on.

Before the Bombay All-India Congress Committee meeting, instructions were circulated by the Congress organisations in Madras, the United Provinces, Bihar and doubtless in other Provinces also. Space forbids their reproduction at length and the present purpose, which is to demonstrate the continuity of development from the general programme outlined by Mr. Gandhi to detailed instructions issued by local Congress organisations will be served by the examination of a single set of such instructions; for this purpose may be chosen those issued in Madras. A series of instructions definitely outlining the programme of mass disobedience was produced by the Andhra and Tamil Nad Congress Committees, with, it must be presumed, the approval of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. The full instructions are reproduced as Appendix IV; it will suffice here to mention that although the removal of rails was in these instructions specifically forbidden, this ban was significantly raised by a written imendment immediately the arrests of the leaders took place.

It is of the greatest interest to observe the logical development of Mr. Gandhi's general ideas, through the more specific suggestions made by Congress leaders, into the final detailed instructions such as the Andhra circular quoted above. Thus Mr. Gandhi's expressed preparedness, if necessary, to interfere with the working of the railways and the movement of troops develops finally into detailed proposals for the pulling of alarm chains, ticketless travel and the uprooting of the permanent way, for the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, and for the picketting of troops. A similar process of development can be traced in the case of most of the other items in the programme.

The closest reflection, however, of Mr. Gandhi's ideas in any set of instructions is exhibited by what has come to be known as the "All-India Congress Committee 12-point programme." The correspondence between the various items of this programme and ideas already expressed by Mr. Gandhi is so close that it has been thought best to illustrate it in tabular form. The resulting table is reproduced as Appendix V.

Before proceeding to examine the actual form taken by the disturbances and the extent of Congress implication in them, it will be as well to summarise briefly the conclusions which we have so far reached.

After tracing briefly the development of Mr. Gandhi's "Quit-India" move, and after examining the reactions of the Congress Working Committee at Allahabad to Mr. Gandhi's draft resolution, it was suggested that the two principal motives by which he was actuated were firstly the desire to obtain freedom *now* for India and secondly the desire to avoid at all costs, even if necessary by capitulation to the Japanese, India's being made a battlefield between Britain and Japan. The next step was to point out that Mr. Gandhi has himself clearly admitted the ineffectiveness of non-violence to resist a Japanese invasion and that this was the reason advanced by him for the alteration of his original scheme to allow of the retention of Allied troops to defend India ; that this willingness on his part to allow Allied troops to remain was only on the surface ; and that he held no intention of allowing them to operate effectively in resisting Japan. A comparison of the ostensible motives displayed in the two Congress resolutions of July 14th and August 8th with the basic motives underlying the move revealed that of the three main ostensible aims, only the first, the desire to free India from British rule, was genuine ; and that the remaining two, the contention that India would thus be enabled to play a more effective part in her own defence and that communal unity would be achieved, were wholly specious. An examination followed of the period between the Wardha and Bombay resolutions, with a view to ascertaining what type of struggle Gandhi was himself contemplating, should the British refuse to withdraw, and how Gandhi's views were interpreted to the masses by the Congress leaders.

A composite picture of the projected movement, as it emerges from Gandhi's writings or statements (Appendix V) and from the speeches of Congress leaders, developed in detail in the two sets of Congress instructions referred to has clearly three main features. By its nature, the movement cannot be non-violent, nor did Mr. Gandhi expect it to be so ; his doubts on this subject were clearly voiced and, as clearly, his resolution to proceed with the movement despite any violence which might occur. Secondly, every man was exhorted to think and act for himself and to be his own leader. Finally students were urged to play a prominent part and to assume the leadership of the Congress should the recognised leaders be arrested. On a more detailed view, the movement was to include all possible forms of mass demonstration and was to be marked by a defiance of Government authority ; individual items were to include interference with communications including the stopping and sabotaging of railways, interference with troop movements, the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, incitement to strikes and the fomentation of no-tax and no-rent campaigns, and efforts to suborn the police, the military, and Government servants as a whole from their allegiance.

At Bombay on August 8th, the All-India Congress Committee ratified by an overwhelming majority a resolution sanctioning the starting of a mass struggle on the widest possible scale.

CHAPTER IV

The Nature of the Disturbances

On the morning of August 9th Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders were arrested in Bombay and simultaneously throughout the country a round-up of important Congressmen took place. The total number of arrests probably did not exceed a few hundreds. In view of the efforts since made to attribute the disturbances to what is invariably called "Government repression", it is important to note that this was probably the only occasion throughout the rebellion on which Government took the first step. Practically everything that followed was the result, and not the cause, of action taken by the otherside. First reactions to the arrests were surprisingly mild. On August 9th there were disturbances in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Poona, but the rest of the country remained quiet. On August 10th disturbances occurred also in Delhi and a few towns in the United Provinces ; but still no serious repercussions were reported from elsewhere. It was from August 11th that the situation began to deteriorate rapidly. From then onwards, apart from the *hartals*, protest meetings and similar demonstrations that were to be expected, concerted outbreaks of mob violence, arson, murder and sabotage took place ; and in almost all cases these were directed either against communications of all kinds (including railways, posts and telegraphs) or against the Police. Moreover, these outbreaks started almost simultaneously in widely separated areas in the Provinces of Madras, Bombay and Bihar and also in the Central and

United Provinces. Finally, the damage done was so extensive as to make it incredible that it could have been perpetrated on the spur of the moment without special implements and previous preparation ; and in many instances the manner in which it was done displayed a great deal of technical knowledge. Block instruments and control rooms in railway stations were singled out for destruction ; and the same technical skill appeared over and over again both in the selection of objects for attack—on the railways, in P. & T. offices and lines, and on electric power lines and installations—and also in the manner in which the damage was carried out. On the other hand—and this is a significant fact—industrial plant and machinery, even where it was fully employed on Government work, escaped any serious injury.

The position was at one time extremely serious in the whole of Bihar, except its most southern districts, and in the eastern part of the United Provinces. In these areas, the trouble soon spread from the big towns to the outlying areas ; thousands of rioters gave themselves up to an orgy of destruction of communications and certain classes of Government property ; whole districts, with their small defending forces of Government officials and police, were isolated for days on end ; a very large part of the E. I. and practically the whole of the B. & N. W. Railway systems were put out of action. For a considerable period, Bengal was almost completely cut off from Northern India, while communications with Madras were also interrupted by the damage done to the railways in the Guntur District and around Bezwada. It was, indeed, significant that the areas in which the disturbances took the most serious form were also the areas of greatest strategic importance. Not only did they contain the centre of India's coal supplies, stoppage of which would have paralysed all transport, trade and industry, but also they lay immediately behind those parts of India which were most obviously exposed to enemy attack. They could not have been better selected if the object was to dislocate the communications of the defending forces on the east coast of India. On the other hand, Assam, Orissa, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province remained free from serious trouble throughout the first week after the arrests, and there was comparatively little disorder in Sind.

In all the affected Provinces, students, invariably Hindu students, were in the forefront of the initial disorders. Everywhere the Congress creed of non-violence was ignored and mobs were recklessly incited to extremes of fury. It was from these mobs that the provocation came and most certainly not from the Government forces. They had to open fire, no doubt, but in many cases they did so in sheer self-defence. Apart from attacks on communications and various forms of transport such as trams, buses and motor vehicles, the violence of the mob was directed against certain classes of Government buildings, but many buildings escaped of the kind that one might have expected to be the target of indiscriminate popular anger. Municipal, and even private, property also suffered ; and there was some looting. Speaking generally, however, what might be called the ordinary manifestations of mob violence were, by comparison and to begin with, unremarkable—there were no communal clashes—and the whole picture was much more one of calculated venom directed against selected objectives than of indignant people hitting out indiscriminately at the nearest object in blind resentment at the arrest of their leaders. Cases were, indeed, reported of mobs operating against railway lines over 40 miles from their homes ; and, after all, these very same leaders, except Mr. Gandhi himself, had been arrested less than two years previously and there had been scarcely a ripple on the smooth waters of India's peace.

In the large towns where disorders first broke out, the situation was quickly brought under control, though not without the use of force in the face of violent activities by crowds of great numerical superiority. Subsequently, the disorders spread out from urban areas into the countryside, where, as already noticed, the marked similarity between incidents reported from widely separated places was a feature that attracted immediate attention. Muslims took practically no part in the disturbances and labour, although in some cases unable to resist the temptation to suspend work and in other cases succumbing to open political pressure to do so, behaved, as a whole, with commendable restraint. There was no general strike and work was soon resumed in mills and factories, with the one important exception of the Ahmedabad mills. These were subjected to special political pressure, backed by ample funds.

During the first two weeks following the arrests the disturbances continued with varying intensity mainly in the Central Provinces, Bihar and the United Provinces. By the third week, indications of a growing disapproval of mob violence

among the general public began to appear and by the fourth week firm action had largely succeeded in suppressing mass lawlessness, except in Assam, where disorders began to appear similar in nature to those which had occurred earlier elsewhere. Indiscipline in jails was a part of the Congress programme and jail mutinies duly occurred in two Provinces. By the sixth week normal conditions had been restored throughout most of the country except in the eastern Provinces. With the close of the first phase of violent mass disorders three new tendencies became apparent. In the first place, signs appeared of an orthodox "non-violent" civil disobedience movement. Secondly, there was a development of serious crime as a direct result of the failure of rebellious groups to subvert constituted authority. The third and the most important development was the drift towards terrorism, which experienced observers had from the beginning anticipated, as soon as the realisation of the failure of the initial attempt at open rebellion became general. Cases of arson, sabotage and of murderous assault on public servants continued. Bombs made their appearance in Bombay, the Central Provinces and the United Provinces. These were at first crude and ineffective but technical improvement was rapid and by the twelfth week of the movement bombs and other explosive mechanisms, some of a highly dangerous type, were in use on a fairly extensive scale, particularly in the Bombay Province.

The attempts to develop a "non-violent" civil disobedience movement proved abortive and in spite of the temporary stimulus afforded by Mr. Gandhi's birthday there was no public enthusiasm or support for such a programme. At the end of November instructions for a no-tax, no-rent and no-grain campaign were issued from Bombay in the name of the All-India Congress Committee (Appendix VI). These instructions outlined a programme designed to paralyse Government by cutting off its sources of revenue, undermining confidence in the currency, creating apprehensions of food and cloth famines, and developing parallel Government in the form of independent village communities. By this time, however, the public were becoming more and more disgusted with Congress and its programmes, except in a few isolated areas, and the new compaign failed from the start to gather any momentum. The Congress ogranisation, by now entirely underground, had been further weakened by continued and successful police pressure. From the beginning of the struggle the Congress Socialist Party, a group within the main party and an integral part of the Congress, had played an important part, with Bombay as its main centre. The escape from Hazaribagh Jail in early November of Jai Prakash Narain, the General Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party—the same man whose detected attempt to smuggle letters from Deoli in 1941 had caused such a sensation and who in those letters had poured scorn on the "farce of satyagraha" and had called for the organisation of secret wing which would not pay even lip service to the creed of non-violence—further increased the influence of this left-wing section of Congress. With the arrest from time to time of certain of the other leaders, Jai Prakash Narain came to play an increasingly important part in the direction of a movement, which was by now indistinguishable from an underground revolutionary movement with all the trappings of terrorism, political dacoity, sabotage, unscrupulous opportunism and complete disregard of the safety and welfare of the general public.

Of the steady decline of the movemnnt none was more aware than the underground leaders themselves. Programme followed programme and repeated atemps at re-organisating were made, in the hope of imparting new life to a dying cause. In early December a review and programme entitled "The Freedom Struggle Front" (Appendix VII) made its appearance. This was followed in January, 1943, by a new programme to commence from "Independence Day", January 26th (Appendix VIII). A significant feature of this programme was the stress placed on "guerilla bands." Finally at the end of January, 1943, a circular entitled "To all Fighters for Freedom" (Appendix IX) was issued by Jai Prakash Narain. This revealing document admits the failure of the "Open Rebellion envisaged by our incomparable leader Mahatma Gandhi" and ascribes this failure to two reasons: (1) "There was no efficient organisation" and (2) "After the first phase of the rising was over there was no further programme placed before the people". It admits that "there was some violence indeed under extreme provocation, but it was remarkably little as compared with the magnitude of the rising and staggering manifestation of individual and collective non-violence". But what this staggering display really meant is further explained:

"I would first remined you of the defference between Gandhi ji's views on

non-violence and those of the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. Gandhi Ji is in no event prepared to depart from non-violence. With him it is a question of faith and life-principle. Not so with the Congress" ; and again, "I should add that I have no hesitation in admitting that non-violence of the brave, if practised on a sufficiently large scale, would make violence unnecessary, but where such non-violence is absent, I should not allow cowardice, clothed in Shastric subtleties, to block the development of this revolution and lead to its failure". The circular concludes with instructions for the preparation of a new and "last phase of the revolution" but makes it clear that "preparation does not mean that fighting entirely ceases for the moment. No. "Skirmishes", "frontier activities" "minor clashes", "sniping", "patrolling"—all this must go on. These are in themselves a preparation for the offensive".

The violent and widespread nature of the disturbances which followed the arrests of August 9th, 1942, soon led to endeavours in certain quarters to suggest that this was no Congress movement but a spontaneous outburst on the part of the public at large precipitated by the action of Government against the popular leaders. The evidence of events themselves against this theory has already been sketched. A further point is that it presupposes that the whole population, or at least a very large majority, rose as one man all over the country in united and blind resentment, which does not correspond with the facts. The Muslim community, the Scheduled Castes as a whole and a very large proportion of organised labour stood entirely aloof, and large areas of the country were quite free from any form of disturbances. Although the news of the Bombay arrests was flashed all over India and simultaneous arrests were being made all over the country, on August 9th there were disturbances only in the Bombay area and the rest of the country remained quiet. Again, during the first week after the arrests those Provinces most remote from Bombay remained either entirely undisturbed or only slightly affected. (It is true there were some early student demonstrations in Bengal but these soon subsided and a considerable interval elapsed before more serious disorder and sabotage developed in that Province at a later date.) It is difficult to reconcile the theory of a spontaneous countrywide mass uprising with this gradual spread of disturbances. It is also difficult to reconcile this theory with the undoubted emergence after a comparatively short period in some of the areas worst affected of a desire on the part of the law abiding population to co-operate with the authorities in preventing further disorders and damage to public property.

Since the theory of a spontaneous rising does not fit in with the actual post-arrest events, who was responsible ? Mr. Gandhi, unquestionably the leader of Congress notwithstanding the fact that he held no official position in the organisation, had been vigorously propagating his "Quit-India" move for weeks : the Congress Working Committee had formally endorsed this policy ; the Congress Party was indubitably the largest and best organised political organisation in the country ; all the arrested leaders belonged to Congress ; it is hardly likely, in view of these facts, that any other political party would have been capable or desirous of organising these disorders. It is not enough, however, to say that the Congress Party was the party most concerned and most likely to have caused the disturbances ; it is necessary to show how this was done.

There can be no doubt that the initial and concerted action of the Government of India and Provincial Governments struck the Congress organisation a very severe blow ; but it did not entirely put it out of action. On August 7th, most of the important Congress leaders and a large number of leaders of Provincial and lesser importance were present in Bombay for the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. Not all these leaders and minor leaders were arrested. After the arrests, instructions were at once prepared at Bombay and distributed all over India by post and messenger with remarkable efficiency. There were two sets of instructions. One consisted of the "12-point programme" to which reference has already been made and a copy of which is reproduced at Appendix V. Manuscript copies of these instructions, together with a copy of a message (Appendix X) left by Mr. Gandhi at the time of his arrest, on the notepaper of the Bombay Congress office, were seized in a distant Province on August 11th. In another Province copies of the same instructions were recovered on August 12th from a Congress ex-Minister. The second set of "Instructions from the All-India Congress Committee" was divided into two parts, the first addressed to "Provincial Congress Committees and others" and the second to students. This second set of instructions is reproduced in Appendix XI.

Un-arrested Provincial delegates to the All-India Congress Committee meeting set out for their Provinces, many of them carrying these instructions with them. Some of them were arrested *en route*, or when they arrived at their destinations; but many others disappeared underground. Why did they do so? Some of these have since been arrested; others are known to be still underground organising the movement. Almost at once, floods of illegal pamphlets appeared in many parts of the country. These inflammatory pamphlets did a great deal of harm in the initial stages of the movement and played an important part in fomenting the trouble in rural areas, which followed the first outbursts in towns. Most of the early leaflets were issued in Mr. Gandhi's name. Many of the earlier productions were based on the Bombay instructions and there was thus a marked similarity at first among leaflets appearing in different parts of the country. There is over-whelming evidence that the instructions issued from Bombay played an important part in stirring up trouble. For example, secret instructions sent from Bombay to the Secretary of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee on August 12th included the following:

"Burn important offices, buildings, post offices, Government buildings etc., railways, pull down, issue notices, derail by putting stones, remove all roadside posts, remove lights from the road sides. Close all shops, offices, etc., cut off communications. These are some of the things, going on daily here. Terrible work we are able to do here".

They were translated into the local vernaculars and lost nothing in the translation. There can be little doubt that they provided the necessary stimulus to the preparation of more enterprising programmes by local Congress fire-brands. After the first outbreaks in the towns had been brought under control students and underground Congress workers spread out into the rural areas carrying with them the Bombay instructions, which at once began to produce their effect. Confirmation of this well-known fact is provided in the "All-India Congress Committee Instructions, No. 11", dated November 27th, 1942 (Appendix VI), which mention—

"(*a*) Those active Congress workers who have spread the fire of revolt in the countryside and have still remained free,

"(*b*) Those students who have left their colleges and schools and who have taken up the leadership of rural revolt".

This explanation, that the widespread disturbances were precipitated in accordance with a deliberately preconceived plan by the arrival of Congress workers and instructions from Bombay, fits in with the undisputed facts. The theory of a spontaneous mass movement does not. But this by no means completes the evidence against the Congress Party. It is a curious coincidence, if coincidence it is, that in the four Provinces most affected by the disorders, namely, Bombay, the Central Province, Bihar and the United Provinces, the strongest Congress organisations existed and from 1937-1939 Congress Ministries with large majorities had been in office. The exception to this rule is even more significant. In Madras which also has a strong Congress organisation and where a Congress Ministry enjoyed a handsome majority, such disturbances as did occur were confined to comparatively small areas. But in this very Province the former Prime Minister and other important Provincial Congress leaders were strongly opposed to the "Quit-India" policy. In other Provinces where non-Congress or Coalition Ministries have been formed and Congress has not enjoyed absolute power, the disturbances have been on a moderate scale (except in the Congress stronghold of Midnapore) as compared with the four Provinces, named above. It has been argued that the undesirable prominence given, in many cases deliberately, by a section of the Press, to news items of incidents, disorder and outrages, was responsible for the country-wide similarity of means and methods. It is undisputable that much harm was done in this way, until the offenders were curbed by executive action; but a study of the recital of events and developments given above at once shows that the offending newspapers could not have alone been responsible for this similarity. The comparative immunity enjoyed by large areas of the country where some, at least, of the offending news-papers were circulating, the sporadic nature of the disorders even in some of the badly affected Provinces and the late onset of disorders in certain Provinces served by the offending section of the Press, can, none of them, be reconciled with this theory. Further more, the Congress can hardly disclaim entire responsibility even for the mischief caused by the section of the Press in question, since it is a well-known

fact that they have always counted upon this section of the Press as one of its most effective vehicles for propaganda; and the United Provinces, at least it is known that previous arrangements had been made to use certain newspapers for publicity purposes and for the conveyance of party directions. It can fairly be claimed therefore that the only explanation that fits all the known and established facts is that the Congress produced and, to the best of its ability, directed the widespread disorders, amounting in some areas to nothing short of open rebellion, which followed the arrests on August 9th. If further confirmation is required it may be found in Bombay Congress Bulletin No. 132, dated 9th January 1943, in which a most revealing survey is made of the first five months of "Our Revolution" (Appendix XII).

CHAPTER V

THE PART PLAYED BY KNOWN CONGRESSMEN

The preparations for a mass movement made by Mr. Gandhi and the other leaders of the Congress party have been described. The outline of a mass movement, of which the chief characteristic during its opening phase was its unbridled violence, has been given The argument that the movement was a 'spontaneous outburst' has been countered. The next question to be aswered is the extent to which known members of the Congress party have been personally responsible for the disorders which have occurred.

On general grounds, it would be only natural to expect that the persons who before the arrestes had been leaders of the local Congress committees in their legal activities should after the arrests continue to be leaders of the illegal activities. Consider the case of an ordinary Congress rural worker, who for years had been carrying out the party instructions—and the Congress party insists on implicit obedience, witness the expulsions of Subhas Bose, Mr. M. N. Roy and Mr. Rajagopalachari: in 1940-41, he will obediently have committed "Selected satyagraha" and have undergone a short term of imprisonment: during the hot summer months of 1942 he will have read week by week the exciting message of the Mahatma in "Harijan" and he will have keyed himself up to the coming struggle, the "rebellion"; in the opening days of August, he will have followed closely the proceedings of his masters in Bombay. Their arrests are for him a declaration of war by the Government. Will he then retire from the field of battle? Known in his village as the representative of the Congress party, will he remain silent and inactive? The natural presumption is that the disorders that occurred after the arrests of the Congress leaders were organized by the people who for years had taken their orders from those arrested leaders. And there is abundant evidence to support this presumption. The instances now to be given are only a minute part of the evidence that could be produced—and that again is only a fraction of what is known, but which, because the movement is still alive, cannot safely be revealed.

The evidence falls, broadly speaking, into two classes - acts of violence committed by Congressmen, and incitements to violence written by Congressmen. The number of instances of *prominent* Congressmen taking open part in the disorders is naturally not large, as most of those who were known to be leaders of importance were arrested at the outset, and those who evaded arrest were at pains not to disclose their whereabouts. But though most of the Congressmen now to be mentioned are not persons known outside their own localities—and if the question whether Congressmen were responsible for the disturbances that followed the arrests of the Congress leaders were put to the ordinary public in those localities, they would have no doubt in answering it in the affirmative.

It is appropriate that the instances of Congress complicity should begin with one from Wardha, the headquarters of Mr. Gandhi. On August 11th the son of a prominent Congressman of Wardha, who had returned from attending the A. I. C. C. meeting at Bombay, read out in a public meeting the Congress programme which included school and railway strikes and the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires; the District Superintendent of Police succeeded in seizing the copy of the programme, but the police party was at once mobbed. On the same day a professor in the Commerce College at Wardha, who had resigned his post on the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, harangued a crowd, urging them to boycott the police and threatening traders that their shops would be looted if they sold any articles to the police; the deaths of two men at Wardha by police firing would be avenged, he said, and two men would be considered equivalent to two hundred constables. As a result of these speeches a post office and police station records were burnt and telegraph wires and poles were broken. On August 14th, Pandit

R. S. Shukla, the former Congress Premier of the Central Provinces, told the police officer in whose custody he was that if they had been given ten days time instead of being arrested on their way back from Bombay, every police station in the district would have been burnt down. On August 15th the vice-president of the Mandla District Congress Committee asked a crowd of about 1,500 people to destroy Government records, railway lines and bridegs. In the same district the previous day four members of the Congress party had instigated villagers to blow up a bridge; when they failed is their attempt they looted some passing Government grain carts instead. Two prominent Congress workers (one being a woman) in Akola addressed lightning meetings of mill hands on August 13th and urged them to sabotage communications, march on banks, railways and post offices and burn them down. As a result of these speeches the mill hands succeeded in destroying some telephone poles and wires before they were dispersed by the police. On August 14th a crowd of two or three thousand set fire to all the police buildings of Ramtek including the tahsil, the civil court, the police station, the post office and the railway station; a train in the station was set on fire and the treasury looted of about three lakhs of rupees; many known Congressmen took part in this affair.

All these incidents occurred in the Province of the apostle of non-violence within a week of his arrest. But evidence of mass atttacks led by members of the Congress can be given from most parts of the country.

In Bihar, M. Jaglal Chaudhury, who had been a Congress Minister from 1937 to 1939, and who was one of Mr. Gandhi's trusted men, personally instigated the burning of a police station in the Saran district and during the attack urged the crowd to tie up the Sub-Inspector in a sack and throw him into the river. This same Minister made plans to resist troops with spears, lighted torches, and boiling oil. He has been tried and sentenced to ten years imprisonment, the sentence being reviewed and upheld by a Judge of the Patna High Court. Mr. Jagat Narain Lal, who had been a Parliamentary Secretary in the same Ministry (and who moved the resolution at the A. I. C. C. at Allahabad on May 2nd, 1942 in opposition to Mr. Rajagopalachari's "Pakistan" resolution) was personally responsible for instigating a mob that committed arson and looting in the Patna area on August 12th. When he was arrested a month later, he was found in possession of literature advocating sabotage. He has been sentenced to three years imprisonment on the first charge and two years imprisonment on the second. In the same Province, an Australian missionary who has spent 25 years doing educational, medical and evangelical work was the victim of a mob of Congress hooligans, who made a determined attempt on his life. When his bungalow was first mobbed, he tried to reason with the leaders, saying that if he had done them or the Congress any harm, he was willing to pay the penalty; but they paid no attention and he was extremely fortunate to escape with his life.

An account of the movement in the backward hill district of Koraput in Orissa is interesting. The Congress had built up an organisation and acquired a hold over these backward tribes by making attractive promises that when *Swaraj* came there would be no rents and taxes and no forest laws; they also played on their superstition, and in some areas Mr. Gandhi was deified and temple ritual took place at the Congress Office. On receiving instructions from the District Congress Committee, the subordinate workers rapidly passed the word round that the British Raj was no more and that police stations should be attacked. Violent disorders took place for a few days, but the local authorities got the situation in hand and, as the movement had been based entirely on false promises, its collapse was as rapid as its rise. There was no disturbance among the hill-tribes of a neighbouring sub-division simply because the Congress had not yet built up an organisation there. The most serious incident in this Province occurred at a place called Eram in Balasore district. A body of armed police who had gone to make some arrests there found themeselves confronted by a mob of four or five thousand persons, who had been mobilised by the sounding of conch-shells from village to village as the police party approached. They disobeyed an order to disperse, and the police had to open fire, ultimately causing 25 or 26 deaths and about 50 injuries. A joint enquiry was made by the Revenue Commissioner and the Inspector-General of Police, who found that the extent of the firing was fully justified. Their report showed that the disturbance was in no sense spontaneous but was incited among ignorant villagers by the deliberate efforts of mischievous politicians playing on their economic difficulties. The moving spirit in this affair was a lieutenant of Sri Jagannath Das, a Congress M. L. A.

A typical instance of mass attacks on Government buildings led by Congressmen occurred at a tahsil in Ballia district in the east of the United Provinces (which was one of the main storm centres in the opening phase). At this tahsil, there was a well-constructed office with a strong record room and good quarters. A mob, led by a local Congressman, who installed himself as "Swaraj Tahsildar" for a short period, broke down the perimeter wall, destroyed every record in the office, broke into the treasury, and looted Rs. 15,000. At the headquarters of this district, a mob led by prominent local Congressmen sacked the residences of four Government officers and two non-official gentlemen who had given some support to Government; one of the latter was a doctor the entire contents of whose dispensary was wantonly destroyed. In the neighbouring district of Azamgarh, the District Magistrate was besieged in an outlying police-station by a mob of about five thousand men and a pitched battle lasting two hours took place before the mob was driven off. Before the battle started, the leaders explained that as Swaraj had been attained they wanted to hoist the Congress flag on the police station. In the Pilibhit district in the United Provinces an excited crowd directed by three locally well-known Congressmen, including a secretary of the District Congress Committee, murdered a constable, for no other reason than that he was a constable. In the Bijnor district a mass attack on the police station was led by a "four-anna" Congressman mounted on horseback. In another part of the same district, the secretary of the local Tahsil Congress Committee organised and led a mass attack on a railway station. In another attack on a railway station in Barabanki district the local Congress "dictator" and nine other members of the District Congress Committee were prominent among the attackers. In the Muttra district, thirteen men, all of whom were members of the Congress party, were concerned in the derailing of a goods train. In Allahabad city, the president of a Ward Congress Committee was involved in an attack on a police outpost, the looting of cash and the cutting of telephone wires on August 12th. In the same district, 17 persons, all of them four-anna members of Congress were convicted of looting a post office and burning a dak bungalow.

In Madras, the campaign of sabotage of communications started with the violent attack on Tenali railway station in Guntur district on August 12th; the previous day two persons who had just returned from the A. I. C. C. meeting at Bombay had held a public meeting at Tenali, at which a most provocative description of the events at Bombay had been given.

C. Krishnan Nair, an important rural Congress worker of Delhi and a member of the Narela Gandhi Ashram, who went under-ground at the time of the August arrests, has been sentenced to two years imprisonment for setting fire to a railway station on November 12th.

A more recent case of particular interest comes from Midnapore district in Bengal. On November 19th, seven members of a Thana Congress Working Committee sent a resolution to the Thana Officer in the following terms :—

"*The Keshpur Thana Congress Committee started their movement in the Thana area according to the direction of the A. I. C. C. and their working plans.* The residents of the villages of this police station are very much terror-stricken at the action taken to quell the movement.....in order to remove the anxieties of the countrymen, and also for their safeguards, this Committee resolve that they should surrender themselves with their rifles, guns and cartridges snatched by the Congress mob. This Committee have joint liabilitity for the snatching and concealment of the guns".

Here is an example of open admission of Congress responsibility.

So far, the instances given have been mainly of mass attacks. Congressmen have been equally responsible for individual acts of arson, sabotage and murder. In the United Provinces, the Secretary of the Naini Tal District Congress Committee confessed to damaging telegraph communications on several occasions and also to attempting to burn down a forest rest-house. In the West Godavari district of Madras, the police arrested on the night of Christmas Eve a number of persons who were preparing to remove bolts from railway lines; some big wrenches and drilling machines and two packets of gun-powder were recovered from them, and it appeared that they were going to try to blow up a railway bridge; several of the arrested persons were known Congressmen. Among the members of a gang arrested at Nagpur (Central Provinces) in February, with whom were found five revolvers and a quantity of ammunition and explosives, was an ex-member of the Women's Mahila Ashram at Wardha. Another gang arrested at Wardha at the same time and found to be responsible for two cash

robberies and five cases of sabotage included members of Vinoba Bhave's ashram near Wardha.

In Bombay on January 14th, 1943, the Police searched a flat and found a revolver, time-bombs, stocks of high explosives and all the paraphernalia needed for lethal bombs. One of the persons arrested on the spot was a well-known leader of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee who was also President of the All-India Spinners Association. Again in the same Province there were systematic attacks by a gang of saboteurs on electric pylons and installations and robberies were committed by the gang to obtain arms. The head of this gang, who has since been killed in an encounter with the police, was a well-known Congressman who held office in that organisation as the Secretary of a local Congress Committee. In Broach district an armed gang of about 75 persons headed by two Congress leaders raided a Police Station and took away government arms and cash. The Office Orderly who was present and tried to escape was fired at and wounded. Another mob headed by the same Congress leaders raided a Police post in Wagra Taluka, killed the sentry, overpowered and beat the other policemen in the outpost and looted the lines.

Many of the mob cases arising out of the rebellion are still *subjudice*, but in those that have been concluded particular weight must be attached to the observations of the learned Judges. One such case from Bihar and two from the Central Provinces may be considered. The case from Bihar concerns an attack on the police-station of Minapur in Muzzaffarpur district on August 16th by an armed mob of four or five thousand men. They looted and burnt the police station, assaulted the officers and constables and burnt the Sub-Inspector alive. There is no doubt whatever that these acts were perpetrated in the name of the Congress. Leading members of the mob were shouting Congress slogans and carrying Congress flags. The main accused, who was responsible for holding the Inspector down in the fire (and who has been sentenced to death) was seen hoisting a Congress flag on the roof of the thana ; this was an exhibit in the case. At the conclusion of the judgment, in discussing the interpretation of section 121 of the Indian Penal Code (waging war against the King-Emperor) the Judge observed :

"It is a matter of common knowledge that the object of the recent disturbances and risings throughout the country was to paralyse the administration and to compel the Government to submit to the demands of the Indian National Congress."

Simultaneously the notorious cases of Ashti and Chimur had occurred in the Central Provinces. The following are extracts from the judgment in the Ashti case relevant to the question of the responsibility of the Congress for the murders :—

"At about 11 A. M. a mob consisting of about 250 men came right up to the gate of the Station House shouting the usual Congress slogans. The Sub-Inspector and Head Constable met them at the gate, and the former tried to argue with them in vain. He was even prepared to shout with them the Congress slogans and to permit them to hoist the Congress flag on the Station House building, but the leaders of the mob wanted him to hand over the Station House records for destruction.....When he declared that he would protect Government property with his life, the leaders ordered the mob to get to their work.....At this stage, finding the mob uncontrollable, two constables opened fire knocking down about half a dozen men out of whom five succumbed to their injuries. The firing had the desired result and the mob fled in disorder".

It is not necessary to pursue this story of barbarism to the end by describing the subsequent murder of the Sub-Inspector and four constables.

The disorders at Chimur resulted in the murders of a Sub-Divisional Magistrate and a Naib Tahsildar in a dak bungalow, and the murders of a Circle Inspector of Police and a constable shortly after. The following are extracts from the judgment of the High Court Judge in his review of the case relating to the first pair of murders :—

"The main facts in the case are not disputed and have been set out at length in the judgment of the Special Judge. I will merely summarise them briefly; Chimur it a town of about 6,000 inhabitants, about 30 miles from Warora in the Chanda district with which it is connected by road. From the 11th August onwards there were Congress meetings there at which inflammatory speeches were made and the people were urged to rise against the Government and to obey only Congress orders.....The moral responsibility for such an appalling crime, of a

sort that has seldom disgraced this province, rests mainly upon the leaders, mostly not before me, who worked the mob up to the pitch of brutality and fury required to batter defenceless and innocent men to death. I have detected few signs of any genuine remorse amongst the residents of Chimur, and the crime has hardly received the condemnation there or elsewhere that one might have expected".

In the second case the Circle Inspector at the head of a small body of police (including a Sub-Inspector) was pursued along a road by a frenzied mob. After the pursuit had gone on for some time, the Sub-Inspector surrendered. The words he used to denote his surrender (as a result of which his life was spared) are significant. To quote the description of the Special Judge:

"At this stage the Sub-Inspector decided the position was hopeless and turning to the crowd he threw off his cap, and probably part of his uniform at the same time, and cried 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai' ".

The mob, not appeased by this recognition of their ultimate leader, went on to butcher the Circle Inspector. The earlier actions of the Sub-Inspector, described in another passage, also throw light on the question of Congress responsibility:—

"It is apparent that the Sub-Inspector was not from the beginning inclined to use force and had been negotiating with the Congress leaders in the town. He had allowed a big procession to come in front of his station house on the 15th morning and done nothing about it: he had made no attempt to arrest leaders, though his subordinate officers in his absence had made such attempts. By this attitude he had effectively vacated police authority and the town was under control of the Congress. They were perfectly satisfied with that state of affairs and the subsequent happenings on the 16th are the expression of the resentment of the Congress leaders".

Passing now from crimes of violence in which Congressmen took part to incitements to crime written and distributed in the name of the Congress, it will again be appropriate to start with an instance from the Central Provinces—a pamphlet entitled "Six Commandments of Gandhi Baba". This and similar productions were without doubt accepted by the rank and file of local Congressmen as genuine accounts of Mr. Gandhi's last message. The leaflet, the text of which is contained in Appendix XIII, is divided into two parts. The first part "(Bapu's message to the Nation at the time of going to jail)" contains six commandments in the style that might be expected from Mr. Gandhi. "Regard yourself as independent". "We are free to do anything so long as we remain within the limits of non-violence". "Do or Die", etc. But the second part describes how this message can be put into execution and this includes instructions to compel the closure of factories, mills, colleges, schools, and bazaars until independence is achieved; to destroy the administration of Government, to destroy tram, motor and railway services: to destroy telephone and telegraph wires; to advise the police not to obey Government orders; and to violate all prohibitory orders of Government. Similar doctrines were preached in issues of the "Harijan" published soon after the arrests. The editors of the various editions of "*Harijan*" would hardly have dared to depart radically from the ideas of Mr. Gandhi; yet, the cutting of telegraph wires, the uprooting of railway tracks, the destruction of bridges and burning of petrol tanks are described as permissible within the bounds of non-violence. (The text of this matter also is reproduced in Appendix XVI.)

An equally wide definition of "non-violence" is contained in an interesting letter recovered from Kesho Deo Malaviya, the Congress Socialist leader who acted as Provincial "dictator" in the United Provinces during the opening phase of the movement until he was arrested on September 29th. "We shall never" he wrote, "forsake our principle of non-violence. It is not violence to get the vital communications suspended or to prevent the functioning of railway stations, tahsils and police stations, or take possession of property found there. You have also to make every effort to prevent the running of railways. *As far as possible*, you must ensure that no life is lost in this connection. *Distribute handbills in villages announcing that no one should travel by train after October 15th or else his life will be in danger.*" Other passages in this letter are also of interest. "Dear Comrades", he began, "our initial struggle has completed two months. *We can pride ourselves on the happenings of the past two months.....Generally speaking, Congress workers have given a good account of themselves.* They have fought bravely against the enemy and are still fighting heroically. I appeal to

them to strain every nerve in keeping the Congress flag flying in their respective circles". After Malaviya's arrest, he was succeeded by Acharya Jugal Kishore, who was a Parliamentary Secretary in the time of the Congress Ministry. The following are extracts from cyclostyled instructions sent by him "to the dictators of all the districts and towns and chief workers." "Dear sir, *On receipt of instructions from the All-India Congress Committee* and after consulting the chief workers of the Province who are still out of jail, I am forwarding to you the scheme which has been chalked out to push vigorously this great revolution for the independence of India by organizing ourselves". Detailed instructions for the organisation of disorders then follow. The position is summarized in the following passage :—

"At this juncture two kinds of programmes area going on in the country : (i) within the scope of the non-violent principle to dislocate the means of communications and transport so as to smash Government machinery in such a way as to render it impossible for the improper use of them by these oppressors and to destory all emblems of the Government, and, (ii) propaganda, demonstrations and other work such as non-payment of revenue and organization. The first part is to be done by selected persons and the work they can do should be selected by them. This requires experienced hands and technicians and only such men should be selected for this work as can perform it secretly".

The part played in the organization of the movement by Jai Prakash Narayan since his escape from Hazaribagh jail has already been mentioned. A few passages from a recent appeal issued by him to the student world are of interest :—

"The first phase of our revolution was a great success inasmuch as it succeeded in uprooting the British power from large tracts of the country. Its further development was checked not because the superior physical force of the enemy blocked its way, but because of our lack of adequate organization and complete conscious programme of revolution. This relates to the second point, namely that present task is clearly to prepare, organize and discipline our forces for the second and last major offensive. We have not much time before us and therefore we must not lose a moment. In every field of preparation we need your help. We have to work in the villages and industrial centres, on the railways and in the mines, in the army and the services ; we have to publish and distribute our literature, maintain our contacts and communications ; we have to raise and to train a militia and bands of technical workers for sabotage and similar activities ; and we have to continue our present clashes and skirmishes with the enemy. A net work of organization, working under a co-ordinated and central command is being built up.....I have faith that when the time for the next offensive comes, you will be at the front of the battle again as you were in August. But in order that the offensive might this time completely rout the enemy, it is essential that you take up seriously and immediately, the work of preparation and organization."

A specimen of mischief-making by students is given in a leaflet circulated by a students' organization in Gujarat, making arrangements for a no-revenue campaign. (It may be mentioned that these arrangements were wholly unsuccessful).

"This time the no-tax movement differs from the old one in one important point. In the old campaign, after refusing to pay land-revenue, we allowed the Government to attach our property, cattle, etc. This meant that we accepted the legality of the Government at this time, and only non-cooperated with it for certain reasons. This time, we do not consider the present Government as the legal Government of the country and consequently we have raised the banner of open rebellion against it and are carrying on a guerilla warfare. This time, after refusing to give land revenue, the peasants have to resist with their full strength the attachment of their property.

It is impossible to describe even a small proportion of the manifold leaflets which are being churned out by presses and duplicators in many parts of the country. (The number has greatly diminished owing to effective action by the police. In Madras, for example, two secret production centres in Tamilnad, one in Andhra and one in Malabar, have been located ; known Congressmen were found to be in charge of all these centres.) A selection of harmful pamphlets put out in the earliest phase of the rebellion is reproduced in Appendix XV. A few recent instances may be given. An issue of the "Bombay Congress Bulletin" of November 23rd contained an elaborate programme of revolutionary activity which included two new items, urging the withdrawal of all post office savings bank

accounts and attacks on docks where British troops were loading and unloading. Leaflets in circulation in Bengal have been notable for their racial animosity ; one declared that India was "fighting against the brutal British power and not against Japan", and another advocated attacks on British troops and police and the boycotting of Europeans. Finally, Congress underground workers have made the most of the recent difficulties of the economic situation ; a particularly mischievous leaflet emanating from Delhi contains the following passage :—

"Our city population should learn to come out of the streets every day indignant and raging at the British incompetence and bungling and deceit that has resulted in internal food scarcity and external defencelessness. Strikes for freedom and wage increase should become a permanent feature of our industrial life..... Food riots, strikes and agitation among the military and police, all on a mass scale, should culminate . in the supreme moment when the usurpers, Linlithgow and Wavell, are prisoners and the Indian Republic is proclaimed".

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

At the risk of some repetition it is necessary to emphasize again the fact that Mr. Gandhi knew that any mass movement started in India would be a violent movement. He knew this from his bitter experience of the movements he had led ten and twenty years before. In spite of this knowledge, he was prepared to take the risk of outbreaks of rioting and disorder—a risk which in his writings he tried to minimize but in his mind he must have estimated correctly. Consider again this series of statements :—

(1) "Leave India to God. If that is too much, then leave her to anarchy". (Harijan, May 24th).

(2) "That anarchy may lead to internecine warfare for a time or to unrestrained dacoities". (Harijan, May 24th).

(3) "This ordered, disciplined anarchy should go, and if there is complete lawlessness in India as a result I would risk it", (Harijan, May 24th).

(4) "I waited and waited until the country should develop the non-violent strength necessary to throw off the foreign yoke. But my attitude has now undergone a change. I feel that I cannot afford to wait.....The people have not my Ahimsa, but mine should help them. I am sure there is ordered anarchy around and about us. I am sure that the anarchy that may result because of the British withdrawal or their refusal to listen to us and our decision to defy their authority will in no way be worse than the present anarchy. After all those who are unarmed cannot produce a frightful amount of violence or anarchy, and I have a faith that out of that anarchy may arise pure non-violence". (Harijan, June 7th).

(5) "I don't want rioting as a direct result. If in spite of all precautions rioting does take place, it cannot be helped". (Harijan, July 19th).

Once it is realised, as has been clearly demonstrated, that Mr. Gandhi, the fountain-head of non-violence, knew perfectly well that the Indian masses were incapable of non-violence, a new light is shed on the events of the six months which have elapsed since the August arrests. It follows that every reference to non-violence, in the forecasts of the forms the movement would take made by Mr. Gandhi and his Congress disciples and in the post-arrest programmes and instructions, is nothing more than a pious hope, or at best a mild warning, which was known to have no practical value. Since such references have been shown to be valueless, they may be ignored and the pre-arrest forecasts and post-arrest instructions may be examined shorn of their "non-violence" mask. Omitting these valueless references, Mr. Gandhi wrote in "Harijan" of 19th July 1942, "It would be a mass movement.....It will include all that a mass movement can include" : and again in "Harijan" of 26th July 1942, "The programme covers every activity included in a mass movement.....I would not hesitate to go to the extremest limit, if I find that no impression is produced over the British Government or the Allied Powers.....(It will be) may biggest movement.....(With the arrests of leaders) it should gain strength, if it has any vitality". The Working Committee of Congress in the resolution passed at Bombay on August 4th and endorsed by the All-India Congress Committee on August 8th stated : "The Committee resolves therefore to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on the widest possible scale so that the country might utilise all the strength it has gathered during the last 22 years". Again, omitting the lip-service to "non-violence" the 12-point programme

called for "non-cooperation on the widest possible scale" in a "titanic clash between the people and the alien Government," a struggle in which "Victory or death" is to be the motto of every son and daughter of India, a struggle which would "include all activities that a mass struggle can include," a struggle in which "whatever helps in the attainment of that objective" (of ending foreign rule) "is permissible and legitimate" and in which "people in the Provinces have to devise and adopt all ways of paralysing the administration". As a description of what actually occurred these instructions present a very accurate picture bearing in mind the limitations imposed by the prompt and firm action taken by the Central and Provincial Governments and the lack of sympathy for the Congress programme in large sections of the population.

In the face of all this evidence—the evidence of the atmosphere produced by Mr. Gandhi's writings in the "Harijan", the evidence of the speeches of the members of the Working Committee before and at Bombay, the evidence of the programmes involving violent action distributed at the time of the arrests, the evidence of the form of the uprising, the evidence of known Congressmen personally proved guilty of violent action, the evidence of the pamphlets broadcast in the name of the Congress—only one answer can be given to the question as to who must bear the responsibility for the mass uprisings and individual crimes which have disgraced and are still disgracing the fair name of India. That answer is—the Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi.

APPENDIX I

Record of the Allahabad Meeting of the Congress Working Committee :—

Gandhiji was not present at this meeting (at Allahabad from April 27 to May 1) of the Working Committee. But he sent from Wardha a draft resolution for the consideration of the Committee. Miraben who brought the draft explained how Gandhiji's mind was working along the lines sketched in it. The Committee gave earnest and careful consideration to the draft (Appendix A).

The draft contained the following points :—(*i*) A demand to the British Government to clear out, (*ii*) India is a zone of war as a result of British imperialism, (*iii*) No foreign assistance needed for the freedom of this country, (*iv*) India has no quarrel with any country, (*v*) If Japan invaded India it shall meet with non-violent resistance, (*vi*) Form of non-co-operation laid down, (*vii*) Foreign soldiers a grave menace to Indian freedom.

Jawaharlalji :—Gandhiji's draft is an approach which needs careful consideration. Independence means, among other things, the withdrawal of British troops. It is proper ; but has it any meaning, our demanding withdrawal ? Nor can they reasonably do it even if they recognize independence. Withdrawal of troops and the whole apparatus of civil administration will create a vacuum which cannot be filled up immediately.

If we said to Japan that her fight was with British imperialism and not us she would say, "We are glad the British army is withdrawn ; we recognize your independence, but we want certain facilities now. We shall defend you against aggression. We want aerodromes, freedom to pass our troops through your country. This is necessary in self-defence." They might seize strategic points and proceed to Iraq, etc. The masses won't be touched if only the strategic points are captured. Japan is an imperialist country. Conquest of India is in their plan. If Bapu's approach is accepted we become passive partners of the Axis Powers. This approach is contrary to the Congress policy for the last two years and a half. The Allied countries will have a feeling that we are their enemies.

Kripalaniji, intervening, said that the draft was a declaration of their stand. England and America might put what interpretation they liked but they (the Congress) had no designs against them.

Maulana Saheb : What is our position ? Shall we tell the British Government to go and allow the Japanese and Germans to come or do we want the Government to stay and stem the new aggression ?

Pantji : I want the right of self-government and we shall exercise it as we like. If the British troops and the rest must withdraw let them do so by all means and we shall shift for ourselves.

Jawaharlalji : A draft like this weakens their (the British Government's) position. They will treat India as an enemy country and reduce it to dust and ashes. They will do here what they did in Rangoon.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel The draft says to the British, "You have proved

your utter incompetence. You cannot defend India. We cannot defend it either because you won't let us do. But if you withdraw there is a chance for us."

Asaf Ali: The draft asks us to accept non-violence for all time.

Achyut Patwardhan: It was put to Gandhiji. He said that the Congress can take the stand that under existing circumstances non-violence was the best policy.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The whole background of the draft is one which will inevitably make the world think that we are passively lining up with the Axis Powers. The British are asked to withdraw. After the withdrawal we are to negotiate with Japan and possibly come to some tems with her. These terms may include a large measure of civil control by us, a certain measure of military control by them, passage of armies through India, etc.

Kripalaniji: Why should it mean passage of armies through India, etc. Just as we call upon the British and the Americans to withdraw their armies so also we ask others to keep out of our frontiers. If they do not, we fight.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Whether you will like it or not, the exigencies of the war situation will compel them to make India a battle ground. In sheer self-defence they cannot afford to keep out. They will walk through the country. You can't stop it by non-violent non-co-operation. Most of the population will not be affected by the march. Individuals may resist in a symbolic way. The Japanese armies will go to Iraq, Persia, etc., throttle China and make the Russian situation more difficult.

The British will refuse our demand for military reasons apart from others. They cannot allow India to be used by Japan against them. Our reaction in the event of refusal will be a passive theoretical lining up with the Axis powers. Japan may have an excuse for attack. We get involved in a hopeless logical quandary. We get hostility from every other element outside the Axis Powers. Japan will occupy strategic points. We get no chance to offer mass civil disobedience. Our policy of sympathy with one group is completely changed.

So far as the main action is concerned there is no difficulty about Bapu's draft. But the whole thought and background of the draft is one of favouring Japan. It may not be conscious. Three factors influence our decisions in the present emergency: (*i*) Indian freedom, (*ii*) sympathy for certain larger causes, (*iii*) probable outcome of the war; who is going to win? It is Gandhiji's feeling that Japan and Germany will win. This feeling unconsciously governs his decision. The approach in the drat is different from mine.

Achyut Patwardhan: I agree with Jawaharlalji's background but there are certain difficulties. The British Government is behaving in a suicidal manner. If we do not take decisions, Jawaharlalji's attitude will lead to abject and unconditional co-operation with British machinery which must collapse. If the battle of India is to be fought by Wavell, we shall do ourselves discredit if we attach ourselves to him. We talk of allying ourselves with the Allied nations. I doubt if America is a progressive force. The existence of the American army in India is not a fact which improves our situation. I was opposed to the Poona offer but not to talks with Cripps. Jawaharlalji's statement after the negotiation broke down distressed me. The trend of thought it disclosed lands us in a position which obliges us to offer unconditional co-operation to Britain. Our co-operation with Britain is an invitation to Japan.

Rajendra Babu: We cannot produce the proper atmosphere unless we adopt Bapu's draft. The Government has closed the door on armed resistance. We have only unarmed resistance to offer. We have therefore to strengthen Bapu's hands.

Govind Ballabh Pant: There is no difference of opinion so far as non-violence is concerned. There may be two opinions as to its effectiveness. Non-violent non-co-operation is not meant to be a demonstration. It is designed to prevent invasion or resist occupation; what will be our attitude to armed resistance. Shall we assist it or at least do nothing to hamper it?

Jawaharlal Nehru:—It (Babu Rajendra Prasad's amendment) retains the approach in Bapu's original draft. The approach is a variation from the attitude we have taken up about the Allies. At least I have committed myself to that sympathy 100 per cent. It would be dishonourable for me to resign from that position. There is no reason why that choice should arise. But it has arisen somewhat in this approach.

The portion of the draft about resistance has some substance. The portion about minorities, Princes are unrealistic. We go on thinking in terms of what was and not what is and that is a dangerous thing in a rapidly changing situation. There is no difference among us about (*i*) our reactions to Government and (*ii*) our total inability to co-operate with the Government. Our programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection helps the Government but that cannot be helped. (*iii*) We do not embarrass the British war effort because that in itself would mean aid to the invader. We agree on these points but we have different ways of getting at them. It is true that since my approach is different my emphasis too would be different.

Pantji : One test to apply to the draft is whether it is consistent with our previous resolutions. The language about the condemnation of Cripps' proposal is highly exaggerated. If the proposals were so bad why did we spend so much time over them. My attitude to-day is : We must do our utmost to defend the country and swallow many things. If I can't co-operate with the British it is because it is not consistent with our dignity. But the approach in the draft makes every soldier I see my enemy.

Asaf Ali : The draft will not make any effective appeal to the Axis Powers. Telling the British to withdraw will do nobody any good.

Bhulabhai Desai : No resolution is called for. We passed at Wardha one which expressed our definite position. The resolution is made in an unreal way. It is inconsistent with our previous stand. We have said that if offered an opportunity we shall side with the Allies.

Rajaji : I do not think the changed draft is different from the original. We appeal to Britain and Japan. The appeal to Britain will fail but certain tangible results will follow. The entire policy of the Congress will be reinterpreted and the new interpretation will go terribly against us. Japan will say "excellent."

I do not aggree that if Britain goes away India will have some scope for organizing itself even if Japan should make some headway. Japan will fill the vacuum created by the British withdrawal. Our reaction to evils of Britain should not make us lose our sense of perspective. It is no use getting upset on small matters. Do not run into the arms of Japan which is what the resolution comes to.

Dr. Pattabhi : It is a comprehensive and appropriate draft. A time has come when we must realize ourselves. After the rejection of Cripps' proposals we must reconsider our attitude and restate our position. We have varied our position from time to time during the time the war has been on. Poona was a variation from the old position. Bombay was a variation from Poona. Bombay was followed by C. D. and C. D. by Cripps.

Sarojini Naidu : The changed draft is much better than the original. There is however a great deal of unnecessary matter in the resolution. The appeal is a rhetorical gesture. It is however good as an expression of our extreme disgust and dislike and hatred of the British Government. The appeal to Japan is a useless gesture. India is a part of the map they have drawn. I agree with the non-violent non-co-peration part of the resolution. It can be recast keeping the substance of the original. The draft is a narrowing of sympathies not consistent with the position we have taken up. I do not like foreign soldiers. The portion dealing with them is good.

Biswanath Das : I see two conflicting views in the Committee. This division of opinion is fatal at this juncture. I generally agree with the draft. The Cripps' proposals if accepted would have kept us in permanent bondage. The appeal to Britain to withdraw is very proper. We can tell them that neither will they defend us nor allow us to defend ourselves.

The protest against the introduction of American soldiers in the country is also proper. They have brought in troops from the Dominions and other foreign nations. This is highly objectionable and dangerous.

Bardoloi : One portion of the draft is operative and another ideological. If we lay emphasis on the operative portion the differences will be geatly minimized. For joint action I should be prepared to delete the portion which deals with the ideological background. We are already in the danger zone. This is no time for ideological discussion. Let us concentrate on the present action which cannot be anything other than non-violent non-co-operation.

Satyamurti : The changed draft is an improvement. I do not agree with the objection to the entry of foreign soldiers. India may defend herself even with the aid of foreign soldiers. I think we must make an approach to the Muslim League.

Achyut Patwardhan : I am in general agreement with the draft. The open door policy is at an end. The resolution emphasizes a factor which has been emphasized by every intelligent man, *i. e.*, the war is lost unless the people are in it. The war is an imperialist war. Our policy can be that we take no sides. The world is in the grip of fear complex. I would consider the position if the Allies could defeat the Axis. But I see clearly that Britain is going towards the deep. We want to create neutrality. Do not look to Japan or Britain.

Jairamdasji : The criticism that the draft is pro-Japanese is wrong. Opposition to the Japanese invasion is there in the draft.

The mention of foreign armies in the draft is very appropriate. The Indian History bears ample testimony of the highly undesirable consequences which foreign armies have led to. The draft creates an atmosphere of neutrality. The attempt is worth making.

Sardar Sahib : I see that there are two distinct opinions in the Committee. We have ever since the outbreak of war tried to pull together. But it may not be possible on this occasion. Gandhiji has taken a definite stand. If his background is unsuitable to some members of the Committee there is the other background which is unsuitable to us. The first four or five paragraphs of the deaft is a reply to the Cripps' mission. Cripps is a clever fellow. He has gone about saying that his mission has not been a failure. The draft is a perfect reply to his propaganda.

I am not in favour of making any approach to Jinnah. We have made repeated attempts and courted many insults. The Congress to-day is reeling under two blows, one Cripps' and the other Rajaji's resolutions which have done us enormous harm. I have placed myself in the hands of Gandhiji, I feel that he is instinctively right, the lead he gives in all critical situations. In Bombay, at the time of the A.I.C.C. meeting there was a difference in approach but the door to negotiations was closed. In Bardoli it was made clear that the door was still open and our sympathies were with Allies. It is time the door is finally closed after the repeated insults heaped upon us. I agree with the draft before us. If there is any pro-Fascist hint in the draft let it be removed.

Acharya Narendra Deo : I do not agree with the view that the war is one and indivisible. The aims of Russia and China are not identical with those of Britain and America. If it is one we should join the war and side with Britain. Our position has not been that we want power because without it we cannot kindle the national spirit. Our position has been that if the war was a people's war and there was proof of it in action we are willing to throw in our weight on the side of democracies.

It is necessary to counteract the mischievous propaganda of Cripps. Cripps has been saying that internal differences have prevented a settlement. Rajaji has strengthened his hands. Japanese threat has also influenced our attitude to Britain. It has led us to even modify Poona. We have to make it clear that Japanese threat has not unnerved us. We can tell the British to go, leaving us to our fate. Whatever unreality there is in Indian politics is due to the British rule. Let it go and the unreality will disappear. I am not interested in defeating Hitlerite Germany. I am more interested in war aims and peace aims.

Maulana Sahib : The discussion has been useful. But it is not clear to me the differences that divide the two groups. Cripps was a great hope. He came here with the reputation of a radical. But he proved a great disappointment. He made things worse. Cripps in his statements after the failure of negotiations has emphasized two points : (*i*) His mission has proved the sincerity of the intentions of the British Government towards India, (*ii*) The anti-Japanese front is the outcome of this mission. All this is false propaganda. Great Britain has made it impossible for us to defend our country. But we have something to do about the Japanese aggression. It is my firm belief that nationalism is the only religion for a subject nation. If I feel that Japan was better than Britain and her invasion was for the good of India I would have said so in public. But it is not so. Gandhiji's prescription is the only alternative though I doubt its effectiveness.

Since the draft presented by Rajendra Babu was not acceptable to Jawaharlalji and a few other members of the Committee the President asked Jawaharlalji to prepare a draft of his own. Jawaharlalji presented the following draft in the next sitting of the Committee.

The draft sought to cover the points contained in Bapu's draft but the approach was different. The discussions showed that the division of opinion revealed in the earlier discussions persisted. Jawaharlalji modified his draft with a view to accommodating better the other group, but the difference in approach remained. The

draft was not acceptable to the whole Committee. Thereupon the President put the two drafts to the vote. Those who voted for Gandhiji's draft as modified by Rajendra Babu were Sardar Vallabhbhai, Rajendra Babu, J. B. Kripalani, Shankar Rao Deo, Sarojini Naidu, Prafulla Chandra Ghosh. Those who voted for Jawaharlalji's draft were Jawaharlal Nehru, Govind Ballabh Pant, Bhulabhai Desai and Asaf Ali. Among the invitees Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, Acharjya Narendra Deo, Achyut Patwardhan, Bardoloi and Biswanath Das voted for Rajendra Babu's draft and Shri Satyamurti and Mrs. R. S. Pandit voted for Jawaharlalji's draft.

Rajendra Babu's draft was passed by the Committee in the morning sitting on May 1. The subject was however re-opened by the President in the afternoon sitting. He pleaded with those who supported Rajendra Babu's draft to accept Jawaharlalji's draft and make it a unanimous resolution. It was the President's opinion that there was practically no difference between the two drafts though the protagonists of both the drafts held that a vital difference in approach persisted. Supporters of Rajendra Babu's draft yielded to the wish of the President and accepted Jawaharlalji's draft. The draft resolution for the A. I. C. C. as was finally passed by the Committee is as follows (See Appendix B).

Appendix A

Draft No. 1, dated Allahabad, April 27, 1942, Working Committee

Whereas the British War Cabinet's proposals sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps have shown up British imperialism in its nakedness as never before, the A. I. C. C. has come to the following conclusions :—

The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that Britain is incapable of defending India. It is natural that whatever she does is for her own defence. There is an eternal conflict between Indian and British interests. It follows that their notions of defence would also differ. The British Government has no trust in India's political parties. The Indian army has been maintained up till now mainly to hold India in subjugation. It has been completely segregated from the general population who can in no sense regard it as their own. This policy of mistrust still continues and is the reason why national defence is not entrusted to India's elected representatives.

Japan's quarrel is not with India. She is warring against the British Empire. India's participation in the war has not been with the consent of the representatives of the Indian people. It was purely a British act. If India were freed her first step would probably be to negotiate with Japan. The Congress is of opinion that if the British withdrew from India, India would be able to defend herself in the event of Japanese or any aggressor attacking India.

The A. I. C. C. is, therefore, of opinion that the British should withdraw from India. The plea that they should remain in India for protecting the Indian Princes is wholly untenable. It is additional proof of their determination to maintain their hold over India. The Princes need have no fear from unarmed India.

The question of majority and minority is a creation of the British Government and would disappear on their withdrawal.

For all these reasons the Committee appeals to Britain for the sake of her own safety, for the sake of India's safety and for the cause of world peace to let go her hold on India even if she does not give up all Asiatic and African possessions.

This Committee desires to assure the Japanese Government and people that India bears no enmity either towards Japan or towards any other nation. India only desires freedom from all alien domination. But in this fight for freedom the Committee is of opinion that India while welcoming universal sympathy does not stand in need of foreign miltary aid. India will attain her freedom through her non-violent strength and will retain it likewise. Therefore the Committee hopes that Japan will not have any designs on India. But if Japan attacks India and Britain makes no response to its appeal the Committee would expect all those who look to Congress for guidance to offer complete non-violent non-co-operation to the Japanese forces and not render any assistance to them. It is no part of the duty of those who are attacked to render any assistance to the attacker. It is their duty to offer complete non-co-operation.

It is not difficult to understand the simple principle of non-violent non-co-operation :—

1. We may not bend the knee to the aggressor nor obey any of his orders.
2. We may not look to him for any favours nor fall to his bribes. But we may not bear him any malice nor wish him ill.

3. If he wishes to take possession of our fields we will refuse to give them up even if we have to die in the effort to resist him.

4. If he is attacked by disease or is dying of thirst and seeks our aid we may not refuse it.

5. In such places where the British and Japanese forces are fighting our non-co-operation will be fruitless and unnecessary. At present our non-co-operation with the British Government is limited, Were we to offer them complete non-co-operation when they are actually fighting, it would be tantamount to placing our country deliberately in Japanese hands. Therefore not to put any obstacle in the way of the British forces will often be the only way of demonstrating our non-co-operation with the Japanese. Neither may we assist the British in any active manner. If we can judge from their recent attitude, the British Government do not need any help from us beyond our non-interference. They desire our help only as slaves—a position we can never accept.

It is necessary for the Committee to make a clear declaration in regard to the scorched earth policy. If, in spite of our non-violent resistance, any part of the country falls into Japanese hands we may not destroy our crops, water supply, etc., if only because it will be our endeavour to regain them. The destruction of war material is another matter and may under certain circumstances be a military necessity. But it can never be the Congress policy to destroy what belongs to or is of use to the masses.

Whilst non-co-operation against the Japanese forces will necessarily be limited to a comparatively small number and must succeed if it is complete and genuine, the true building up of Swaraj consists in the millions of India whole-heartedly working the constructive programme. Without it the whole nation cannot rise from its age-long torpor. Whether the British remain or not it is our duty always to wipe out unemployment, to bridge the gulf between rich and poor, to banish communal strife, to exercise the demon of untouchability, to reform dacoits and save the people from them. If crores of people do not take a living interest in this nation-building work, freedom must remain a dream and unattainable by either non-violence or violence.

Foreign soldiers

The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that it is harmful to India's interest and dangerous to the cause of India's freedom to introduce foreign soldiers in India. It therefore appeals to the British Government to remove these foreign legions and henceforth stop further introduction. It is a crying shame to bring foreign troops in spite of India's inexhaustible manpower and is a proof of the immorality that British imperialism is.

Appendix B.

All-India Congress Committee Resolution, May 1, 1942

In view of the imminent peril of invasion that confronts India, and the attitude of the British Government, as shown again in the recent proposals sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps, the All India Congress Committee has to declare afresh India's policy and to advise the people in regard to the action to be undertaken in the emergencies that may arise in the immediate future.

The proposals of the British Government and their subsequent elucidation by Sir Stafford Cripps have led to greater bitterness and distrust of that Government and the spirit of non-co-operation with Britain has grown. They have demonstrated that even in this hour of danger, not only to India but to the cause of the United Nations, the British Government functions as an imperialist government and refuses to recognize the independence of India or to part with any real power.

India's participation in the war was a purely British act imposed upon the Indian people without the consent of their representatives. While India has no quarrel with the people of any country, she has repeatedly declared her antipathy to Nazism and Fascism as to imperialism. If India were free she would have determined her own policy and might have kept out of the war though her sympathies would, in any event, have been with the victims of aggression. If however, circumstances had led her to join the war, she would have done so as a free country fighting for freedom, and her defence would have been organized on a popular basis with a national army under national control and leadership, and with intimate contacts with the people. A free India would know how to defend herself in the event of any aggressor attacking her. The present Indian Army is in fact an off-shoot of the British Army and has been maintained till now

mainly to hold India in subjection. It has been completely segregated from the general population, who can in no sense regard it as their own.

The essential difference between the imperialist and the popular conceptions of defence is demonstrated by the fact that while foreign armies are invited to India for that defence, the vast manpower of India herself is not utilized for the purpose. India's past experience teaches her that it is harmful to her interest and dangerous to the cause of her freedom to introduce foreign armies in India. It is significant and extraordinary that India's inexhaustible manpower should remain untapped while India develops into a battle-ground between foreign armies fighting on her soil or on her frontiers, and her defence is not supposed to be a subject fit for popular control. India resents this treatment of her people as chattels to be disposed of by foreign authority.

The All-India Congress Committee is convinced that India will attain her freedom through her own strength and will retain it likwise. The present crisis, as well as the experience of the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, makes it impossible for the Congress to consider any schemes or proposals which retain, even in a partial measure, British control and authority in India. Not only the interests of India but also Britain's safety, and world peace and freedom demand that Britain must abandon her hold on India. It is on the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Britain or other nations.

The Committee repudiates the idea that freedom can come to India through interference or invasion by any foreign nation, whatever the professions of that nation may be. In case an invasion takes place it must be resisted. Such resistance can only take the form of non-violent non-co-operation as the British Government has prevented the organization of national defence by the people in any other way. The Committee would therefore expect the people of India to offer completed non-violent non-co-operation to the invading forces and not to render any assistance to them. We may not bend the knee to the aggressor nor obey any of his orders. We may not look to him for favours nor fall to his bribes. If he wishes to take possession of our homes and our fields we will refuse to give them up even if we have to die in the effort to resist them. In places wherein the British and the invading forces are fighting our non-co-operation will be fruitless and unnecessary. Not to put any obstacle in the way of British forces will often be the only way of demonstrating our non-cooperation with the invader. Judging from their attitude the British Government do not need any help from us beyond our non-interference.

The success of such a policy of non-cooperation and non-violent resistance to the invader will largely depend on the intensive working out of the Congress constructive programme and more especially the programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection in all parts of the country.

APPENDIX II

Mr. Rajagopalachari's letter of July 18th, 1942, to Mr. Gandhi :—

"Madras, July 18, 1942.—Dear Mahatmaji, we have carefully read the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Working Committee at Wardha on July 14, which is to be placed before the meeting of the A. I. C. C, next month. In view of the far-reaching consequences of the adoption of this resolution, we feel it our duty, having worked with you since 1920, to place before you our considered views in this matter. While there can be no difference of view over India's demand for complete freedom from foreign domination, the idea of the withdrawal of Government being automatically replaced by another Government is altogether impossible. The State is not a mere superstructure, but is so intimately bound up with the functioning of every activity of the people that the withdrawal of the Government without a simultaneous replacement by another must involve a dissolution of the State and of society itself. It is unnatural for any Government to withdraw without transferring power to a successor by consent or without being forcibly replaced by another. The formation of a provisional government as well as the convening of the constituent assembly are possible only if the continuity of the State is assured.

"We feel, therefore, that, however difficult of achievement the Hindu-Muslim settlement may be, while the British Government is here and functioning, it is essential that, before a demand for withdrawal can be reasonably made, the major political organizations of this country, namely, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, should evolve a joint plan with regard to the provisional government which can take over power and preserve the continuity of the State. Even if we imagine that the British could ever under moral compulsion be made to withdraw uncondi-

tionally, we are convinced that the chaos that would follow under existing conditions would not permit within any reasonable time the formation of a provisional government such as you contemplate.

"We consider it wrong to formulate a demand which, if complied with, must necessarily lead to anarchy or to frame a programme of widespread self-inflicted suffering based on the refusal of such a demand.

"Your proposal that while the civil power may be withdrawn, the British and Allied forces may continue in India in anticipation of a treaty with a problematic provisional Indian Government will only lead to the exercise of all governmental functions by the military forces. This will happen if only for their own safety and effective functioning. They are further likely to be urged towards this step by local chieftains and suffering people. This would be the reinstallation of the British Government in a worse form.

"In spite of these objections we might have submitted to your proposal if only because of the fact that the British are not going to withdraw, and in actual operation the movement would amount to a nationwide protest against the existing Government and may be productive of a satisfactory settlement in due course. But the critical international situation in which India is directly involved makes it certain that the party to gain immediately by the movement will be Japan. If the movement could possibly displace the British Government, installing a national government capable of resisting Japanese aggression, it might be worth while taking all risks attached to it. But, as this result is not even remotely probable, it will only produce more intense and large-scale repression and suffering which will facilitate Japanese invasion and occupation.

"It is hardly likely that the authorities will allow the movement to proceed under central direction in an orderly and direct fashion. Even if we do not mind sporadic violence that may result from lack of proper control, there is another serious danger. When responsible leaders are removed and their guidance is no longer available the movement can easily be taken advantage of by the enemy and be converted into a fifth column activity on his behalf.

"Any movement started by you would have commanded our loyal participation, in spite of differences of opinion, if the movement did not involve such grave consequences as pointed out above. Our conviction is strong enough to make it our duty publicly to oppose the proposal on these grounds. But it may be thought at this stage that your move will operate as a protest with an international appeal and bring about a fresh approach towards a political settlement for India without actually plunging the country in direct action. In order that any step on our part may not lessen this chance we refrain from giving public expression to our opposition but send this letter to entreat you to desist from taking the steps you have adumbrated." (Sd.) C. Rajagopalachari, K. Santhanam, S. Ramanathan, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan.

Mr. Gandhi's Reply

Sevagram, Wardha, July 20, 1942.—"My dear C, R., I was about to write to you when your letter came. Of course, I understand and appreciate the exquisite consideration running through your letter. I invite you all four to come here and pour out your love and argument to wean me from what appears to be an error. Anyway your monthly visit is due. You can come any day you like. What I wanted to write to you about was this. Why don't you form a league with Muslim friends to propagate your idea of settlement? Have you Q. A.'s reply to my note? Do you accept his definition of Pakistan? What is the common idea about independence? Surely you should have a common understanding over fundamentals before you come to an agreement. Let not your fear of the Japs betray you into a worse state of things. But more of all this when you come. Love to you all. Bapu."

APPENDIX III (1)

Text of the resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha on 14th July 1942:—

The events happening from day to day and the experience that the people of India are passing through confirm the opinion of Congressmen that British rule in India must end immediately, not merely because foreign domination even at its best is an evil in itself and a continuing injury to the subject people, but because India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and in affecting the fortunes of the war that is desolating humanity. The freedom of India is thus necessary not only in the interest of India, but also for the safety of the world and

for the ending of Nazism, Fascism, militarism and other forms of imperialism, and the aggression of one nation over another. Ever since the outbreak of the world war, the Congress has studiedly pursued a policy of non-embarrassment. Even at the risk of making its satyagraha ineffective, it deliberately gave it a symbolic character in the hope that this policy of non-embarrassment carried to its logical extreme would be duly appreciated and that real power would be transferred to popular representatives so as to enable the nation to make its fullest contribution towards the realisation of human freedom throughout the world, which is in danger of being crushed. It had also hoped that negatively nothing would be done which was calculated to tighten Britain's hold on India.

These hopes have, however, been dashed to pieces. The abortive Cripps' proposals showed in the clearest possible manner that there was no change in the British Government's attitude towards India and that the British hold on India was in no way to be relaxed. In the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, Congress Representatives tried their utmost to achieve a minimum, consistent with the national demand, but to no avail. This frustration has resulted in a rapid and widespread increase of ill-will against Britain and a growing satisfaction at the success of Japanese arms.

The Working Committee view this development with grave apprehension as this, unless checked, will inevitably lead to a passive acceptance of aggression. The Committee hold that all aggression must be resisted, for any submission to it must mean the degradation of the Indian people and the continuation of their subjection. The Congress is anxious to avoid the experience of Malaya, Singapore, and Burma and desires to build up resistance to any aggression on or invasion of India by the Japanese or any foreign Power. The Congress would change the present ill-will against Britain into goodwill and make India a willing partner in a joint enterprise of securing freedom for the nations and peoples of the world and in the trials and tribulations which accompany it. This is only possible if India feels the glow of freedoom.

The Congress representatives have tried their utmost to bring about a solution of the communal tangle. But this has been made impossible by the presence of the foreign power and only after the ending of foreign domination and intervention, can the present unreality give place to reality and the people of India, belonging to all groups and parties, face India's problems and solve them on a mutually agreed basis.

The present political parties formed chiefly with a view to attract the attention of and influence the British power, will then probably cease to functeon. For the first time in India's history, the realisation will come home that the princes, 'jagirdars,' 'zamindars' and propertied and monied classes derive their wealth and property from the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially power and authority must belong. On the withdrawal of British rule in India, responsible men and women of the country will come together to form a provisional government, representative of all important sections of the people of India which will later evolve a scheme by which a constituent Assembly can be convened in order to prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. Representatives of free India and representatives of Great Britain will confer together for the adjustment of future relations and for the co-operation of the two countries as allies in the common task of meeting aggression.

It is the earnset desire of the Congress to enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it. In making the proposal for the withdrawal of the British rule from India, the Congress has no desire whatsoever to embarrass Great Britain or the Allied powers in their prosecution of the war, or in any way to encourage aggression on India or increase pressure on China by the Japanese or any other Power associated with the Axis group. Nor does the Congress intend to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the Allied powers.

The Congress is, therefore, agreeable to the stationing of the armed forces of the Allies in India, should they so desire in order to ward off and resist Japanese or other aggression and to protect and help China. The proposal of withdrawal of the British power from India was never intended to mean the physical withdrawal of all Britishers from India, and certainly not of those who would make India their home and live there as citizens and as equals with the others. If such a withdrawal takes place with goodwill it would result in the establishing of a stable provisional government in India and co-operation between this government and the united nations in resisting aggression and helping China. The Congress realises that there

may be risks involved in such a course. Such risks, however, have to be faced by any country in order to achieve freedom, and more especially at the present critical juncture in order to save the country and the larger cause of freedom the world over from far greater risks and perils. While, therefore, the Congress is impatient to achieve the national purpose it wishes to take no hasty steps and would like to avoid, in so far as is possible, any course of action that might embarrass the United Nations. The Congress would be pleased with the British power if it accepts the very reasonable and just proposal herein made not only in the interest of India but also that of Britain and of the cause of freedom to which the United Nations proclaim their adherence. Should, however, this appeal fail the Congress cannot view without the gravest apprehension the continuation of the present state of affairs involving a progressive deterioration in the situation and the weaking of India's will and power to resist aggression. The Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to utilise all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1920 when, it adopted non-violence as part of its policy for the vindication of the political rights and liberty. Such a widespread struggle would inevitably be under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. As issues raised are of the most vital and far-reaching importance to the people of India as well as to the peoples of the United Nations the Working Committee refer them to the All-India Congress Committee for final decision. For this purpose the A. I. C. C. will meet in Bombay on the 7th of August, 1942.

APPENDIX III (2)

Text of the resolution adopted by the All-India Congress Committee on 8th August 1942

"The All-India Congress Committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution dated July 14, 1942 and to subsequent events including the development of the war situation, the utterances of responsible spokesmen of the British Government, and the comments and criticisms made in India and abroad. The Committee approves of and endorses that resolution, and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further justification, and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom.

"The Committee has viewed with dismay the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese peoples its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive for freedom and who sympathise with the victims of aggression, to examine the foundations of the policy so far pursued by the Allied Nations, which have led to repeated and disastrous failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on the domination of subject and Colonial countries, and the continuation of the Imperialist tradition and method. The possession of Empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling power, has become the crux of the a burden and a curse. India, the classic land of modern Imperialism, has become the crux of the question, for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged and the peoples of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm.

"The ending of British rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depend the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A free India will assume this success by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subject and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations, and give these nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India in bondage will continue to be the symbol of British Imperialism and the taint of that imperialism will affect the United Nations.

"The peril of today, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British dominations. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

"The A. I. C. C., therefore, repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a provisional Government will be formed and free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The provisional Government can only be formed by the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite Government, representative of all important section of the people of India. Its primary functions must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as the non-violent forces at its command, together with its Allied Powers and to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere to whom essentially all power and authority must belong. The provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a constituent assembly which will prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one. With the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units and with the residuary power vesting in these units, the future reations between India and the Allied Nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for their co-operation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the peopie's united will and strengh behind it.

"The freedom of India must be the symbol of and prelude to this freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese control now must not subsequently be placed under the rule or control of any other Colonial power.

"While the A. I. C. C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a world federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be saved. Such a world federation would ensure the freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a world federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a world federal defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

"An independent India would gladly join such a world federation and co-operate on an equal basis with othe countries in the solution of international problems.

"Such a federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the federation must inevitably, to begin with, be confined to the United Nations, such a step taken now will have a most powerful effect on the war, on the peoples of the Axis countries, and on the peace to come.

"The Committee regretfully realizes, however, that despite the tragic and overwhelming lessons of the war and the perils that overhang the world, the Governments of few countries are yet prepared to take this inevitable step towards world federation. The reactions of the British Government and the misguided criticism of the foreign Press also make it clear that even the obvious demand for India's independence is resisted, though this has ben made essentially to meet the present peril and to enable India to defend herself and help China and Russia in their hour of need. The Committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China or Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both to India and these nations, and in action and submission to a foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression but is no answer to that growing peril and is no service to the peoples of the United Nations. The earnest appeal of the Working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response and the criticisms made in many foreign quarters have shown an ignorance of India's and the world's need, and sometimes even hostility to India's freedom, which is significant of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause.

"The A. I. C. C. would yet again, at this last moment, in the interest of world freedom, renew this appeal to Britain and the United Nations. But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperialist and authoritarian Government which dominates over it and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity. The Committee resolves, therefore to sanction, for the vindication of India's inalienable right to fredom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest posible scale, so that the country might utilize all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last 22 years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken.

"The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall to their lot with courage and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of the movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committees can function. When this happens every man and woman who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.

"Lastly, whilst the A. I. C. C. has stated its own view of the future governance under free India, the A. I. C. C. wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on a mass struggle, it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India."

APPENDIX IV

Confidential. Andhra Provincial Congress Committee

Bezwada, 29th July 1942.

The following instructions are issued to all D. C. Cs. The Presidents and the Secretaries are requested to undertake organisation work immediately on the lines suggested hereunder. But it is open to the D. C. Cs. to supplement the items or alter the lines of organisation subject to the conditions in para, below. The D. C. Cs. are requested to send their first report by 8th August 1942 and a report every week thereafter without fail.

The success of the movement when it starts will very much depend on the tempo we can give it at a swift pace from the time it begins. For this the organisation should not only be effective but also should be entrusted to capable hands and arranged in succession wherever possible.

The President and the Secretary of the P. C. C. will tour the districts and will be in active touch with the developments as long as they happen to be free.

The D. C. Cs. are also requested to pool together immediately all the amounts due from primary members. The quota due to the P. C. C. must be sent by about the 4th August, 1942.

If donations are collected anywhere for Congress work 25 per cent should be sent at once to the P. C. C. Even when the P. C. C. partakes in the collections work the same proporation will be claimed.

(1) The whole movement is based on non-violence. No act which contravenes this instruction should ever be undertaken.

All acts of disobedience committed should be overt and never covert (open but not under cover).

(2) *Organisation.*—The district may be divided into convenient groups based on Revenue divisions or Taluks and should be placed under an organiser. The organiser should be given the assistance of select Congress workers who will actively arrange the details—place, date and the persons. Consolidated lists of those organisations with available details should be sent to the P. C. C. office immediately.

The following suggestions can be followed immediately—

I. Collect information as regards items of programme—porambokes with toddy yielding trees and natural salt depots, liquor shops, railway stations, Telegraph and Telephone lines, troop locations, recruiting centres, etc.

II. Names of persons put in charge of various items of organisation work should be listed.

III. Organise public meetings and intensive propaganda in villages at once.
IV. Congress resolutions and replies to counter-propaganda must be widely circulated. Printing work may not be possible. Duplicators may be used. Material can be gathered but will also be supplemented from time to time from the P. C. C.

(3) The form of disobedience may be individual, generalised individual, or mass.
(4) Items of the programme :

Group I.—First stage—
(*a*) Breaking of prohibitory orders.
(*b*) Picking salt.
(*c*) Continuing openly to be members of unlawful associations.

Group II.—Second Stage—
(*a*) Items of non-cooperation—
Lawyers to leave practice.
Students to leave colleges.
Jurors and Assessors not to respond summons.
(*b*) Government officers including village officers to resign their jobs.

Group III.—Third Stage—
Arranging labour strikes.

Group IV.—Fourth Stage—
(*a*) Picketting of foreign cloth shops.
(*b*) Liquor shops.
(*c*) Foreign concerns in trade and industry.

Group V.—Fifth Stage—
The following items are not prohibited but not encouraged and to be considered at this stage only :—
(1) Stopping trains by pulling chains only.
(2) Travel without tickets.
(3) Cutting toddy yielding trees.
(4) Cutting telegraph and telephone wires.

N. B.—Rails should not be removed or permanent way obstructed. No danger to life, should be a great caution. (sic).

Group VI.—Practically the last stage—
(*a*) Non-payment of taxes excluding Municipal taxes. Especially Zamindari rent should not be paid if the Zamindar will not join the movement.
(*b*) Picketting of troops.

Convictions.—When people are sent to jail, they need not keep quiet as usual. But they should continue disobedience here also through work and lock out strikes (sic.) Hunger strikes also should be undertaken, but voluntarily, on personal risk of the individual as it may lead to the glory of self immolation.

Warning.—99 out of 100 chances are for the inauguration of this movement by Mahatmaji at an early date, possibly a few hours after the next All-India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay. The D. C. Cs. should be alert and begin to act immediately. But please also take note that no movement should be launched or any overt act done till Mahatmaji decides. After all he may decide otherwise and you will be responsible for a great unwarranted mistake. Be ready, organise at once, be alert but by no means act.

APPENDIX V

A comparison of the "A. I. C. C. twelve-point programme" with Mr. Gandhi's pre-arrest writings and statements

"12-Point" Programme,

Instruction (*1*).—There shall be a hartal throughout the country in all the cities and villages of India. The hartal will be peaceful. The hartal will be country's protest against the arrest of Gandhiji, the Congress President and members of the Working Committee. It will also be symbol of our determination to carry on the struggle, which started with the arrest of Gandhiji, to its successful conclusion. If participation in a hartal carries with it any penalties, they should be cheerfully borne.

There will be a meeting in the evening in villages and cities where we shall deliver the Congress message "Quit-India". If there are bans on the meetings, they should be resisted.

Instruction (*2*).—Salt is a prime necessity of our life. Our countrymen should consider themselves free to manufacture it wherever they can do so

whether in coastal or inland areas. Laws prohibiting the manufacture should be resisted and all consequences taken.

Instruction (*3*),—Our struggle is "non-violent non cooperation" on the widest possible scale. The teeming millions that inhabit the 700,000 villages form the backbone of our struggle. They have the biggest and most vital part to play. Let them withhold all co-operation from the alien administration that reduced them to servitude and abject poverty. Let them when the time comes withhold payment of all revenue to the Government. Where there is zamindari system, the zamindar may be given his share of the revenue provided he throws in his lot with the people and refuses all co-operation with the Government.

Instruction (*4*).—The students are the vanguard of our struggle. It is their solemn and sacred task to rouse and awaken and vitalise the dumb millions from one end of the country to the other. It is unthinkable that they can be passive spectators of the grand fight for freedom that is going on about them. Let students above 16 leave their colleges and universities and conduct the non-violent struggle to its victorious conclusion. They are the intelligentsia of the country and know full well how our leader wants them to act. Our leaders have been arrested. The few that remain will soon be clapped, if worse does not befall them. Students alone can fittingly supply the gap. There is no doubt they will prove worthy of the great call that has come to them.

Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's writings or statements.

"As to salt famine, the law is not quite on the people's side, but the right is wholly on their side..... I would advise them to manufacture salt even at the risk of prosecution. Necessity knows no law."—*Harijan* (28-6-42).

"The programme covers every activity of a strictly non-violent character included in a mass movement. Therefore undoubtedly the things you have mentioned (*viz.*, breach of salt laws, calling out Government servants and labour) are included."—*Harijan* (26-7-42).

"*Non-violent non-cooperation* is the most effective substitute for every kind of violent warfare. If the whole nation takes to non-violent action, it can be wholly successful."—*Harijan* (26-4-42).

"What I am hoping and striving for is an irresistable mass urge on the part of the people and an intelligent response on the part of all privileged classes to the popular demand."—*Harijan* (14-6-42)

"If the (British) withdrawal is to take place, it won't be due merely to the non-violent pressure.....Thus we can disown the authority of the British rulers by refusing taxes and in a variety of ways."—*Harijan* (5-7-42).

"As regards students, I have not formulated my plans as yet and I do not want them to join this struggle for the moment, but I wish that the students and professors should imbibe the spirit of freedom. They should stand by the Congress and should have the courage to say they are for the Congress. When they get the call, they should cheerfully abandon their studies and their careers and support the movement whole-heartedly."—A. I. C. C. meeting, Bombay (8-8-42).

"12-Point" Programme.

Instruction (*5*)—The members of the Government services are faced with a choice. In this titanic clash between the people and the alien Government, what is their place? Must they earn their livelihood by betraying their country at a time when it is engaged in a mortal and deadly struggle? Is it part of their duty to suppress, to betray the people? Do they like to have the blessing of the present and future generations or their curses? The days of the administration which is giving them their bread and butter are now numbered. Why lean on a broken read?

If those who do not have the strength to resign their jobs have at least the courage to say 'no' to all orders that are designed to suppress and crush our people. If the saying of 'no' involves dismissal let it be cheerfully courted. Every such dismissal will be a nail in the coffin of the Empire that is throttling us.

Instruction (*6*).—As Gandhiji said let every soldier in the army consider himself a Congressman. If his officer issues an order which hurts his conscience as Congressman let him disobey them and take the consequences cheerfully. It can be no part of their duty to lathi charge, tear gas or shoot non-violent crowds, peaceful processions or meetings. India hopefully looks to them to play worthy part in the great struggle. The fellow soldiers in other lands fraternised

with the people when they rose in revolt against misrule and oppression whether indigenous or foreign. Let the Indian soldiers follow their glorious example.

Instruction (7).—The Indian States are a part and parcel of India. The struggle today is as much theirs as of the so called British India. Gandhiji at the A. I. C. C. issued an appeal to the Princes to make common cause with the Indian people and throw off the common yoke. Whatever the response of the Princes to Gandhiji's appeal let our brothers in Indian States make the struggle their own. Their fight today is not with the Princes but with the alien master who is keeping them and the people in subjection. If the Princes side with the alien masters it will be the painful duty of the people to wage a struggle against a combination of the Princes and the alien master.

Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's writings or statements.

"The programme covers every activity of a strictly non-violent character included in a mass movement. Therefore undoubtedly the things you have mentioned (*viz.*, breach of salt laws, *calling out Government servants* and Labour) are included."—*Harijan* (26-7-42).

"There is no need for the Government servants to resign, but they should write to Government to say that they are with the Congress."—A. I. C. C. meeting Bombay (8-8-42).

"The sepoys should also declare that they belonged to the Congress, but that they were working for their livelihood, and, if they were asked to shoot Indians, they should refuse to do so saying that they are prepared to fight the Japanese."—A. I. C. C. meeting, Bombay (8-8-42).

"Will the Princes march with the times or must they remain tied to the Imperial chariot-wheel ? If they take their courage with both their hands and make common cause with the nation, they can run the risk of dispossession..... Will the Princes and princely landholders and merchants take the lead. It is for them to take the lead, not for the have-nots..... If the 'haves,' who are in fact the pillars on which the mighty British Power rests, can realise their obvious duty the British Power must yield. It was because I had despaired of response from the pillars, that I have thought of moving the masses on whom the pillars rest."—*Harijan* (2-8-42).

"Princes are the creation of the British Power. Their number may be 600 or more. They are created by the ruling power, as you know, to create differences between Indian India and British India.....The Congress claims to represent them as well.....Whatever the Princes may say their people will acclaim that we have been asking for the very thing that they want. If we carry on this struggle in the way I want it, the Princes will get more through it than they can ever expect. I have met some Princes and they have stated their helplessness by saying that we are more free than they are because they can be removed by the Paramount Power."—A. I. C. C. meeting, Bombay (7-8-42).

"12-point" Programme.

Instruction—(*8*) Gandhiji has time and again stressed the vital and decisive part that our womenfolk can play in the non-violent struggle. It is for them to justify Gandhiji's faith in them. If they bring to the struggle the non-violent sacrifice and suffering of which they are capable our struggle will inevitably be short and swift. Let it fall to them to infuse and energise the people of India at the fateful period in her history.

Instruction (9).—Let every man and woman in the country carry on his or her person a badge bearing the motto "Do or Die". This will proclaim our determination to be free or perish in the attempt to be free.

Instruction (10).—This is a struggle in which all Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis and Christians have to participate. Freedom's struggle knows no communal or racial distinctions. If there must be competition between Communities let it be one in sacrifice and suffering for the great cause.

Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's writings or statements.

"Let the Princes know that I am their well-wisher from the bottom of my heart.....The Princes should rise to the occasion. They must part with responsibility of administration to their subjects. Let them read the sign of the times. If they fail to do this, they will have no quarter in a Free India..... Let the Princes shear themselves of their autocracy.....Their only chance of survival depends on the goodwill of their people. I would venture to ask the Princes whether they are not equally anxious to see India free. If the answer is in the affirmative, let them come forward. If the answer is in the negative, then I do not hesitate to say that

even the Paramount Power will not be able to come to their rescue because the Power itself will not be there. Responsible Government should immediately be conferred on their subjects."—A. I. C. C. meeting. Bombay (8-8-42).

"If they (the Allies) don't (do the initial act of justice and put their case on unassailable basis), they must face the opposition of those who cannot tolerate their rule and are prepared to die in order to get rid of it."—*Harijan* (2-8-42).

"If I could turn India, Great Britain, America and the rest of the world including the Axis Powers in the direction of non-violence I should do so. But that feat mere human effort cannot accomplish. That is in God's hands. For me 'I can but do or die'."—*Harijan* (9-8-42).

"You have to forsake wife, friends, forsake everything in the world.....Even if all the United Nations opposed me, even if the whole of India tried to persuade me that I am wrong, I will go ahead, not for India's sake alone, but for the sake of the world..... I have pledged the Congress and the Congress will *do or die*." —A.-I. C. C. meeting, Bombay (8-8-42).

"I wish all conflicting elements and interests will make a combined effort to India of foreign domination."—*Harijan* (24-5-42).

"The fight has been conceived in the interest of the whole of India.....They will fight not to seize power but to end the foreign domination cost what it may .....The movement has only one aim—that is displacing British power.....Why should not Muslim who believe in Pakistan but also believe in Independent India join such a struggle ?" —*Harijan* (12-7-42).

"12-Point" Programme.

Preamble and instruction (11).—With the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi every man and woman in India is his successor. Victory or death should be the motto of every son and daughter of India. If we live we live as free men, if we die we die as free men. There can be no rest for us so long as Gandhiji is in jail.

This is our final struggle. If all do their duty, the struggle should finish in two months time. All classes of men are called upon to join the fight. Millions have to move and break the chains that bind India. The struggle will include all activities that a non-violent mass struggle can include. Let our struggle gather momentum from day to day till it becomes an irresistible force and we regard our previous heritage. Let us be true to the message which Gandhiji has left us : Do or Die."

Ending of foreign rule is our objective. Whatever helps in the attainment of that objective, subject to inexorable condition of non-violence, is permissible and legitimate. People in the Provinces have to devise and adopt all non-violent ways of paralysing the administration. Every man is his own guide and leader. All Provinces have full Provincial autonomy in the matter of carrying on the struggle. Let them remain true to non-violence and all will be well with the struggle. There is no place for fear in the struggle : it should be banished from our minds and hearts. Each one of us should feel and assert that he is a free man. Suffering that comes our way as a consequence of this assertion and our action on it shall be cheerfully borne. Our leaders have done their part, it is for those who are left out to do theirs. The burden of carrying on the struggle falls on them. Let them carry their burden worthily.

Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's writings or statements.

"I ask for a bloodless end of an unnatural domination and for a new era." —*Harijan* (17-5-42).

"British rule in India in any shape or form must end. Hitherto the rulers have said, "We would gladly retire if we know to whom we should hand over the reins. My answer is, Leave India to God. If that is too much, leave her to anarchy'."—*Harijan* (24-5-42).

"Nor is waiting possible till hatred abates. Withdrawal of the hated power is the only way to rid the land of the debasing hatred. The cause gone, hatred must cease.....In this struggle every risk has to be run in order to cure ourselves of the biggest disease which has sapped our manhood and almost made us feel as if we must for ever be slaves. It is an insufferable thing. The cost of the cure, I know, is heavy. No price is too heavy to pay for the deliverence."—*Harijan* (21-5-42).

"We want the (British) rule to end altogether, for that is the poison that corrupts all it touches, that is the obstacle that stops all progress. And what is needed for this are two things—the knowledge that the domination is a greater evil than any other evil that we can think of and that we have to get rid of it no matter what it may cost.....Next is the will to throw off the chains.....That (the

resultant anarchy) is the consideration that has weighed with me all these 22 years. I waited and waited until the country should develop the non-violent strength necessary to throw off the foreign yoke. But my attitude has now undergone a change. I feel that I cannot afford to wait. If I continue to wait, I will have to wait till doomsday. For the preparation I have prayed for and worked for may never come, and in the meantime I may be enveloped and overwhelmed by the flames that threaten all of us. That is why I have decided that even at certain risks which are obviously involved I must ask the people to resist the slavery..... The people have not my Ahimsa, but mine should help them. There is ordered anarchy that may result because of the British withdrawal or their refusal to listen to us and our decision to defy their authority will in no way be worse than the present anarchy. After all those who are unarmed cannot produce a frightful amount of violence or anarchy.....But to be passive witness of the terrible violence that is going on in the name of resisting a possible foreign aggression is a thing, I cannot stand.....I am also sure that those who cannot, or will not, understand me will do so in the light of experience *i. e.*, if they survive the present catastrophe."—M. D.'s report of Gandhi's address to the Rashtriya Yuvak Sangh.—*Harijan* (7-6-42).

"Our arrests would work up the movement, they would stir everyone in India to do his little bit...My invitation to the British to withdraw is not an idle one. It has to be made good by the sacrifice of the inviters....."

"Strikes can be and have been non-violent. If railways are worked only to strengthen the British hold on India, they need not be assisted.....What I am hoping and striving for is an irresistable mass urge on the part of the people and an intelligent response on the part of the privileged classes to the popular demand. But because I know that this picture is for the time being imaginary, I am quite prepared for the worst. Hence my statement that I would end the present state of things even at the risk of anarchy reigning supreme in the land."—*Harijan* (14-6-42).

"I have been working for it (the end of the British rule in India) for years. But now it has taken definite shape and I say that the British Power in India should go today for the world peace.....(The next move) will be a move which will be felt by the whole world. It may not interfere with the movement of the British troops but it is sure to engage British attention.....I do not know (if what is wanted is relaxation of civil grip) I want unadulterated independence. If the military activity serves but to strengthen the strangle-hold I must resist that too..... I have waited long and I can wait no longer."—*Harijan* (21-6-42).

"If the withdrawal is to take place, it won't be due merely to the non-violent pressure.....Thus we can disown the authority of the British rulers by refusing taxes and in a variety of ways."—*Harijan* (5-7-42).

"I am not going to make a call on the Khadi workers. But if there is a general conflagration, Khadi workers cannot escape it.....You must also understand that I am not thinking of civil disobedience or non-cooperation of old .....No hard and fast rules can be laid down this time."—*Harijan* (5-7-42).

"My proposal presupposes shedding of all fear and distrust..... All this may not come to pass. I do not mind, It is worth fighting for, it is worth staking all that the nation has".—*Harijan* (5-7-42).

"Why should you shove all the blame on to me for all that may happen by reason of my taking action for the discharge of an overdue debt and that too just when the discharge has become the necessary condition of my life?"—*Harijan* (12-7-42).

"It will be a mass movement of a strictly non-violent character.....It will include all that a mass movement can include.....I am not going to court imprisonment.....It is too soft a thing. We had no doubt made it a business to court imprisonment up to now, but there will be no such thing this time. My intention is to make the thing as short and swift as possible." *Harijan* (19-7-42).

"12-Point" Programme.

Instruction (*12*).—Last but not the least let us not forget spinning so dear to Gandhiji. If millions spin it will administer a powerful stimulus to struggle.

"DO or DIE"

Extract from Mr. Gandhi's writings or statements.

"The programme covers every activity of a strictly non-violent character included in a mass movement. I shall handle the movement gently but I would

not hesitate to go to the extremist limit. if I find that no impression is produced over the British Government or the Allied Powers.....(It will be) my biggest movement.....(With the arrests of leaders) it should gain strength, if it has any vitality."—*Harijan* (26-7-42).

"For a swift ending a general strike is necessary. It is not outside my contemplation, but seeing that I shall take every step in terms of my oft-repeated declaration that a mass struggle is not conceived in any INIMICAL spirit, I shall move with utmost caution. And if a general strike becomes a dire necessity, I shall not flinch."—Press interview, Bombay (6-8-42).

"This is the last struggle of my life. Delay is injurious and waiting any further would be humiliation for all of us. Our struggle is about to start. But before launching the movement I will address a letter to the Viceroy and wait for his reply. It will take a week, a fortnight or three weeks. In the meantime we will have, apart from carrying out the thirteen points of the Congress Constructive Programme, to observe the following code :—

Let every Indian consider himself to be a free man. He must be ready for the actual attainment of freedom or perish in the attempt. His attitude towards life should be that he is a free man.....There is no compromise on the demand for freedom. Freedom first and then only the rest. Do not be cowards, because cowards have no right to live. Freedom should be your 'mantra' and you should chant it.''—A. I. C. C. meeting, Bombay (8-8-42).

APPENDIX VI

The "A. I. C. C." instructions for a no-tax, no-rent, no-grain campaign

During the last three months the Indian people have risen to new heights of resistance of the usurper authority. While the towns were the first to flare up into flames, it was inevitable that they should be overpowered with superior military force. But the most heartening feature of our revolution is the spontaneous extension of our field of action from the towns into the countryside. It is not easy to paralyse the civil administration in the towns for any considerable length of time, mainly because civil administration can stand on the support of bayonets and machine guns. Besides industrial general strike is the core of urban resistance. If it is not possible to maintain such general strike urban resistance is bound to collapse. The spirit of revolt can, however, be kept alive by a continuous programme of specific defiance.

2. In the rural areas civil administration is not backed by the same overpowering superiority of military and police force. Therefore in the first month or two rural India brought the apparatus of civil administration to a standstill. The war on communications (railroads, telegraph and motor roads) prevented the enemy from concentrating his military might and distances because the strongest weapon of the revolution. This phase of the struggle lasted for over two months and even to-day resistance is spreading to newer areas where civil administration has been rendered ineffective. This situation is, however, not as extensive as it should be. Bihar and Eastern U. P. were the first to lead the way. It is only now that gradually the spirit and technique of this revolt are spreading all over India. But it has brought the full fury of police and military violence on those areas which had completely overthrown the usurper authority. A period of military reconquest ushered in the worst excesses to history. Looting and burning of villages, rape and rapine on a mass scale, machine-gunning and even aerial attacks with such weapons the gangster requires tried to strike terror and to break the spirit of revolt. There is no doubt that these indiscriminate and ruthless atrocities are a sign of weakness. It is the last resort of a collapsing authority.

Unfortunately the primary impulse of revolt could not be extended continuously from one district to another, or from one province to the next. The rural areas were thrown on the defensive. Repression could not break the iron will of our leading cadres. But the spontaneous up-surge of entire village was suppressed for the time being.

On the other hand the inhuman barbarity of British authority has widened the gulf between the people and the agents of this regime. Today there is a conscious hatred of the foreign rulers where before there was a vague groping for a way out of existing hardships. But all the same over wide areas it is not immediately practicable to launch another offensive against this regime, based on a spontaneous mass action of the people as a whole. The core of resistance is still unbroken but a reorganisation of our forces has become necessary. Such a reorganisation is the essential preliminary to a renewed assault which would bring civil administration to an end

and render the tax collecting agency ineffective and effete. This task devolves upon :— (*a*) Those active congress workers who have spread the fire of revolt in the countryside and have still remained free, (*b*) those students who have left their colleges and schools and who have taken up the leadership of rural revolt, (*c*) those newer elements from among the rural and urban workers who have been fired into activity by the events of the last three months, (*d*) and those adventurous elements who have found a new worth-whileness in struggle; all these forces must combine to tackle the tasks of reorganisation for a fresh offensive.

Our ranks have been depleted; our resources, in the form of local assistance in rural areas, and active enthusiastic support from village young men have been reduced by repression. With such resources as we have we can yet set ourselves the task of rekindling the fire on a more extensive scale. The time for tax collection is approaching and the business of administration will be extended on a scale which cannot be supported by threats of military and police action at all points.

March and round about months of 1943 will almost decide the fate of the Indian Revolution. It is during this period that the usurper Government will collect its land tax throughout the country. If this can be made an occasion for mass-defiance, by a general programme of non-payment we will have solved the problem of coordination and simultaneous action in all the Provinces and districts of the country.

Land-tax is important to the usurpers not only for the income that it yields but much more so for its administrative value. On land-tax alone hinges the rural administration of the British in India with its revenue officer and law courts and police stations. In resisting the land-tax we must therefore be clear about its revolutionary value. We must plan to go beyond our former no-tax campaigns. In former campaigns, the peasantry merely refused to pay the tax willingly, but permitted the revenue officers and the police to attach lands and other property. This must not happen. It must be a total resistance. The peasantry must obstruct the revenue and police officers to collect the tax, in fact to enter the village unless in the form of a military invasion. Even this can be temporarily rendered ineffective by flight into the jungles until the invaders are forced to retire. They can be harassed in the meantime by cutting their communications and supplies. This can be done and instructions will tell you how.

(1) We must start with a campaign for the non-sale of food-crops and cattle. It is in the interest of the people themselves that they should ensure an year's stock of food, when communications are so undependable and when the food-prices are so unsteady due to the worthlessness of the paper currency.

(2) Convert all cash into goods. Paper money is a fraud; it will starve the peasant as well as other classes. Put no faith in the illusion of well-being created by the currency notes.

(3) In Ryatwari areas there is a straight tie between the Government and the peasantry. In the Zamindari areas however the question of the landlord does crop up.

The landlord should be paid by mutual agreement a small part of the rent which will enable him to maintain his family. An informal understanding with his tenants will be able to secure for the landlord his reasonable requirements.

It must however be made clear that the Zamindar must give a preliminary undertaking not to pay tax to the government before the tenants can agree to accept the responsibility of maintaining his family. Any attempt on the part of the landlord to bend before the British power will be sufficient cause for the tenants to withhold all payment by way of rent.

The A. I. C. C. has declared a moratorium on agricultural debts and interests. Arrangements should however be made between creditors and debtors for such payments as will enable the creditor and his family to meet their reasonable requirements of food, etc.

Communications should be continuously cut, young men of the village should cut wires from now on as a preliminary training. All the time tax-collecting is actually attempted communications should be so thoroughly put out of action that movements of police and military are rendered very slow and difficult.

Who would form the Swaraj Panchayats, who would cut the communications, who would bring about and maintain the unity among villagers? The most satisfactory answer would be the villagers themselves without outside assistance. Just give them the idea. But even to do this, we need a fairly large number of active propagandists and organisers. These should in the first instance be recruited from :—

(*a*) Such Congress and other political workers as are still out and active.

(*b*) Students and teachers.

(*c*) Strikers and dismissed workers from factories.
(*d*) Workers of social welfare institutions.
(*e*) The better type Sadhus and Fakirs.

The directorate of each Congress province should immediately appoint a man in charge of the campaigns to resist land-tax and for the non-sale of food-crops. His task should be to meet at once, through a deputy if necessary, the active elements of the five groups mentioned in each district and to enthuse them with the basic idea of these instructions and to coach them upon the general line of propagandist and organisational activity.

Propaganda.—The main lines of propaganda in the villages should be :—

(*a*) *Political.*—Since the 9th of August and the arrest of Gandhiji and other leaders, the British are declared usurpers. To pay land-tax to them is sin. Mother India, Gandhiji, the Congress religion and all that one prizes forbid the peasantry to pay land-tax.

(*b*) *Currency—Collapse.*—Sale of crops or cattle for paper notes is a big gamble. Already paper notes are unable to buy even one-third of what they formerly used to and they may soon become almost valueless. The British Government is to-day existing on the printing of paper-notes without gold or silver or other valuables. Therefore convert your savings into goods instead of cash.

(*c*) *Danger of Food and Cloth Famines*—The British Military in and out of India is using up our crops and cattle and railways and cloth. War and aerial bombing of cities has come on our eastern frontier. All this will lead to food and cloth famine. Therefore, to sell crops or cattle to-day is to prepare for suicide to-morrow.

(*d*) *Organisation*—From Swaraj Panchayat, arrange for barter inside the village and between one village and another. Develop handicrafts, particularly spinning and weaving. Have no dealings with anti-national revenue or police officers. Create unity in the village itself and among groups of villages.

(*e*) *Break-up of communications.*—If roads and telegraphs and railways are put out of action or destroyed throughout the country, the British military will be defeated and India will be free and the peasantry will prosper.

Emphasise these five points in your propaganda. Tell the peasantry that to sell crops or cattle or to pay land-tax is sin, gamble and suicide.

NOTE.—Attempt should be made to reach the appended appeals of the A. I. C. C. to (1) The Peasants of India (2) The landlords (3) The Money Lenders (4) Revenue and Police Officers in the villages. These appeals should be spread as they are for the sake of uniformity of propaganda and because of the weight that the name of the A. I. C. C. would carry. Further appeals must be drafted on the general lines indicated by the Provinces and the Districts themselves.

APPENDIX VII

"THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE FRONT"

1. *The Struggle of Revolt.*—India is stirring as she has never stirred before. Robbed of organisation and leadership, denied of guidance and planning, the people of our country have started their revolutionary march to freedom. There is a tenseness in the air—every section, every man and woman is deeply moved and feels impelled to action. Established authority is reeling under its impact, and is striving to beat down the upheaval with desperate repression. There are faint hearts which are appalled, muddled heads that screech their condemnation, servile bodies that bend to crush this upsurge of spirit. But the fact of this outburst is here. It is the profoundest fact of recent history.

2. *The Nature of the upheaval.*—Undirected, uncontrolled and leaderless, the masses are surging, heaving, swaying in their struggle for release. Every individual, every group is acting on its own, impelled by diverse motives, diverse ideals. In this lies at once the strength and the weakness of the movement. This strength Gandhiji invoked when he called out to each Indian to feel free. That feeling stirring in his breast makes him rise. The appeal is to the individual direct; the response is of the individual direct. The medium of a party or organisational machine become redundant. The active units in this battle are individual, not mass formation dependent for every move on extraneous command. This feature invests the movement with a spontaneity, flexibility and deathlessness, an elemental and all-embracing quality which is thrillingly unique in its national and international possibilities. Gandhiji has given us a new technique in revolution. It is ethically superior to all other methods in that it eschews collective massacre and

entails the minimum of bloodshed. It is a weapon of self-defence, self-expression and liberation of a people, not of territorial aggression or exploitation of another. It is economical in resources in that the enemy is fought, not with a colossal array of costly armour, but by paralysis of its organisation by individual resistance. It is a process of mass education on the most extensive scale offering an inherent guarantee of the permanence of its achievement, in that it strengthens each individual participant by bringing to him a consciousness of his latent power and a realisation of his unity of interest with his fellow fighters. Unity is not to be looked for in a static formula of percentage, but is realisable only through this dynamic struggle, while pursuing an obvious political objective, it simultaneously solves the problems of fear, ignorance and disunity. In laying stress on the common man and awakening him to power, it makes sure that he will be the centre round which the structure of the new state will be raised.

3. *The need for plan.*—There can be no doubt about the essential soundness of this technique. Whatever the opinion about its universal applicability for all militant action, there can be no gainsaying that it is the only feasible method in the present circumstances of this country. But the stress it lays on the individual, which is the secret of its unique efficacy, is also the source of weakness one must most carefully guard. The individual is thrown on his own resources of thought and action. How small these resources are in a suppressed people we know. There are some who would eternally postpone the struggle on that account, forgetting that it is only through struggle that they may enlarge these resources. But this limiting factor dictates the form which the struggle must take. The objective must be immediately appealing to the common man, because immediately satisfying vital lack, (Sic) clearly defined, so as to be easily grasped by the meanest intelligence. The ultimate issue, the final goal is perceived and maintained aloft only by a sustained process of reasoning and must be allowed to emerge before the fighting ranks only in careful stages, through a progressive series of secondary and immediate aims. The action demanded to cover each stage must be of the most direct and simplest kind. Else there will be perplexity and false manœuvrings and despair. The final goal of the struggle must be kept steadily in view of (by ?) some ; the stages to its attainment must be carefully set by some. That is the task of planning.

4. *The scope of planning.*—This movement is decentralised, individualistic, anarchical. Yet because it is a movement and not an involuntary explosion of pent-up energy, it has a direction, and its anarchy is deliberate and purposeful. The object of planning is to set the direction, inform and animate the participants with the purpose. But the scope of central direction and control in a movement of this atomistic character is strictly limited. The function of planning in this movement is threefold : It must furnish the ideological perspective at each stage ; it must indicate the broad principles which will guide action ; and it must provide a general co-ordination of the efforts of groups and individuals, by arranging contacts, dissemination of intelligence, suggesting avoidance of overlapping or mutually cancelling actions. Central direction cannot attempt much more without destroying the elasticity and decentralised initiative which constitute the essential quality of this movement. The detailed application of the general principles in concrete acts and manœuvres must be left to the primary fighting units. The movement will not conform to a uniform pattern in all areas for this reason. Its outward manifestation will exhibit as great a variety as local problems and circumstances will vary. This infinite diversity of expression should be welcome. It is bewildering to the enemy and should be encouraged by working up and bringing to a head the particular local grievance which is most acute in any area. It may be a shortage of foodgrains in one place, the exaction of rent-collector in another, the refusal of permission to irrigate the fields in some other, the realisation of collective fines is still another. Each such problem is the focal point for the initiation of the movement in that area. The general plan will direct the search for such force ; point out why our festering economic sores will be the most suitable starting points for local agitation, being the most deeply felt and the quickest, most natural and the most unifying inciting agents for the local people ; explain how these issues can never be solved within the framework of the existing system ; and as this understanding spreads and the agitation has reached a sufficient pitch, suggest the precipitation of the next wider issues, taking the people forward to the next higher phase of the struggle.

5. *The machinery for planning.*—The machinery set up to undertake this planning must be suited to its special and limited purpose. That purpose is, as

indicated already, to outline the general policy and direction and to provide a loose and flexible co-ordination of the work of already established parties, groups and individuals to whom the widest discretion is to be left in carrying out the day to day programme of the struggle. These are old organisations claiming the membership of disciplined bodies of men and women, who have been already working for the subversion of the present order of things for a long time. They may have varying methods and varying creeds but as long as they do not plan counter to the general direction of this movement, they will be welcome and will find a place. The invitation must be open even to individuals in their own right as children of this country. This struggle is a total struggle in its present phase, the upsurge of a whole people. It is not sectional, partisan, but total and inclusive at this stage. The class war may have to come, but that is not yet, not till after the riddance of foreign exploitation. It is arguable that in the course of this struggle the shift of forces will get power to the proletariat even in the process of overthrowing the foreign hod (? hold), the two vital phases being simultaneous, not successive. Be that as it may, this must be clear now that the organisation required for central guidance of the movement in its present stage is not the rigid organisation of an exclusive party professing a dogmatic creed and enforcing an iron discipline. We do not want to set up a new party which must immediately come into conflict with existing parties and can only prevail by fighting and destroying them. What we need to set up is a meeting place for parties and groups, a forum for discussion, a clearing house of ideas where the greatest common measure of agreement on policy can be worked out. What we need is a coming together of parties not their supersession by a new body. What we need is a combination, a joint enterprise, a common stand. What we need is the Freedom Struggle Front, where every group, every party, every class and section and every individual can find a place to fill without (? losing) their separate indentities. There are many revolutionary parties in the field. They differ in their methods, their traditions, their special experience of particular lines of work ; but there is little difference in the ultimate goal of their endeavours. Their organisation, discipline, resources, special talents and aptitudes for special tasks must be all utilized. They can be all roped in on the common platform of the Freedom Struggle Front, and this can be done in the present phase of the struggle without calling upon them to renounce their immediate loyalties. To a much more limited extent, yet in some measure, the same is true of social groupings also. There is no class or section, no social or functional unit, which is not disaffected against the present State. Let that discontent and frustration in each layer of society be exploited and nursed into a disruptive force. If the rich mill-owner or banker is willing to finance the revolution, let his help be eagerly seized. He may be acting from calculated self-interest, desiring a freer field for his capital investments ; or as happens more often than the text book communist will think, he may be moved inspite of himself by the partriotic change in the air. In any case, the course of development of the struggle which can only succeed through the people awakening to power, he must either identify this interest with that of the masses, or be submerged in the rising tide of their power. Let not a virginly horror of outraging the class issues stand in the way of seeking and taking his help. Let him be roped in too.

6. *The Programme of Action.*—There are as many battle fronts in this war as there are classes and sections and individuals waging it, and action on all fronts is simultaneous. But the most extensive and significant field of work lies in the country-side, where our peasantry offers the biggest reserve of man-power and where village economy is threatened with imminent break down. Let peasant representatives in the villages be approached by our central agents. The agents themselves must be selected from tried workers of existing organisations and parties, some now disbanded by law, such as the Spinners' Association, some still countenanced openly, such as the Krishak-Projas, who have already established connections in the interior. Let them select the initial targets for assault in each village or group of villages. Let the rising and simmering discontent against these immediate grievances be churned up into an angry ferment ; first, through informal discussions, then through open meetings, all the while attempting to relate the immediate problems to wider and bigger issues in simple, understandable terms. Open conflict with authority should be avoided at this stage by representing the agitation as a lawful demand for economic concessions. As soon as the discontent has crystallized to some extent, orderly but confident processions should be organised, for its collective representation before the local authorities. On their failure to redress, which is inevitable, the more extreme and militant spokesmen of the peasants should

be helped to take the lead and prepare the man for direct action ; by organised and orderly seizure of stocks of essential goods ; by refraining payment of rents and debts ; by refusing to part with crops ; by ignoring court processes for distraint and refusing to attend or bid at sales ; by taking possession of the machinery of local administration, such as Union Boards, Chowkies, Thanas, and running it themselves : by setting up new machinery where necessary. If the developments can be fairly synchronised in a number of areas from the centre,—and to a great extent this will be helped by the natural infectiousness of the process,—the forces of the State will be helpless to check this progress, the disturbances will be too widespread and scattered. The police and military may advance on one village and reduce it to ashes, But their flanks and rear and front will be constantly harassed, their communications will be constantly cut off, their food supplies will be precarious. The tactical plan of defence for the villagers will be to isolate their area, organize scouts to give warning of the enemy's approach, retire and disperse before its advance and return like the tide when the enemy must presently withdraw, having nothing to do and little to subsist on. The suffering of the villagers will be great. But the stakes are also high. If they have been made to realise these at the outset, if they know that the alternative is inaction and suffering no less, if they have been trained what to expect and do, then this suffering will not break them, then each time they will return to their razed villages with a grimmer determination of spirit, an increased bitterness of heart. And the news of happenings in other villages, other districts must filter through to fortify their resolve.

7. *Other fronts.*—We have a better organisation and greater experience of work among industrial labour. Here also unrest must be brought to a head on immediate economic issues. The situation will be directly helped by the campaign in the villages which will dry up the sources of food supply and raw materials to the urban and industrial areas. Dearness allowances can never keep pace with prices, which will soar higher with a progressive inflation of the currency. Price control will show up as the senseless deception it is. Strikes should be easy to organise in this contest, Propaganda should be meanwhile pressed home on the capitalist front, appealing to this class on emotional patriotic grounds to view the strike programme with favour. The bourgeoisie must be exhorted to keep up political discontent at high pressure, 'declasse' members of the petit bourgeois sections must be recruited to lead militant demonstration of students and labourers. The Indian officialdom should be approached for secret contributions in money and information and sabotage of vital processes of the administration. The precise points and methods of attack must be left to their own decision in this as in other cases, but countless illustrations can be cited and innumerable opportunities discovered once the general lines of our movement are clearly grasped. That general analysis of the struggle should be made known in every suitable case.

8. *Administrative Tasks.*—The training of workers ; the issue of leaflets, news sheets, slogans : the organisation of contacts ; the raising of funds ; frequent reviews of progress ; issue of directions to the fighting line. These are the urgent administrative problems of the Freedom Struggle Front. Help is pouring in from all sides. The tasks will be done. But in administration, as in programme, the greatest decentralisation should be provided for. In that, rather than in secrecy for which the scope is strictly limited in a movement of this character, lies the biggest safeguard against its suppression.

APPENDIX VIII

AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

Independence Day, 26th January 1943

To-day is the 26th January. Twelve years ago on this day we took the vow of freedom, and since then every year we have renewed that solemn pledge. These twelve years have been years of travail and suffering, and every Independence Day has brought us nearer our goal. This day, however, on which we are privileged to live—January 26th. 1943—is different from all such dates that have gone before. The battle of freedom which began twelve years ago has now reached its climax and shall soon reach its end. Beginning with Satyagrah and disobedience of specific laws we are now in the midst of total revolution. It is not this or that law of the foreign power that we defy but that power as a whole. It is not this or that Constitution that we demand, but total withdrawal of the Imperialist aggressor.

Therefore, the pledge that we take to-day must be different from that pledges we have taken before. Our only pledge to-day can be to make 1943 the last year

of our national slavery. On August 8, last year we declared ourselves as free people but the enemy is still in our midst and is trying by fascist terror to crush our will to freedom. We must, therefore, vow to-day that before January 26 come round again we shall be a free people, and on the Government House in Delhi, all Government Houses and all our houses in the country shall fly not the arrogant British flag but the proud flag of the Republic of India. Every section of the people must therefore pledge to-day to discharge its duty to the Nation and play its appropriate part in the National Revolution.

Therefore in the name of the Indian Nation a Congress and the Republic of India, which is being born to-day, we appeal :—

To the Peasants.

To pay no taxes or revenues to the British usurpers.
To pay no rents to the landlords who pay revenues to the British Government.
To establish Swaraj Panchayats in their villages.
To boycott Law Courts and to settle their disputes in panchayats.
To sell no crop or cattle.
To keep no paper money and to deal through barter.
To form Guerilla Bands.

To the workers.—In factories, railways, in mines and elsewhere.

To strike work.
To slacken production.
To sabotage.
To organise and fight for wages and cheap food.
Cloth and the right to strike.
To form Guerilla Bands.

To Students

To leave schools and colleges.
To enrol as soldiers of revolution.
To form Guerilla Bands.
To form vacation brigades.

To Businessmen.

To cease business with Englishmen.
To withdraw deposits from Imperial and other British banks.
To subscribe to "Swaraj Karaz".

To the Armed Forces.

To take prescribed oath of allegiance to the republic.
To refuse to be used against their own countrymen.
To vow to rise against the British usurpers on the command of the congress.
To the Police and other Government servants to refuse to be used against the national revolution.

To every body.

To help in every big and small way to destroy the usurper authority and to establish the Republic of India.
To Raise the slogans of "Inquilab zindabad."
"Karange Ya Marenge" and "Angrezon ko nikalo".
At 8 A. M. and 9 P. M. everyday.

Central Directorate
All India Congress Committee.

APPENDIX IX

"TO ALL FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM"

Revolutionary greetings

Comrades,

Let me first of all offer you and those comrades who have been made prisoners of war my heartiest congratulation on the magnificent battle already given to the enemy. Nothing like it ever happened or was expected to happen in this our long suffering and suppressed country. It truly was the "Open Rebellion" envisaged by our incomparable leader Mahatma Gandhi.

The Rebellion, no doubt, seems to have been suppressed for the moment. But I hope you will agree with me that it has been suppressed only for the moment. This should cause us no surprise. As a matter of fact, had the very first assault been successful and had it completely crushed imperialism, that in reality would have been a matter of surprise. The very fact that the enemy himself has admitted

that the Rebellion came pretty near destroying his power, shows how successful was the first phase of our National Revolution.

And how was the first phase suppressed? Was it the Military power of the enemy, his unmitigated reign of goondaism, looting, arson and murder that did the job? No. It is wrong to consider the "Revolt" as having been "suppressed". The history of all Revolutions shows that a Revolution is not an event. It is a phase, a social process. And during the Evolution of a Revolution, tides and ebbs are normal. Our Revolution is at present going through the period of low water, so soon rather than rise to higher heights and go from Victory to Victory, not because the superior physical force of the Imperialist aggressors intervened, but because of two important reasons.

Firstly *there was no efficient organisation* (of) the national Revolutionary forces that could function (and) give effective lead to the mighty forces that were released. The Congress, though a great organisation, was not tuned to the pitch to which the Revolution was to rise. The lack of organisation was so considerable that even important Congressmen were not aware of the progress of the Revolt, and till late in course of the rising it remained a matter of debate in many Congress quarters whether what the people were doing was really in accordance with the Congress programme. In the same connection should be mentioned the regrettable fact that quite a considerable number of influential Congressmen failed to attune their mental attitude to spirit of this "last fight for Freedom". The earnestness, the urgency, the determination that marked the attitude of leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad or Sardar Patel failed to reflect in the minds and hearts of all congress leaders.

Secondly, *after the first phase* of the Rising was over *there was no further programme* placed before the people. After they had completely destroyed the British Raj in their areas, the people considered their task fulfilled, and went back to their homes not knowing what more to do. Nor was it their fault. The failure was ours: we should have supplied them with a programme for the next phase. When this was not done, the Revolt came to a standstill and the phase of the ebb began. This situation was created many days before the British soldiers arrived in sufficient numbers to push back yet further the receding works of the revolt. What programme should have been placed before the people in the second phase? The answer is suggested by the nature of Revolutions. A Revolution is not only a destructive process, it is at the same time a great constructive force. No Revolution could succeed if it only destroyed. If it should survive, it must create an authority to replace the one it has destroyed. Our Revolution too having accomplished over large territories of the country the negative task of destruction, called for a positive programme. The people who destroyed the objects and means of administration of the foreign power and drove away its agents should have set up in their areas their own units of Revolutionary Government and created their own police and militia. Had this been done, it would have released such an unprecedented volume of energy and opened up such a vast field for constructive work that the waves of the Revolution would have mounted higher and higher till—if the rising was countrywide—the imperialist power had been broken and the people had seized supreme authority throughout the land.

The lack of efficient organisation and of a complete programme of National Revolution: these were two causes of the downward course of the first phase of the present Revolution.

The question now is what are our present tasks? First, to banish all depression from our minds and those of the people, and create an atmosphere of joy instead at the success achieved and of hope for success in the future.

Second, we must keep steadfastly before our minds and of the people the nature of this Revolution. It is our last fight for freedom. Our objective can, therefore, be nothing but victory. There can be no half way houses. The efforts that men like Rajagopalachari are making for the establishment of National government are not only fruitless but positively harmful in as much as they distract public attention from the real issue. There is no compromise between the slogans of "Quit India" and of a "national government." Those who are running after the slogan of Congress-League unity are merely serving the ends of imperialist propaganda. It is not the lack of unity that is obstructing the formation of a national government, but the natural unwillingness of imperialism to liquidate itself. Mr. Churchill left no manner of doubt about it, when he declared recently that he had not assumed the office of the king's first minister

to preside over the liquidation of the Empire. He would be a foolish student of society indeed who expected empires to wither away of their own accord. Those erstwhile "revolutionaries" who are attempting today to wish away the Indian Empire by the cataclysmic force of humble memorials are making of themselves the most pitiable fools of history.

It is not the unity of all the important elements in Indian life, to quote the imperialist jargon, that is the need of the hour but the unity of all the national revolutionary forces. And these are already united under the flag of the Congress. Unity between the League and the Congress does not foreshadow the growth of these forces, but their absolute relation, for the League cannot conceivably tread the path of revolution and freedom.

The complete overthrow of imperialism, then, is our objective and we must keep this steadfastly in view. There can be no compromise on this issue. Either we win or we lose. And lose we shall not. Not only because we are determined ceaselessly to work for victory, but also because powerful world forces are drawing the doom of imperialism and fascism ever nearer and nearer. Do not believe that the formal results of this war settled laboriously at the Peace Conference would settle the fate of the post-war world. War is a strange alchemist, and in its hidden chambers are such forces and powers brewed and distilled that they tear down the plans of the victorious and vanquished alike. No peace conference at the end of the last war decided that four mighty empires of Europe and Asia should fall into dust—the Russian, the German, the Austrian and Ottoman. Nor, was the Russian, the German, the Turkish Revolution decreed by Lloyd George, Clemenceau or Wilson.

Throughout the world where men are fighting, dying and suffering today, the alchemist is at work, just as he is in India, where he has already let loose a mighty social upheaval. Neither Churchill nor Roosevelt, neither Hitler nor Tojo will determine the fate of the world at the end of this war. It is force such as we represent that will fulfil that historic task. Can we doubt that revolutionary forces are stirring everywhere ? Can we believe that millions of people are undergoing unutterable suffering without a thought for the future ? Can we believe that millions are satisfied with the lies that their rulers daily feed them with. No, it cannot be so.

Having therefore definitely fixed our vision on the goal of total victory, we have to march ahead. What concretely must we do ? What does a general do when he loses or wins a battle ? He consolidates and prepares for the next battle ? Rommel stopped at El Alamein after this great victory to consolidate and prepare. Alexander too prepared and he turned his serious defeat into a resounding victory. Ours was not even a defeat. We really won the first round of the fight in as much as our large territories of the country the civil rule of the British aggressor was completely uprooted. The masses have now learnt from experience that the imposing edifice of the police and magistracy and law courts and prisons which goes by the name of British Raj is but a house of cards when they hurl against either collective power. This lesson is not likely to be forgotten and it constitutes the starting point for the next offensive.

Our third and most important task then at the present moment is to prepare for the next major offensive. Perhaps organisation, discipline ourselves—these are our present watch-words.

The next offensive ? When do we expect to launch the next offensive ? Some people think that the masses will not rise again for the next five or six years. The estimate might be true of peace time but it does not hold good for a stormy war-torn world of fast moving events. The savage tyrannies of the British fascists—the Linlithgows, the Hallets, the Stewarts and the myriads of others and theirs base Indian lackeys—may have compelled the people to lie low for the present, but they have nowhere converted them into friends of the oppressors. The whole country side, where this British type of Nazi Hell was let loose, is seething with the most intense discontent, anger and thirst for revenge. The people have merely to understand that *powerful preparations are afoot* to take courage again and to enter the plans and schemes of the next offensive with active, co-ordinated and disciplined work ; it would be wholly favourable for the next assault. International events may come to our aid. Then there is Gandhiji's ever impending fast unto death, a constant reminder to us and to the people not to slacken, not to waver, not to rest on the oars.

The question of the next offensive is linked up with the question of the positive task of the Revolution—*i.e.*, the establishment of the units of the Revolutionary

governments. With the latter question is bound up the question of violence and maintain(ed) armed forces. I wish, therefore, to place before you my view on this question, as to my mind it affects vitally the future of our Revolution.

First of all, I feel I must say a few words about the noise the British authorities have made about the violence committed in the course of this revolution. There was some violence indeed under extreme provocation, but it was remarkably little as compared with the magnitude of the rising and the staggering manifestation of individual and collective non-violence. It is not realised, perhaps that thousands of British and Indian employees of the foreign power were for some days literally at the mercy of the masses, who took compassion on their foes and spared them their lives and property. And what of the cool. sublime courage of those thousands of young and old who received the enemy's bullets on their chests with the flag revolution in their hands and "Inqiab Zindabad" on their lips? Have the British a word of praise for this godly courage?

In any case is it not remarkable that the British power which is soaked in violence, which is based on violence, which daily commits the most pitiless forms of violence, which grinds down millions of people and sucks their life-blood should make so much noise about the violence that others commit? How are the British concerned with what weapons we choose to fight them with? Have they pledged non-violence if the rebels adhere to it? Have they not already shot down thousands of our non-violent soldiers? Whatever weapons we use the British have only bullets for us and looting and rape and arson. So let them keep quiet as to how we fight them, it is our business entirely to decide that.

Coming to the question as it affects us, I would first remind you of the difference between Gandhiji's views on non-violence and those of the working Committee and the A. I. C. C. Gandhiji is in no event prepared to depart from non-violence. With him it is a question of faith and life-principle. Not so with the Congress. Then Congress has stated repeatedly during this war that if India became free, or even if a national government were set up, it would be prepared to resist aggression with arms. But, if we are prepared to fight Japan and Germany with arms, why must we refuse to fight Britain in the same manner? The only possible answer can be that the Congress in power could have an army, whereas the Congress in wilderness has none. But *supposing a revolutionary army were created or if the present Indian army or a part of it rebel*, would it not be inconsistent for us first to ask the army to rebel and then ask the rebels to lay down arms and face British bullets with bared chest?

My own interpretation of the Congress position—not Gandhiji's—is clear and definite. Congress is prepared to fight aggression violently if the country became independent. Well, we have declared ourselves independent, and also named Britain as an aggressive power; we are, therefore, justified within the terms of the Bombay resolution itself to fight Britain with arms. If this does not accord with Gandhiji's principles that is not my fault. The Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. themselves have chosen to differ from Gandhiji and to reject his conception of non-violence as applied to the war. Nor was Gandhiji allowed by the British power to lead and shape this resolution; so, in following interpretation we should in no manner be false to him. We should only be discharging our duties in the light of our own reason. As far as I am concerned, I feel that I should be completely justified as an honest Congressman, without in any manner intruding my socialism upon the question, in repelling the British aggression with arms.

I should add that I have no hesitation in admitting that non-violence of the brave, if practised on a sufficiently large scale, would make violence unnecessary, but where such non-violence is absent, I should not allow cowardice, clothed in Shastric subtleties, to block the development of this revolution and lead to its failure.

With the implication of the last phase of the revolution clear in our minds, *we have to prepare, organise, and discipline our forces.* In everything we do, we have constantly to bear in mind that ours is not to be merely a conspiratorial action. It is total revolt of the masses that is our objective. So, along with our immense technical work, we must do intensive work among the masses—peasants in the villages and the workers in the factories, mines, railways and elsewhere. We must do ceaseless propaganda among them and help them in their present difficulties, organise them to fight for their present demands, recruit from them selected soldiers for our various activities and train them technically and politically. With training a few may succeed where thousands failed before. In every fiska and taluka and thana, in every considerable factory and workshop or other industrial centres, we must have a band of militants, mentally and materially equipped for the next rising.

Then there is our work *in the Indian Army and the services.* There is agitational and demonstrative work. There is work in the schools and colleges and in the market place. There is the work in the Native States and on the frontiers of India. It is not possible for me here to describe our preparations more concretely. Let it suffice to say that there is tremendous work to be done and work for every one. Much is being done at present, but vastly more remains to be done.

Who but youth can accomplish all this ? Is it too much to hope that our students who have set such a brilliant record already will follow up their achievements and vindicate the promise they have given ? It is for the students themselves to answer.

I should make it clear that preparation does not mean that fighting entirely ceases for the moment. No "Skirmishes", "frontier activities", "minor clashes", "sniping", "patrolling"—all this must go on. These are in themselves a preparation for the offensive.

With full confidence in the people and devotion to the cause, let us, then, march ahead. Let our steps be firm, our hearts resolute and our vision undimmed. The sun of the Indian freedom has already risen above the horizon. Let not the clouds of our own doubts and disputes, inaction and faithlessness, obscure that sun and drown us in our self-created darkness.

In the end, comrades, I should like to say that it has made me inexpressibly happy and proud to be able once again to place my services at your disposal. In serving you, the last words of our leader, "do or die" shall be my guiding star, your co-operation my strength and your command my pleasure.

Somewhere in India.

B. JAI PRAKASH.

APPENDIX X

Mr. Gandhi's last message

Every man is free to go to the fullest length under *Ahimsa* by complete deadlock, strikes and all other non-violent means. *Satyagrahis* should go out to die and not to live. It is only when individuals go out to seek and face death that the Nation will survive. *Karenge Ya Marenge.* (We shall do or die).

APPENDIX XI

1. Instructions from the ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE to the Provincial Congress Committees and others

Our chief task is to keep up the enthusiasm witnessed in urban India on the day of the arrest of Gandhiji and other leaders and to organise it along positive lines and, at the same time, to work up rural India to a similar pitch of activity with a view to make the culminating point of our struggle simultaneous in all the country. The essential consideration is time. Not only that we have to show what we are worth within two or four weeks, for else, Gandhiji might resort to a fast, but that our rural and urban movements should be so coordinated and timed together that the Government may not already have crushed the one before the other is ready to meet with the same fate.

Rural India.—The village population should be encouraged to declare at public meetings and elsewhere that they are free and that the laws, taxation and police and other arrangements of a foreign government no longer bind them. The beginning of such meetings may be made in the smallest units, say a village, but the activity must soon develop to freedom and fraternity processions marching from one village to another. All this is intended to lead to the bigger meeting of any ten and twenty villages, where the declaration of freedom and unity is reiterated. Nevertheless this propagandist and agitational activity must be given a positive programme and definite direction, or else it will fizzle out. Such a positive direction cannot be one of no-rent or no-tax campaign except as agitation, for the month for rent collection is yet far off. Nor can it be merely of educative agitation in respect of food-shortage, currency inflation, price control and the like. All this must be done together with the declaration of freedom, in order to rouse the people. Once the people are roused, and even while they are roused, their energies must be given a definite task. In the present circumstances, this can be nothing else than the non-violent raids of thousands of people on the symbols and centres of British authority, the Thanas and the Tehsils. These must be put out of action. The police and other government servants should be invited, in the first instance, to accept the

authority of the people or, in their refusal to do so, should be dispossessed both of their weapons and their governmental positions. It is essential to remember (1) that such raids should take place in the best awakened and organised two or three Tehsils or any one district and care should be taken not to select such areas in which there is friction of any kind, (2) that not only must these raids be timed together in the same district but throughout the province, or, at least in the majority of the districts where the Congress message has reached best. The culminating point of these raids will be reached when the spontaneously awakened but organised energies of the people in their thousands raid the district headquarters. The government machinery will then not only be paralysed but shattered. Either at this moment, or in the process while this is taking place, a parallel authority of the people will be formed. This will be the beginning of the Free Indian States. It is also necessary to remember that efforts should be made to time together, as far as possible, the paralysis of the existing government machinery in all provinces. The climax of this paralysis should be designed to: reach in four weeks from now ; or a little earlier or a little later, There can of course be no rigidity.

It is needless to say that between their declaration of Freedom and their attempt to put the existing administrative machinery out of action, the people must have completed their disobedience of all political and general laws of the government, with which we are in disagreement. They must, for instance, start manufacturing salt at their will, disobeying evacuation and other orders, refural to appear in law courts.

Certain problems of (1) cadres to organise this work, (2) dislocation of government communications arise. This will be treated separately. Moreover all attempts at violence must be seriously discountenanced and this problem will be treated more thoroughly in an examination of our relations with government servants.

The instructions in succession, therefore, are :—

(1) Get everyone of our seven lakhs villages to organise meetings of declaration of freedom.

(2) Organise freedom and fraternity marches from one village to another.

(3) Disobey government authority and laws specially D. I. R. and engage in positive activity such as formation of people's executive and manufacture of salt and cessation of recruitment and war contributions.

(4) Put Thanas and Tehsils and, later, district headquarters out of action through non-violence.

(5) Arrange completion of this programme in four weeks or thereabout. We must, however, be alert and careful that we do not fall behind the temper of the people.

Urban India.—From reports obtained of happenings in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Allahabad, Calcutta and elsewhere on the day of Gandhiji's arrest, and even later, it is obvious that the people are highly excited. The enormous crowd in Shivaji Park where Gandhiji was to have spoken stood over dozen repeated attempts to tear-gas it. There have been hundreds of lathi charges and quite frequent firings. The people appear to stand all this well but extreme care should be taken (1) to maintain the spirit of resistance, (2) to further strengthen it so that, even in the event of firings, a determined band of men and women at any rate should not run away.

The instructions are as follows :—

(1) To canalise the spontaneous outbursts of the people, an organised form should be given to it. An authoritative call for a general strike till Gandhiji and other leaders are back among us throughout the country is hereby given and in the first twenty cities of India effect should be to make it complete.

(*a*) Colleges and Universities must close indefinitely till freedom is won and Gandhiji is back among us. The striking students will (1) lead the demonstrative action in the towns or (2) go into the villages to further our four-week's programme.

(*b*) All general offices, such as whole-sale trade, banks and other establishments must close and their clerical personnel brought out. Retail shops with the exception of foods and similar provisions must also be persuaded to close.

(*c*) Stoppage of work in manufacturing industries such as textile and engineering should be completed in the course of the indefinite general strike and the workers brought out.

(2) Efforts should be made to reach the workers and clerical staff in the transport industry such as railways and docks and in the government agencies such as posts and telephones and radio and in the electricity producing and

distributing plants, while the general strike in other sphere is maturing. When the culminating point of the general strike is reached, say three or four weeks from now, the call to strike should be given to this other category of workers, and clerks.

(3) Care should be taken to see that the climax of the movement both in rural and urban India is reached in four weeks from now.

(4) Appropriate appeals should be made to every class of our population, workers in the manufacturing industries, workers in the transport and government concerns, clerical staff all round, students, retail dealers through leaflets issued daily, differing in tone and directions in consonance with our needs and the differing situation, and through meetings and processions in hundreds and thousands all over the town and bigger demonstrations wherever possible, reiterating the declaration of freedom.

There is pre-eminently the problem of cadres, determined bands of men and women, who will lead our revolution, through its various stages of success. Apparently this is an enormous problem and we may flinch at the great task we have set before us and the inadequacy of our organisation. But nowhere was it more true than today that a revolution provides its own leadership. Moreover, the cadres are already there, if only we make use of them. In addition to the thousands of trained Congress workers who cannot all be clapped up in a day, nor even in a fortnight if they choose to work rather than to court arrest, there will be the hundreds of thousands of striking students, workers and clerks, particularly students. Upon these we can draw for our rural and urban work according to their talents and taste.

There is also the problem of the technical work of our revolution. Two things must be borne in mind. (1) These activities should never be looked upon as independent. They must in every event be subordinate to a mass action. (2) None of our activities should be such as to endanger human life, whether Indian or British, and warnings should always be issued.

Again, how shall we infuse in our people the determination to face firings and yet not to retaliate in kind. In the earlier stages, hundreds will have to be ready to die, but when that is done, the end will not be far off when considerable sections of the military and the police refuse to shoot or when, after the necessary non-violent strength is acquired, the people start disarming the government forces without killing the personnel. The organisation of non-violence is pre-eminently the question of a thousand or so self-chosen martyrs in all the country.

In this connection appeals should be made to the military and the police through leaflets and personal approaches and have encounters in the midst of an awkward situation. Indians among government forces should, in the first instance, be asked to regard themselves as free men and to refuse to admit to foreign authority and to come over to the Indian revolution. If they cannot do this, they should in the second instance be asked not to shoot their own defenceless people fighting for their freedom as much as their own. Appeals not to shoot may also be addressed to British and American soldiers, although the emphasis here will not be a national freedom but on human freedom and peace all over the world.

DO OR DIE

We will die, Great Leader, but
We will also do,
We will free Gandhiji before he fasts.
LONG LIVE THE FREE STATE OF INDIA.

Duplicate and Distribute.

II.—All India Congress Committee: To Students

At the A. I. C. C. meeting in Bombay Gandhiji in his parting message to the nation issued an appeal to the students to take their rightful share in the struggle. The appeal was heard by the students of Bombay and we have no doubt it has also somehow reached the ears of students in other parts of the country. The struggle has started. The response of the nation on the very first day has been splendid. All classes of people threw themselves into the fight, but none perhaps took a braver and more glorious part than our student community. Most of the Congress leaders everywhere having been picked up, the students stepped into the gaps and assumed the leadership of the campaign. Our students are the rightful successors to our leaders behind the prison bars. We need intelligence, skill, judgment, earnestness and capacity for suffering among those whose privilege it will be to conduct the struggle and all these qualities our students possess. It is the task of the students

to keep the fires burning, to carry on and intensify the struggle, to reach the Congress message to all our countrymen whether in urban and rural areas. Here is a bare outline of what they can do.

(1) All students above sixteen should leave their schools, colleges and Universities. They cannot carry on the studies and the Great Revolution simultaneously. Colleges and Universities must close down by the students voluntarily withdrawing from them. Let them remember that the fight we are in is not a long drawn out agony. We are resolved to make it a short and swift revolution. We have therefore to bring to it utter desperation born of the unconquerable will to DO OR DIE. If the students are possessed of this spirit they will infect the whole nation with it. They cannot have this revolutionary spirit unless they burn their boats, leave the colleges and fling themselves wholeheartedly into the fight.

(2) Our fight will be waged on two fronts—Rural and Urban. The students have a decisive part to play on both the fronts. Complete paralysis of the administrative machinery in all its branches is the objective of the struggle. The forces of law and order which are being used to lathi charge and tear-gas people into submission to be paralysed by all non-violent means, the courts of law set up to administer laws made by the Imperialist Government to suppress our people to be rendered functionless, stoppage of work in manufacturing industries till our goal is reached. Communication, which to-day instead of being public utility services are used to throttle us to be put out of use without causing hurt to life, to give a few instances of what we need to do if our struggle is to succeed in the contemplated period of time. It will be the task of students, as leaders of this struggle, to canalise the energy and enthusiasm of the people and divert it into fruitful channels. The revolutionary spirit must be kept up by all non-violent ways open to them.

Ours is a vast country. The message of the Congress has to reach each village and each hamlet. The rural India has to be roused into a spirit of open rebellion and who will do this if not the students. Such among them as are suited for this work should singly or in parties visit the rural areas and deliver the message. Only the message has to be delivered and explained and the people will do the rest. They have to be told that the British Raj is no more and they have to take steps to establish the Raj of the people. Let the people combine and take steps to establish the Raj of the people. Let the people combine and take the administration of the villages into their hands. This must inevitably involve disobedience of orders received from officials high or low. There shall be complete non-co-operation with the alien administration. There must be utmost harmony and unity among the people if our revolution is to succeed in the minimum time. The disappearance of the existing apparatus of administration should synchronise with the establishment of our own Raj in each village and Tehsil. The Raj will have behind it the united will and strength of the people.

(3) We must remember that non-violence is the basis of our struggle. Activities which tend in the direction of violence should be discouraged. Disciplined non-violence on a mass scale will generate in us ever growing strength and power. For purely practical considerations non-violence should be adhered to even under circumstances of the gravest provocation. At all events care should be taken to avoid all danger to life. Violence is self-destructive. Nothing will be more conducive to the success of the struggle than that our people remain non-violent while violence rages round them. Acts of non-violenee, bravery, readiness to face death without retaliation disarm our opponents and win popular sympathy for our cause. The struggle is hardly two days old and yet we have reports of many soldiers and military officers resigning from the service. This is largely the outcome of the appeal that our voluntary suffering without retaliation makes to them. It is heartening to note that our people have remained predominantly non-violent even in the face of indecent and indiscriminate violence. They have endured the lathi charges and firings as non-violent soldiers are expected to do.

(4) The Government has suppressed all existing channels of publicity. It is for the students to explore fresh avenues. They have skill and resourcefulness enough to reach all relevant news about the movement to the people. Let them organise an information bureau. The instructions that reach them from the A. I. C. C. and other authoritative quarters should be broadcast to the people. They may print bulletins and leaflets of their own and distribute them in thousands among the people in the language or languages of the province as also in English. A group of students should be especially appointed for the publicity work.

(5) While the work of preparing bulletins and leaflets is to be entrusted to

one group of students, another group, a much larger one, should be charged with the work of distributing them among all classes of people.

(6) We have to approach all classes of people, the labourers, mill-owners, the clerical personnel in the various services, the merchants, the petty traders, the police, the military and so on. Students have to maintain close and constant contacts with them. Their contacts with the police and the military can be especially useful. There is a large and growing element in the police and military services which is friendly and sympathetic to the Congress. We have to plead with them, wherever we find them to play the part worthy of them in the Great Fight. A soldier's duty is to protect the people and fight and if need be lay down his life for a good cause. It cannot be the duty of an Indian soldier to help in putting down his own people struggling for their birth-right of freedom. Our earnest pleadings coupled with the events that are happening from day to day cannot but have a salutary effect on the minds of our countrymen in the military and the police services. The American and other soldiers should also be approached. More about them separately.

(7) Processions and meetings should form a daily feature of our struggle. In big towns meetings may be held in different localities on different days. Besides speeches there should be a liberal distribution of printed literature among the audience. Initiative in organising meetings etc. should be taken by students.

(8) Paper or metallic Badges bearing suitable mottos such as "DO OR DIE" should be distributed in thousands among the people.

(9) It is our firm hope and belief that the present struggle will bring us communal harmony. The three days of struggle have brought us abundant evidence of growing fraternisation among Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and others. Nowhere is this fraternisation more in evidence than among students. We see this in strikes, processions, meetings and other activities. Common suffering, common devotion to the cause of Liberty have abolished all communal distinctions. Let it be the proud privilege of a student to be the agent of a communal harmony. Students, Hindu, Muslim, Christian and others, should lay their heads together and find out ways and means of cementing the unity that is emerging out of the crucible of common suffering for a common cause. The message of unity should reach the man in the street through leaflets, slogans and appropriate cries.

(10) Our struggle is thickening with each passing day. There can be no slackening, no relaxation of our work. There is going to be no going back on the decision the Congress has taken. If we live we live as free men in a free country else we die in the attempt. Gandhiji need not fast, need not make the supreme sacrifice if we all stand by him, and in one united mass assert the will to be free. A miracle will happen. What appears to be a formidable structure will collapse like a pack of cards in an incredibly short space of time. Let our students be the agents of this miracle.

DO OR DIE

WE WILL DIE, GREAT LEADER, BUT
WE WILL ALSO DO
WE WILL FREE GANDHIJI BEFORE HE FASTS
LONG LIVE THE FREE STATE OF INDIA.

APPENDIX XII

Survey of the first five months of "Our Revolution."

EXTRACT FROM BOMBAY CONGRESS BULLETIN NO. 132, DATED 9TH JANUARY 1943

Looking Back : Our Revolution has now completed five months of its giant sweep, and is now in the sixth month. Five months of hard struggle, of toil, tears and blood, on a scale unparallelled in the history of our country, Five months of mass-up-risings, of acts of individual bravery and fearlessness, of heinous acts of inhuman brutalities and atrocities on the part of the alien Imperialist agents, and five months sustained and cheerfully braved sufferings on the part of the large masses of our people. To-day on the memorable 9th, let us, for a while, pause and ponder over these months of our freedom-march, and analyse our failures and our achievements.

Let us, at the very outset, admit that the Revolution has not been able to attain that pitch, that momentum, which we all expected it would. The march has been slower than expected. Thousands of our dear and valued comrades have laid down their lives, and many more thousands have suffered ard are suffering impri-

sonments and untold hardships. The gigantic and sweeping mass up-risings and mass demonstrations and mass-attacks that we witnessed in the beginning of our struggle have slowed down and subsided. The defiant temper that showed itself on the faces and the activities of our people in the earlier stages of our struggle is today, after a strenuous march, rather seasoned down to solid bitterness. We confess that while numerous centres of usurper administration have been attacked, and in many cases, destroyed, and the war on communications has been carried on with more or less sustained tempo, we have not been, as yet, able to paralyse the administration completely. The factories are still working and producing war materials, and other factories which have been producing intellectual slaves are still active: The students have again lapsed into inactivity and drifted into the old rut.

That is our debit side. These can be put as our failures. But what about the credit side? What about our achievements?

The dynamics of our struggle do no allow us now to expect any swift results. Ours is going to be a sustained, even if long-drawn-out, struggle. Our achievements during these five months, however, give us a certain hope of ultimate success. If mass-demonstrations have ceased, we have gained immeasurably individual bravery and resourcefulness. The movement has gone underground, and is slowly atomising into strong and virile pockets. The earlier tempo may not have been maintained. Yet the spirit of defiance and determination has spread and developed widely and intensely. In place of disorganised and scattered mass demonstrations, we have now strongly formed groups of brave and courageous and resourceful cardres, working day and night, planning and executing numerous and varied raids on the enemy.

Together with this, the social and economic discontent upon which revolutions like ours are based and are being fostered, is coming into its own. The untold poverty, hunger and daily increasing food scarcity are rapidly rising to a pitch when all the revolting elements will join hand and crash with a bang upon the usurper authority and, through chaos and confusion and through violent upheavals, lead the Revolution to a success and create a new and better world to live in.

APPENDIX XIII

"Six Commandments of Gandhi Baba"

[Bapu's (Mahatma Gandhi's) message to the nation at the time of going to jail.]

1. Look upon yourself as free.
2. We are free to do anything so long as we remain within the limits of non-violence.
3. Paralyse the administration of Government by means of complete hartals and other non-violent means.
4. A satyagrahi should join the struggle for dying and not in the hope of remaining alive.
5. Keep the nation alive even at the risk of death.
6. Do or die.

(How should you put into execution this message?)

1. Do not acknowledge any power other than the public.
2. Keep closed all factories, mills, colleges, schools and markets so long as full independence is not achieved.
3. Maintain complete non-cooperation with Government.
4. Destroy the administration of Government.
5. Do picketting in Government offices and dislocate Government administration by every means.
6. Destroy tram, railway and motor services.
7. Destroy telegraph and telephone wires.
8. Persuade policemen not to carry out Government's orders.
9. Let the people take possession of college and school buildings and Government administration and keep them closed and in suspension if the British Government does not leave India.
10. Violate all prohibitory orders of Government.
11. Disseminate by every possible means and in every corner the news of this open rebellion against Government (for example give publicity to this by writing on walls, by leaflets, by writing on the ground, by word of mouth or by distributing leaflets etc.).

For the sake of God and your country make and distribute ten copies of this. "LONG LIVE FREE INDIA".

APPENDIX XIV

EXTRACT FROM THE "HARIJAN" DATED AUGUST 23, 1942.

Question Box.

Permissible Items.

Q.—What may be permitted for disorganising Government within the limit of non-violence ?

A.—I can give my personal opinion only, In my opinion looting or burning of offices, banks, granaries etc. is not permissible. Dislocation of traffic communications is permissible in a non-violent manner without endangering life. The organisation of strikes is the best and if that can be accomplished it itself will be effective and sufficient. It will be non-violence without blemish. Cutting wires, removing rails, destroying small bridges cannot be objected to in a struggle like this, provided ample precautions are taken to safeguard life. If the Japanese were invading us, there can be no doubt that even on principle of non-violent self-defence, these would have to be carried out. The non-violent revolutionaries have to regard the British power in the same way as they (*i.e.* revolutionaries) would the Axis powers and carry out the same measures.

APPENDIX XV

Miscellaneous Congress pamphlets.

Inquilab Bulletin No. I.

Friends, We put before you the following few instructions :—

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

(4) To make complete deadlock possible all factories, mills, colleges, markets, etc. must remain closed till freedom is achieved. *Instead of idling* away their time *students* should form their own groups in their localities to prevent their people from attending business offices.

(5) Persuade Government officers and officials to disobey Government orders and give up their slavish jobs.

(6) Completely paralyse communications and transport, dislocate tram and bus service, uproot telegraphic and telephonic post, dig up roads, cut railways, tear out motor and bus tyres and dislocate the Government machinery in every possible way.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Congress Bulletin No. 5

Britishers' ordered Anarchy

The real fighters for India's freedom and independence will never fight shy of the word "chaos" : rather they should invite it. That is going to overpower the present ordered anarchy carried on by the Britishers in the ugliest form for the last five days in all the cities and towns of India. Remember what Mahatmaji said on the 25th May last :—"I am convinced that we are living to-day in a state of ordered anarchy. This ordered disciplined anarchy should go and if as a result, there is a complete lawlessness in India, I would risk it and people will evolve real popular order out of chaos".

Every freedom-loving man and woman must follow this instruction of Gandhiji to complete the task that he left unfinished.

Anglo-American Third Front in India

The most virulent form of violence is being used by the combined Anglo-American forces and this must be met by all available means including violence wherever necessary.

Mass murder all over India

The India Office in London says that our movement has not affected the masses. Since the first phase of demonstration against the British offensive in cities is now over it is incumbent on the townsmen, villagers, factory and land-workers to organise wholesale strikes, stop payment of taxes and revenue, withdraw money from Postal Savings Banks, take possession of post offices, tahsil headquarters, thanas and chowkies, picket recruiting centres, persuade military and policemen

not to use athies, guns and bayonets against their Indian brothers and sisters and if and when such command comes from the top they should use the same weapons against their masters for unjust and inhuman order. Thus this task should be carried on relentlessly for some time and open the road for the Indian armies, who had gone out of India to fight for British but now allies of other powers, to come back to India and join vour struggle.

Remember that as a protest against the British firing on Indians since 9th August the arrest of nationlist leaders and patriotic workers here, one Indian Army in Egypt and another in North Africa have refused to fight for the British and their officers ands ranks have been mercilessly shot as rebels. Another Regiment of Indian Army in North Africa has revolted and as a result, 20 per cent have been shot dead and the rest made prisoners.

International Affairs

Look to the battle of Solomon Island. Japan has had the upper hand there as elsewhere; yet false news is given that Japan is being defeated. On the other hand the whole of the Pacific is controlled by the superior Jap Naval Force. America is provoking Great Britain to launch offensive everywhere, so that it gets crushed as Britain provoked all the countries only to be crushed.

Marshall Timoshenko has now given up the hopes of saving the Caucasus; he is concentrating all energies and forces towards the Stalingrad front which is in a very precarious position. It is only a matter of a few weeks for the German drive towards the borders of Iran.

The British Premier Mr. Churchill is away from London—but where and why?

The treacherous role played by Mr. Harris, British Vice-Consul at Ishpahan has been avenged by the Persian Patriots. They believe in slogan of "Asia for Asiatics" and therefore they greet each other with the abbreviated expression "Afa". Similarly, those Indians who think and act in terms of "India for Indians" propose their greeting terms as "Ifi".

The United Nations profess to fight for freedom and democracy but yet none of them has yet condemned the British atrocity and brutal massacre of Indians in the last few days, while all the countries forming the Axis Power and other neutral countries have been sending every day their sympathies with us and condemning gangsterism of Britishers.

Japan has consistently and persistently pronounced that she has no interest nor lust for conquest of India except that the Britishers are driven out and India becomes free at once.

The Indian soldiers including those of the Mysore, Baroda, Kapurthala, Nizam States who are now free in Japan and German occupied countries or even, in Free States of Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Batavia, etc. are sending their greetings to their Indian brothers with assurances that they would come back soon to liberate India. Once the struggle has begun it must be carried on vigorously simultaneously all over India till Gandhiji's Birthday—2nd October next.

Bombay Congress Bulletin dated 17th August 1942

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

TO SOLDIERS. Let us appeal to the soldiers and the police in our country to refuse to act as the repressive arm of the law. For this organisation and continued effort is necessary. The will of the people is with us. Let us get down to our workers and tell them that they must refuse to supply with their labours the requirements of an unjust government. Actual organisation of their relief is another heavy task. Determination to strike work cannot succeed without adequate food for those who come out. Let us collect food and aid for the workers so that a a general strike of a long enough duration may succeed.

It is the legitimate duty of a people to end tyranny and thwart its opponents by the organised strength of its will. Let us exercise our will and—

1. Refuse all co-operation to the Government.
2. Deny the use of communication to troop movements or troop supplies.
3. Refuse to obey their unjust laws.
4. Refuse to work in war factories.
5. Refuse to help the government in repressing our own people.

Remember that our five hundred people have been shot dead and five times as many wounded all over India during the week after Gandhiji's arrest. Nearly thirty thousand men and women have been thrown into prisons during the first week of the struggle for freedom but the spirit of the people is undaunted. Government is congratulating itself already but he laughs best who laughs last.

The fire within and underneath will express itself in some days. Each one of you help in this expression. Non-cooperate with the industrial economic and legal machine of the Government. Stay away from your jobs.

The finger of our brave martyr is pointed at you. Shall it be one of accusation or praise ?

Leaflet entitled "Workers of India" issued in the name of the A. I. C. C. Office

Gandhiji has called upon every Indian to declare himself or herself as a citizen of free India. This declaration implies that we refuse to obey British laws or accept British authority. The process of smashing British authority has already begun with the beginning of Indian Revolution.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Workers have always been in the forefront of Revolutions and you must lead the Indian Revolution. You have already shown your determination by walking out of your factories which were today mostly doing jobs for the British Government you have begun to overthrow. Keep out of these factories till British power is smashed and becomes a thing of the past. Bring out your comrades who are still inside the few factories. You will not have to keep out long and the factories you go back to will not be the monuments of exploitation that they are for with British rule must end.

The resolution of the Working Committee dated 14th July which was subsequently reiterated by the Bombay A. I. C. C. states, "Only after the end of British authority will the realisation come home that princes, jagirdars, zamindars and propertied and monied classes drive their wealth and property from workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere to whom essentially power and authority must belong." It is in your hands to make this possible by sweeping away British authority and exploitation at one stroke.

You have all over the country faced lathies and bullets and you are facing them today as brave men and women. Nothing worth while is achieved without the necessary sacrifice.

In addition to the stoppage of work you have to see that communications in any shape or form must stop, the foreign army must be immobilised so that it can have no power to strike you and your countrymen.

Every article which this army and the British authority needs must also be cut off. We did not invite them here. Let them feed and clothe themselves as best they can.

Start organising yourselves in your street and moholla committee so that you protect yourselves against the attempt by the police and the military to re-establish British authority.

You know that Gandhiji asked you to rebel because Japanese are knocking at your doors and perhaps Germans might be doing so in the near future. The British Government has proved itself incapable in Malaya, and Burma to protect those people. They are no more capable of protecting you. The people want the power to organise themselves for defence for the British and other foreign armies if defeated will run with their tails between their legs. You will have to live in this country and you do not want to exchange masters but be masters in your own country. The right and ability to defend our country can only be effective after we have the power to do so, a power the British have withheld from us because in spite of their tall talk of democracy they want to hold India in bondage.

Bulletin No. 6—War of Independence

Devilish Slaughter

The devilish slaughtering by the British Army and Police is going on still more ruthlessly. In addition to the place mentioned in our previous bulletin, the firing was resorted to on the unarmed people at Madura, Sangli, Benares, Gorakpur and several other places. Further brutal attacks with tear gas, batons, lathies, guns, bayonets and bombs etc., are made freely while the defensive weapons of our soldiers are only stones and soda water bottles. The casualties so far being 700 killed and about 7,000 wounded ; about 4,500 people have already been made prisoners of war by the British while the number of such prisoners in Bombay alone is in the neighbourhood of 1,000.

No Negotiation—Fight on

Those who talk of negotiation and compromise even at this stage, are doing greater harm than good to the cause of the country. The Government has first

started the offensive and ours is only defensive. This fight we must carry on to victorious conclusion. "Victory or Death" is our determination.

War Programme

This programme has already been given to the country and we dealt with items in our previous bulletins. While reiterating the same we now ask you to include the following items as well and they should be worked out according to the suitability of different places and capacity of the soldiers of freedom—

1. Boycott of all English goods.
2. Boycott all British firms and shops.
3. Social boycott of persons who help the British in any shape or manner.
4. Formation of Guerilla Bands to give surprise attacks on the Tommies.
5. Prevention of personal harm or physical injury of the public.
6. Symbols of slavery like the British monuments, statues are to be demolished and destroyed
7. Slow and inefficient work by clerks and ministerial staff in the offices of Government and British and American Firms.
8. Wholesale strike in mills and factories concerning textile and engineering.
9. Britishers' cooks are to be organised to cook bad food for their masters.
10. Formation of barricades in streets to prevent police and military attacks.
11. Defiance of all laws.
12. Prevention of all courts functioning.
13. Non-payment of all kinds of taxes whenever possible.
14. Stopping of all trains carrying troops and war materials.

Bulletin No. 7—War of Independence.

....., the soldiers of the our National Militia have been so far successful in dislocating all the railway traffic, telephone and telegraphic communications almost all over India. The notable success in this direction is in Bengal which the Government had admitted.

Workers Task

This movement has opened up the greatest opportunity for the industrial workers to fight for their salvation. So long as they were fighting only on economic grounds and had their piecemeal settlement. But now let them secure the political freedom and take rein in their hands. For this they must strive every nerve to sabotage the supply of war materials to British. This they can and should do by stopping work in all mills and factories specially of textile and engineering. They should leave their work immediately, leave the cities and go to their native places and take up the whole programme to work out in the interior. Those who remain in and around the cities should picket vigorously all the places including transport services, create all kinds of harassment to the civil, police and military of the Britishers.

* * * * * * * * *

The self-respecting citizens, youths and students would retaliate the insulting and most humiliating expressions of the Britishers when they call our soldiers of the National Militia as "mobs", "hooligans" "rowdy elements" etc.

Regular bands of youths and students should be organised to approach the mothers, sisters, and wives of those Indians who are now working in the Police and Military and make them persuade their relatives to revolt against their masters and win freedom for their own motherland. As a matter of fact, within these ten days our own Indian brethren have shot our brilliant brothers and molested our sisters. If they do not stop this behaviour, they will be suitably dealt with for which the mothers and sisters of such police and military men should be warned before hand.

Bonfire of English Goods

There should be organised raids on shops dealing with English goods and asked to stop selling such goods. If they refuse to do so, there should be bon-fires of such goods in front of those shops.

Picketing of English and American Banks

The Bank clerks of such banks should ask all depositors to withdraw their money, destroy such records as are useful to the English Directors and the Bank itself. Students and workers should raid such banks as well, but before it is done the depositors should be asked to withdraw their money from all English and American banks.

"Victory or Death"—Must be our Answer
Do or Die—Mahatma's Command.
INQUILAB ZINDABAD. AZAD HIND ZINDABAD.
Leaflet entitled "Free State of India Gazettee", dated 18th August 1942.

* * * * *

In order to shorten the struggle against the foreign authority it is very necessary among other things to starve it of vital supplies. Your Association is concerned with one such vital supply and it gladdened our hearts to see that there was practically a complete stoppage of work in Textile Mills. It helped us in two ways, stopping supplies to the British and releasing large man-power to assist in the task of smashing British authority.

* * * * *

The All India Congress Committee

Bombay—7th. August to 9th. August 1942

Maulana Azad's Speech

The first sitting of the All-India Congress Committee commenced at 2-45 p.m. on the 7th, August 1942 in a spacious and beautifully decorated pandal on the Gowalia Tank Maidan, Bombay, Nearly 250 members of the A. I. C. C. and 10,000 visitors were present.

The proceedings began with the singing of the *Vande Mataram* by Desh Sevikas.

After the minutes of the last meeting had been read by the Secretary, Maulana *Abul Kalam Azad*, the President addressed the House.

Explaining the full meaning of the resolution coming up before the committee, the Congress President, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, in the course of a hundred minutes speech, said :

"What this resolution says is this :—Let us not depend upon promises. Let us have a declaration of Indian Independence forthwith and we, on our part, shall immediately enter into a Treaty of Alliance with the United Nations for the sole purpose of fighting and winning this war".

Maulana Azad added : "This is the crux of our demand and there is no need unnecessarily to cloud the issue by raising fears of anarchy and chaos. If the British Government is earnest about this and true to its professions regarding India's freedom, this can be done immediately. This is what we are asking the United Nations to do and I proclaim from this platform that the newly freed India will wholeheartedly be with the United Nations in the fight against all aggression."

Referring to Sir *Stafford Cripps'* latest statement, *Maulana Azad* said that it was absurd to suggest that "we want anarchy and complete absence of government in this country. What we want is a change of administration. It is also wrong to any that we want the British and American armies to leave India. Mahatma Gandhi has explained this times without number. The slogan 'Quit India', means nothing more and nothing less than the complete transfer of power to Indian hand."

Maulana Azad explained at length the Working Committee's Wardha resolution as well as the recent resolution reiterating the Congress demand afresh, and said, "Whatever we have to do on both sides let us do it now."

"DECISION IMPELLED BY NECESSITY"

Opening the proceedings, Maulana Azad referred to the Allahabad session of the A. I. C. C. and said that the decision taken then was impelled by necessity. They might forget everything but they could not forget the decision taken then. On the failure of the Cripps Mission, the only course open to them was to take the decision reached at Allahabad, namely, that for the effective defence of the country against foreign aggression the only course was to have the reins of Government in Indian hands. When a nation was denied such authority it could not effectively resist foreign aggresssion.

The menace of aggression to India was ever-increasing and the danger which

was only a distant one a few months ago was fast approaching them. In the face of such danger it would be a calamity to allow the people to remain sullen and down-hearted. The Congress wanted to see that every Indian youth took part in resisting aggression. If the people of India were indifferent and sullen the responsibility was not that of the Congress but that of the British Government. Appeals during the last three years to set up a National Government in India had been rejected by the British Government.

If events had been allowed by the British to take a different shape, Indians would have been whole-heartedly engaged in the war. The British attitude was one of not allowing Indians an opportunity to put their heart into the war in the service of humanity.

In the circumstances, said Maulana Azad, there were two alternatives before the country. The first was to wait for events that might happen. The second was to act and save the country from the threatened invasion. In order to instil enthusiasm into the people, they must be made to feel that in participating in the war they would be defending their own hearths and homes. One could not expect them to fight with sincerity unless they were sure that they were fighting for the protection of their own freedom.

Freedom and the War Effort

The Congress, Maulana Azad emphasised, had already declared that its sympathies were with the Democracies, but there was no other way of saving India than by bringing about a political change in the country. With the imminence of the danger from Japan it was no longer so much a question of India's freedom but of India's protection. The fundamental test of the Congress demand, if it was granted, was whether it would hamper the effective prosecution of the war. With all the responsibility which rested on him as Congress President, he had not the slightest hesitation in saying that freedom would mean a new life in their war effort and the change would not endanger the cause of the United Nations. It must necessarily help the cause and the purpose of the war. It had to be remembered that what they wanted was that the reins of Government should be in Indian hands. They did not demand the withdrawal of the Allied forces, although Independence would entitle India to demand the withdrawal of such forces also from the country. But they did realise that such a demand was not practicable. They wanted the successful termination of the war in favour of the Democracies.

Demand For a Political Change

If conditions were different they would not have hesitated to demand the complete withdrawal of the British from India, even if it meant exposing the country to the dangers of anarchy and civil war. The demand which was being put forward for a political change in the country was not of such a nature as to upset civil administration and law and order. They wanted a change which would help the prosecution of the war and not bring about chaos. If fairplay and justice prevailed, the British Government and their Allies would not find their demand such as would bring about chaos and disorder in the country. It was sheer travesty to interpret the Congress Demand in the manner interpreted by Sir *Stafford Cripps*.

The Congress President explained that the "Quit India" demand did not mean the physical removal of all the Britishers from India. It only meant the transfer of political power to Indian hands. After the demand had been originally made by *Gandhiji* both *Pandit Nehru* and himself went to Wardha to discuss the matter with Gandhiji who made it clear to them that it only meant the transfer of power.

"No Time For Threats Or Promises"

Continuing Mr. Azad said that events had reached such a pass that there was no time either for threats or for promises. They must face facts reasonably and act instantly. The Congress did not want promises nor did they want to make promises. The need of the hour was action and action right now on the part of the Congress as well as the British Government. Let the British Government sign India's Independence and simultaneously, "we will sign our agreement with the United Nations to fight along with them against all aggressors." He could say with all the emphasis at his command and speaking with the responsibility attached to the Congress Presidentship that they would be prepared to sign such an agreement. But were the intentions of the British Government honest ? Were they willing to grant the Independence of India ?

Concluding, Mr. Azad said the zero hour was fast approaching. They were making a final appeal to the British and to the United Nations and it was the duty of the latter to accept it if their eyes were not blind and their ears were not deaf.

Mahatma Gandhi then addressed the meeting (*see poste.*)

Mr. Nehru moves resolution

Following Mahatma Gandhi's speech, Pandit *Jawharlal Nehru*, who moved the resolution, said that the conception of the resolution was not narrow nationalism but it had an international background. The arguments for the resolution had already been sufficiently before the public. He was sure that the bona fides of the resolution had been fully understood by all friends. The resolution was in no sense a challenge to anyone. If the British Government accepted the proposal it would change the position for the better, both internal and international, from every point of view. The position of China would be improved. He was convinced that whatever change might come about in India it must be for the better. The A. I. C. C. knew that Mahatma Gandhi had agreed that British and other foreign armed forces stationed in India might continue. This, he maintained, was in order not to allow the Japanese come in.

British Attitude Condemned

Referring to the opposition to the Congress demand both in England and in America, Mr. Nehru expressed surprise how intelligent people there could have misunderstood the Congress stand unless, of course, they deliberately chose to misunderstand it. He had regretfully come to the conclusion that not only the British Government but to some extent other Governments as well were following the British line of thought towards India. To-day the British Government was opposed to the Indian national movement for freedom. He was convinced that the British Government could never really think in terms of advancing the freedom of India unless, of course, the entire character of the present British Government was changed. He was not personally concerned with those changes he mentioned, but he was for cutting away from that Government and that country. It was not for him to advise the British people what Government they should have.

Blackmail Charge Absurd

There was a great deal of criticism in America, too, about what India wanted. "We are accused", he said, "by some newspapers that we are blackmailing. It is a curious charge for a people to make who themselves had for generations carried on a struggle for freedom. If by demanding freedom we are called blackmailers then surely our understanding of the English language has been wrong. Whatever may happen in Whitehall it is not going to stop us from working for Independence. We live for it and will die for it. I do not want to say anything at the present moment which might add to the feeling of bitterness that exists everywhere. I know that this war—and this is one of the worst effects of the war—has produced great emotional reactions in people's minds which make it very difficult for people to think straight and not to think in terms of violent hatred.

"Unparalleled Example Of Inefficiency"

"Nobody in Whitehall can think straigt, I suppose. There is falsity everywhere. You listen to the radios, London, Berlin or to Tokyo. One does not know which is the truth. I am prepared to make many allowances for the emotional background in England and in America. I do not really mind if people get angry. But I am sorry for the people in England and in America who have a perverted way of looking at the Indian question. They are so wrong that they would land themselves in difficulty. After all, think just what would be the course of history, particularly that of Britain, if she had done the right thing by India in the last two years. If Britain had done rightly, the entire history of the war would have been different. England has stuck to her Imperialism and Empire. The fact is patent to me that the British Government and for certain the Government of India think the Indian National Congress to be Enemy Number One. If the Government of India is going to treat the people of India like this, then, we know, how to treat them. We have seen in the last few months an unparalleled example of this inefficiency and incompetency of this Government. The system is a rotten one. I do not want to associate myself with the creaking shaking machinery that the Government of India is. As for the so-called National War Front there is neither the nation nor the war nor any front in it. All that this Front is now doing is

opposing the Congress. I certainly do not mind that. The whole Government of India is built that way. The only occasion when it does function effectively and efficiently is when overnight it starts rounding up large numbers of people. One of these days some such efficient functioning will reappear against Congressmen.

American Attitude to Asia must change

"It is a curious tangle that we are in. It is not going to be untangled by shouting or by the approaches of the British Government. If I may, with all respect, suggest to the great people of America they have all gone wrong in regard to India, to China and to the whole of Asia. You (America), have looked upon India as an appendage of Britain and Asia as the dependents of Europe and America. Some of you have thought in terms of benevolence towards these countries, but always with that taint of racial superiority. You have considered yourself, with your inventions of the Machine Age, to be infinitely better than us and that we are a benighted backward people. But the people of Asia do not propose to be treated in that manner any longer. Asia is the mother continent of the world and India and China constitute the real mother country of the world. What is the good of a people, simply because they have some very great material achievements, when they have forgotten and are not learning the very essence and art of living? They have built and are building better motor cars. This is a Machine Age. But we will also learn to built machines—better machines. The Americans have forgotten the magnificent achievements of China and India. It is China and India, with the experience of ages who have learned the art of living decently without merely the material achievements of such living.

Condemning British rule in India, Pt. Nehru deplored the poverty of the country. "I hate poverty. My grievance against the British is that they have made Indians miserable, poverty-stricken wrecks of humanity. We are now taking a step from which there will be no going back. If there is goodwill on the other side, then everything would be all right and the whole course of the war and the future of the world will be changed. The change would be not merely positive but in the material sense also. But that is not to be. There might be some difficulty. It is my conviction that this (the resolution) is the only effective way in which we can help China and Russia and I know how terrible is the position there. Britain and America must change their whole conception of the war. It is no good looking at Asia as a side-show. Asia is the seat of the war and it is Asia that is going to determine the final result of the war. Therefore, I want to prepare to-day, even at some risk and peril, that the final result of the war should be the right kind of result. We must go forward even though it involves certain perils which face that step. I should like my friends, who do not agree with this resolution or who do not try to understand it, to respect our *bonafides*. People should realise that if there is any trouble in India, it is we who would suffer. If there is internal trouble or an external invasion by Japan, it is we who would suffer. England might be distantly affected but we will have to die immediately. The problem of meeting aggression affects us deeply. How can I, after seeing the incompetence of the Government, trust them? Their whole attitude is one of retirement. We want to be valiant fighters. It is not a narrow nationalist resolution. I am proud of Indian nationalism because it is broad-based and has an international back-ground."

"A Fight to the Finish"

Earlier in his speech, Mr. Nehru emphasised that the movement contemplated was not for merely achieving national ends but for achieving world freedom. The Congress was plunging into a stormy ocean and it would emerge either with a Free India or go down. Unlike in the past, it was not going to be a movement for a few days, to be suspended and talked over. It was going to be a fight to the finish. The Congress had now burnt its boats and was about to embark on a desperate campaign. He could never persuade himself to work with a Government which had neither vision nor intelligence. Nor would he remain a passive spectator of the great happenings that were taking place in the world. It appeared to him, perhaps, he would live in eternal opposition to the Axis Powers. He repudiated the suggestion that the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi were bargaining and haggling. In moments of excitement people were prone to say certain things, but they should not be dubbed as bargaining. Mr. Nehru asked how by granting India's Independence, the war efforts of the United Nations would be hampered or that chaos and anarchy would follow in India. The resolution, he asserted, did

not give out even one-tenth of the real feelings of Indians towards the British Government.

Sardar Patel Seconds Resolution

Seconding the resolution, *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel* pointed out that in the last few days since they passed the resolution in the Working Committee, the outside world had suddenly developed an enormous interest in India. They were now getting more publicity than they could ever get all these years even by spending money. They were now getting advice freely from those whom they had no concern and who had evinced no interest in India so long. Some were giving advice, some were threatening, and some, who professed to be friends of India, were declaring that their action would not be in India's good. But he did not want to give any answer to any of these criticism and advice for the simple reason that whatever answer he could give them would not reach them. The normal channels of publicity that were available were not in their control and were not open to them. Only such things as were palatable to the Government were allowed to go out of India.

"MAKE IT A PEOPLE'S WAR FOR INDIA"

Sardar Patel declared that if America and England were still thinking that they could fight their enemies from India without the co-operation of four hundred millions of people, they were foolish. It must dawn on the people that this war was a people's war and they should fight for their country and their freedom. As long as this feeling was non-existent no amount of propaganda through the news-papers and the radio could rouse the people to a supreme effort.

For three years, the Congress was scrupulously adhering to their policy of non-embarrassment and did nothing, even under provocation. But this attitude was not appreciated and Britain thought that conditions would remain the same throughout. Now the enemy was at their door aad they could not risk being idle any longer.

BRITAIN'S UNWILLINGNESS TO TRANSFER POWER

Referring to the question of transfer of power to Indians, Sardar Patel declared that whenever the British Government were talking about transfer of Power, they were never sincere in their professions. In India they pointed the Muslim League and asked to whom they should transfer power. But they never asked the same question of Burma. They were calling, in their radio broadcasts and news-papers, the Government established by Japan in Burma as a Puppet Government, But he asked what sort of a Government was it they had at Delhi now. So far as India was concerned, even the so-called friends of India in England like Mr. Attlee were talking the same language as Mr. Churchill. He declared that Britain was interested in defending India only for the purpose of making India safe for future generations of Britons. In Russia, it was a people's war ; in China it was a people's war who were not fighting for their freedom, but for preserving it. But he asked, if India was not for Indians, how could they make it a people's war.

They were calling this a war for Democracy, Sardar Patel went on. The Congress had given three years to Britain to make that principle apply to India. When Mr. Churchill declared that the future of India was purely a British question and it had already been decided by the British Government, no American, who professed sympathy now for India, would raise a protest against this declaration.

"CANNOT TRUST JAPANESE"

At the same time Sardar Patel warned his audience against going to the other extreme and putting any faith in the professions of Japan about their good intentions regarding India. From her acts in Manchuria, China and elsewhere it was clear that Japan was following the same ambition of empire-building as England and even outdoing her in it. India could have no trust in Japanese declarations.

Referring to the recent statement in the House of Mr. *Amery* regarding the transfer of power to Indians, Sardar Patel declared that the British need not worry about to whom to transfer power. Let her transfer the power to the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, to any Indian, so long as they gave up their control over India. There were some people in India, said Sardar Patel, who still thought that there would be some compromise between the Government and the Congress. He wanted to disabuse them of any such delusion. There was no more hope of any settlement with Britain. An opportunity was given to the people now to fight for

their own Independence as the Russians and the Chinese and many other nations were doing now elsewhere. They should not miss that opportunity; such an opportunity might not come again.

Scope of Proposed Movement

Mr. *Patel* warned the people that the fight that was before them was going to be a tough one and as *Mahatma Gandhi* had emphasised, should be short and swift. Without wishing to go into details, he told them that it would not be this time the jail-going type of movement. This time it would not happen that they would remain in jail for a year or two and cease to think about what was happening outside. Their object was to free India before the Japs came here and to fight them if they did. The movement would not be confined to Congressmen only; it would take in all men who called themselves Indians. It would also include all items of non-violent resistance already sanctioned by the Congress and probably some more.

M. Gandhi Explains Stand

After *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* had spoken, *Mahatma Gandhi* addressed the session. He said:

"Before you discuss the Resolution, let me place before you one or two things. I want you to understand two things very clearly and to consider them from the same point of view from which I am placing them before you. I ask you to consider it from my point of view because, if you approve of it, you will be enjoined to carry out all I say. It will be a great responsibility. There are people who ask me whether I am the same man that I was in 1920 or whether there has been any change in me. You are right in asking that question. I may tell you that I am the same man to-day that I was in 1920.

"The only difference is that I am much stronger in certain things now than what I was in 1920. I may explain it by pointing out that a man goes about heavily clothed in winter. But the same man may be found without much clothing in summer. This outward change does not make any difference in the man. There are people who may say that I say one thing to-day and another thing to-morrow. But I must tell you that there is no change in me. I stick to the principle of non-violence as I did before. If you are tired of it then you need not come with me.

"It is not necessary or incumbent upon you to pass this Resolution. If you want Swaraj and independence and if you feel that what I place before you is a good thing and right thing, then only accept it. If is only that way you can give complete support. If you do not do that, I am afraid you will have to rue what you do. There is not much harm if a man does a wrong thing and repents, but in the present case you will be putting the country also in danger. If you do not believe fully in what I say, then I will request you not to accept it but to leave it. But if you accept it and do not understand me properly then there is bound to be friction between us, although it may be of a friendly nature.

"Another point I want to impress upon you is your great responsibility. Members of the A. I. C. C. are like members of a Parliament. The Congress represents the whole of India. The Congress, from its very inception, has not been of any particular groove or any particular colour or caste or of any particular province. It has claimed, ever since its birth, to represent the whole nation, and on your behalf, I have made the claim that you represent not only the registered members of the Congress but the entire nation"

Position of the States

Referring to the Princes, *Mahatma Gandhi* stated that they were the creation of the British Power. "Their number may be 600 or more. They are created by the ruling power, as you know, to create differences between Indian India and British India. It may be true that there are differences in the conditions obtaining in British and Indian India but according to the people of the States there is no difference as such. The Congress claims to represent them as well. The policy which the Congress adopted towards the States was drawn up at my instance. There have been some changes but the basis remains the same. Whatever the Princes may say their people will acclaim that we have been asking for the very thing that they want. If we carry on this struggle in the way I want it, the Princes will get more through it than they can ever expect. I have met some Princes and they have stated their helplessness by saying that we are more free than they are because they can be removed by the Paramount Power."

Proceeding *Gandhiji* said: "I will again remind you that you should accept

the resolution only if you approve of it from your heart because if you do not do that you will expose both you and me to danger. That is the warning I want to give you. I did not, in the past, have before me the material I have ready to-day. God has given me an opportunity, and if I do not have it, I will be a fool. Not only will I lose myself, but I will be throwing away that great jewel of non-violence that God has placed in my hands.

"FREEDOM TO CONSTRUCT"

"I will not take up much of your time because if you accept the resolution then I will have to address you again, but even then, I will not take more than an hour of your time. What I want you to understand clearly is the way you have to tread and the man with whom you have to travel. There are people who say that I am meant for destruction and that I do not know how to construct a thing. The reason is that I do not get an opportunity to construct. If I were given an opportunity I would certainly welcome it and I hope to show what can be done. I am accused of demolishing things. If you understand it properly, when freedom comes we can reconstruct what has been demolished. You must have from the beginning that confidence in yourself. We had an opportunity of running the Government at least in seven provinces. We did put in good work which was praised even by the British Government. Your work will not finish with the attainment of freedom. You will continue to be lascars, of course, in a non-violent way. Militarists, as soon as they get power, become dictators. There is no place for such dictators in our scheme of things.

"Our object is to achieve Independence and whoever can take up the reins may do so. It may be that you decide to place it in the hands of the Parsis. You should not say, why should the Parsis be entrusted with power ? It may be that power may be given to those whose names have never been heard in the Congress. It will be for the people to decide. You should not feel that the majority of those who fought for it were Hindus and the number of Muslims and Parsis in the fight was small. The entire atmosphere will change when we get Independence."

"There are people who have hatred in their hearts for the British. I have heard people saying that they are disgusted with them. The mind of the common people does not differentiate between the Britisher and the imperialistic form of their government. To them both are the same. There are people who do not mind the advent of the Japanese. To them, perhaps, it would mean a change of masters. But it is a dangerous thing. You must remove it from your mind. This is a crucial hour. If we keep quiet and don't play our part, it would not be right on our part. If it is only Britain and the United States who fight this war, and if our part is only to give monetary help, whether given willingly or taken from us unwillingly, it is not a very happy proposition. But we can show our real grit and valour only when it becomes our own fight. Then even a child will be brave. We shall get our freedom by fighting. It cannot fall from the skies. I know full well that Britishers will have to give us freedom when we have made sufficient sacrifices and proved our strength.

"We must remove hatred for the British from our hearts. At least in my heart there is no such hatred. As a matter of fact, I am a greater friend of the British now than I ever was. The reason for this is that at this moment they are in distress. My friendship demands that I must make them aware of their mistakes. As I am not in the position in which they are—on the brink of a ditch and about to fall into it—therefore, even if they want to cut off my hands, my friendship demands that I should try to pull them out of that ditch.

"This is my claim at which many people may laugh, but all the same I say that this is true. At a time when I am about to launch the biggest fight in my life, there can be no hatred for the British in my heart. The thought that because they are in difficulties I should give them a push is totally absent from my mind. It has never been there.

"It may be that in a moment of anger, they (the British) might do things which might provoke you. Nevertheless you should not resort to violence and put non-violence to shame. When such a thing happens, you may take it that you will not find me alive, wherever I may be. Their blood will be on your head. If you don't understand this, it would be better if you reject this Resolution. It will redound to your credit. How can I blame you for this which you may not be able to grasp ?

"BRITISH ARE NOT GOING TO FAIL"

"There is one principle in the fight which you must adopt. Never believe—

as I have never believed—that the British are going to fail. I don't consider them to be a nation of cowards. I know that before they accept defeat, every soul in Britain will be sacrificed. They may be defeated and they may leave you just as they left the people of Burma, Malaya and other places with the idea of recapturing lost ground when they can. That may be their military strategy, but supposing they leave us, what happens to us ? In that case, Japan will come here. The coming in of Japan will mean the end of China, and perhaps of Russia too. In these matters, *Pandit Nehru* is my Guru. I don't want to be the instrument of Russia's defeat nor of China's. If that happens, I would hate myself."

HOPE THAT MR. JINNAH WILL CHANGE"

Continuing, Mahatma Gandhi said : "You kpow I like to go at a rapid speed. But it may be that I am not going as rapidly as you want me to. *Sardar Patel* is reported to have said that the campaign may be over in a week. I don't want to be in a hurry. If it ends in a week it will be a miracle, and if this happens, it would mean the melting of the British heart. It may be that wisdom will dawn on the British and they will understand it to be wrong for them to put in jail the very people who want to fight for them. It may be that a change may come in Mr. *Jinnah's* mind too. After all, he will think that those who are fighting are the sons of the soil and if he sits quiet, of what use would Pakistan be for him ? Non-violence is a weapon which can help everyone. I know we have not done much by way of non-violence, and, therefore, if such a change comes about, I will take it as the result of labours during the last twenty-two years, and that God has helped us to achieve it.

"When I raised the slogan 'Quit India', people in India who were then feeling despondent, felt that I had placed before them a new thing. If you want real freedom you will have to come together and such coming together will create a true democracy,—a democracy, the like of which has not been so far witness, nor have there been any attempts made for such a type of true democracy. I have read a good deal about the French Revolution. Carlyle's works I read while in jail. I have great admiration for the French people. *Pandit Jawaharlal* has told me all about the Russian Revolution. But I told that though theirs was a fight for the people, it was not a fight for the real democracy which I envisage. My democracy means that everyone is his own master. I have read sufficient history, and I have not seen such an experiment on such a large scale for the establishment of 'democracy by non-violence. Once you understand these things, you will forget differences between Hindus and Muslims.

ADHERENCE TO NON-VIOLENCE

"The resolution that is placed before you says that we don't want to remain frogs in a well. We are aiming at World Federation. Disarmament is only possible if you use the matchless weapon of non-violence. There are people who may call me a visionary, but I tell you I am a real Bania, and my business is to obtain Swaraj. If you don't accept this resolution I won't be sorry for it. On the contrary I would dance with joy because you would then relieve me of the tremendous responsibility which you are now going to place on me. I want you to adopt non-violence as a matter of policy. With me it is a creed, but so far as you are concerned I want you to accept it as a policy. As disciplined soldiers you must accept it in toto and stick to it when you join the struggle."

After Mahatma Gandhi's speech the House adjourned till the next day.

Second Day—Bombay—8th. August 1943

Several Amendments Moved

The All India Congress Committee passed the official resolution by an overwhelming majority, only 13 members voting against it. Three of the amendments were withdrawn and the others were rejected. Gandhiji addressed the gathering, after the resolution was passed. The committee resumed its session at 3 p.m. to-day.

MR. BALKRISHNA SHARMA'S AMENDMENT

The President ruled out of order an amendment which Mr. *Balkrishna Sharma* had given notice of, on the ground that it was in the nature of a separate resolution and amounted to contravention of the Working Committee resolution. Mr. Sharma's amendment sought a postponement of the proposed struggle.

MR. SAXENA'S AMENDMENT

Mr. *Chimanlal Saxena* of Gorakhpur moved an amendment seeking to delete

that portion of the Working Committee's resolution which guarantee India's full support to the United Nations in their fight against all aggression, provided India's Independence was conceded forthwith. Mr. *Saxena* said that it was the duty of the Indians first to look after their own interests and not to give undertakings which they were not in a position to fulfil. The immediate question was India's Independence. Once Independence had been achieved, it would be for a free India to decide her own foreign policy. He was opposed to any advance, guarantee and commitment of the kind envisaged in the resolution. Mr. *Saxena* instanced how Russia though an ally of Britain and America was still not at war with Japan.

DR. SUBBAROYAN'S AMENDMENT

Dr. *P. Subbaroyan*, former Minister in Madras, moved an amendment stating "considering the extremely grave peril to India caused by the threat of Japanese invasion and also due to the fact that an alien Imperialism refused to part with power and further considering that genuine Hindu-Muslim unity based on the recognition of the right of self-determination is the only weapon with which India can wrest power from the British rulers the All-India Congress Committee decides that the Congress immediately takes the initiative in bringing about Congress-League unity and to form a Provisional National Government." The amendment also sought the deletion of the paragraphs relating to the proposed mass struggle.

Dr. *Subbaroyan*, commending his amendment to the House, said that in the dangerous situation which now faced them they should try to come to a settlement with the other side so that a united demand could be presented. For sure success in the contemplated movement, Dr. *Subbaroyan* said, Hindu-Muslim unity was absolutely essential. "We must face the menace of the Axis aggression with all the strength at our command. The movement, if launched, without communal harmony may lead to chaos and disorder which may help the aggressor Japan who may be many times worse than the one we have got to deal with in this country". Concluding, Dr. *Subbaroyan* urged the A. I. C. C. to settle with the Muslim League before the movement was launched.

MR. SATRUGNA SINGH'S AMENDMENT

Mr. *Satrugna Saran Singh* by an amendment urged the Committee not to commit itself in any manner in regard to the futnre World Federation. He said that the enemies of Britain to-day might very well be friends to-morrow. It was not wise to pronounce at this stage any final decision on such important questions and decide in advance their views regarding such world federation.

DR. ASHROFF'S AMENDMENT

Dr. *Ashroff* (Communist) by an amendment sought to give the right, as free and equal member, to secede from the future Federation of India, to every federating unit comprising of more or less homogeneous sections of the Indian people and having contiguous territory as their homeland.

Dr. *Ashroff* urged that the Congress as the biggest political organisation, should turn its attention to organising the masses into a disciplined nation. He was happy to note that some of the leaders' speeches the previous day had cleared many of the doubts that existed in the public regarding the Congress attitude and plan of action. Till yesterday, people were under the impression that the Congress held out for complete withdrawal of the British. Now, they were assured that the British forces could stay behind and give any help they wanted to. Till yesterday they were under the impression that, immediately after the withdrawal of the British, there would be anarchy in India. Now, the President had told them that there would be a National Government established. If the war was to be made a people's war, they should forge the people's will, and, for that, it was necessary to bring about unity in every direction in the country. To fight the Fascists, what they wanted was an organised and disciplined nation. What the Congress had now was only a mass, a crowd; and it was for the Congress to harness the masses properly to fight organised Fascism.

MR. ZAHEER'S AMENDMENT

Mr. *Sajjad Zaheer* (Communist) by an amendment urged the Congress to take the initiative in building a united national front of parties and sections of people who wanted to secure India's immediate freedom and who were prepared to participate in or support the formation of a Provisional National Government which would undertake the organisation of armed as well as non-violent defence against Fascist aggressors in close co-operation with the United Nations and their armies.

Mr. *Sajjad Zaheer* pointed out that the President had made it clear that the Congress was anxious to join in the fight of the Allied Nations against Fascist nations if only it was given an opportunity to do so freely. He was happy to declare that, so far as this question was concerned, the Communists were one with the Congress. But the present resolution before the Committee was against the professed sympathies of the Congress for democracy. He was surprised to find that the Congress which had always stood for democracy and liberty, was prepared to take move which might or might not lead to a National Government in India, but would certainly mean a serious blow to the United Nations. He doubted if the movement would take them any nearer the establishment of even a National Government. He pointed out that there was a revolution going on in the world and the freedom of all countries, not only that of India, was in danger. India was now given a chance to make a united stand in the cause of freedom, and she should not miss it. It might be a fact that, on account of inefficiency and weakness, Burma and Malaya had been lost ; but that was the very reason they should make a united stand and prevent a similar disaster from overtaking India. For this purpose, he felt it was essential that they should bring about complete unity in the country and he thought that the Congress was the only organisation which could bring about such unity.

Mr. Sardesai's Amendment

Mr. *S. G. Sardesai* (Communist), in a lengthy amendment, stressed the need, in this hour of grave emergency, of all-in national unity for the purpose of forging mass sanction to secure the installation of a Provisional National Government and asked the Committee to make an earnest effort to effect an agreement and a joint front with the Muslim League.

Mr. *Sardesai* said that it would be superfluous for him to expatiate on the need for coming to a settlement with the Muslim League and other elements in the country. In recent days, a number of political sections has risen up, all clamouring for a hearing, and the cry of Pakistan had also been raised by some section of Muslims. He declared that it was not necessary for settling these questions with the various political groups to be carried away by what this leader or that leader might say. Mr. *Jinnah* might have his own views on Pakistan, that did not matter. The only thing that mattered, so far as the Congress was concerned, was the feeling and views of the Muslim masses in that matter. The Muslims, as a mass, the toiling suffering Muslims, had no faith in the Pakistan scheme. It was for the Congress, as the biggest political organisation, to make an earnest and direct effort to bring in these toiling Muslim masses into the Congress fold.

Mr. Sardesai went on to point out that, having achieved unity of all parties, the Congress and the League should simultaneously take the initiative in launching a joint campaign not only to educate the people for the installation of a National Government, but also to inspire and instruct the masses in national resistance to any aggressor and in fighting defeated elements in the country. He declared that, unless this perfect unity was effected, and unless any campaign that was launched had the full co-operation of all the parties, the war could not be made a people's war as in China and Russia.

After all the amendments had been moved, the Committee proceeded to a general discussion on the resolution.

"The only proper lead"

Mr. *Mahesh Dutt* asserted that the Working Committee's resolution was the only proper lead that could be given to the country. The very fact that a mass movement was to be launched after the war had been in progress for three years, clearly demonstrated what amount of patience the Congress had shown. The repeated appeals to the British Government to settle the Indian problem, so as to enable India to make her participation in the war real and her contribution effective, showed that the Congress had been prepared for a compromise. The speaker hoped that once all possibilities of a settlement by negotiation had been explored and found useless and the struggle was launched, it would not be suspended halfway through, untill India's independence was secured.

"Inopportune to launch movement now"

Mr. *Balakrishna Sharma*, whose amendment had been ruled out by the President, opposed the resolution in a vigorous speech. He said that while the country was facing the possibility of an invasion by Japan, it was most inopportune for the Congress to launch a mass movement. The proposed movement was

different from the past ones. Hitherto Mahatma Gandhi had been opposed to mixing up the working class movement in the country with the political movements launched by him from time to time. Hitherto. the trade union movement and the Congress political movement had been running parallel to each other and there had been no fusion between the two. Gandhiji appeared to be determined to mix up the working class movement with the political struggle. The conditions in the country to-day were such that the trade union people (workers) were not likely to accord full and unequivocal support to Mahatma Gandhi's movement. The speaker maintained that the true implications of the Mahatma's message of non-violence would not be properly conveyed to the masses, and therefore, things might happen in the course of the movement which would lead to its failure. All the same, the speaker said that he would abide by the decision of the A. I. C. C., and would enlist himself as a soldier in the struggle.

Dr. *Ram Manohar Lohia*, Congress Socialist, supporting the resolution, declared that India's attitude towards the British Power had undergone a revolutionary change during the last few months. The course of events had shown that the British Power was not the invincible one it hitherto used to be. Consequently, subject peoples had shed their fear of Britain. Discontent against the way Britain was handling the Indian problem was daily growing. Criticising the Communists' attitude, Dr. Lohia asked how these people who had been demanding an immediately revolutionary struggle could now oppose the proposed movement.

Pandit Jewan Lal, supporting the resolution, repudiated the contention of the Communists that the present war was a people's war so far as India was concerned. He hoped that the Communists would, before long, see the error and correct themselves, and support the Congress programme. Urging unity in Congress ranks, he hoped that before long, it may become possible for Mr. *Rajagopalachari* to come back to the Congress.

Mr, *Achyut Patwardhan*, supporting the resolution, said that it was a strange argument to put forward that in order to establish unity in the country, the Congress should agree to break up the nation and thus crea e Pakistan. He failed to understand how the so-called unity would come out of a division of the country. Answering the Communists' contention that millions of Muslims were behind the demand for Pakistan, Mr. Patwardhan said that many millions more were opposed to it. The speaker wondered why the Communists thought it necessary to appeal to the Congress only and not to the Muslim League.

Supporting the Official Congress resolution, *Sardar Pratap Singh* (Punjab) declared that it was absolutely false to state that the Sikhs were not behind the Congress. "The Sikhs are with the Congress in this final struggle for India's freedom" he declared. "The Sikhs are prepared to throw in their last bit in this struggle". Sardar Pratap Singh urged the Communists to throw in their lot with Gandhiji, who was now talking of 'rebellion and revolt'.

The speaker referred to the Punjab Premier's allegation that the Congress was stabbing the country in the back, and said that, in point of fact, Sir *Sikandar's* statement constituted a stab in the back of the country. The Congress was determined to win freedom. The Congress could have, he added, on various occasions stabbed the British Government in the back, but they had never utilised their opportunity to that end. The movement which would now be launched, in fact, needed no one to lead it. It would be a spontaneous one and would grow in strength. Concluding the speaker appealed to the Communists first to think of India before they thought of Russia and China, and support Gandhiji.

Acharya Narendra Dev (United Provinces), supporting the resolution, reviewed the happenings in the country since the war broke out in September 1943. *Gandhiji* had now decided that inaction could not continue any further. The same Gandhiji, who two and a half years ago had told the Viceroy that his sympathies lay with the Allies, was now asking them to fight for India's Independence. Opposing the amendments moved on behalf of the Communists, Acharya Narendra Dev said that it was a pity that, at the time of the final struggle, there were still people who were not prepared to make the sacrifices required of them. During the Ramgarh Congress, he continued, the leaders were ready to launch a mass movement ; he could now say that the people were ready, ready as never before, to fight and achieve India's freedom. They were fed up with inactivity and they wanted to do something.

Acharya Narendra Dev averred that it was wrong to insinuate that Gandhiji was launching this movement as a result of disillusionment. It was also wrong to

state that Gandhiji did not care what happened to China, Russia or the other Democracies. It was because Gandhiji had been convinced that only a free India could effectively support the United Nations that he was embarking upon the movement.

Referring to the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan, *Acharya Narendra Dev* reiterated Gandhiji's words that if the Muslims wanted it, no power under the sun could stop them. But, he added, Mr. Jinnah was afraid to discuss it with others. The country could not and should not stop now, because no settlement had been possible with Mr. Jinnah. If they waited, the settlement would not come and the golden opportunity would slip away.

Mr. *T. Prakasam*, supporting the resolution, said that the proposed movement would be the last fight for India's freedom. From Wardha to Bardoli, from Bardoli to Delhi, from Delhi to Allahabad and back then to Wardha, and from Wardha to Bombay—all this meant great progress in India's march towards the goal of freedom. The speaker was supremely gratified to find that Mahatma Gandhi had once again assumed the leadership of the Indian National Congress. Mr. *Prakasam* had no doubt about the response the country would give to Mahatma Gandhi's call. The movement might embarrass the United Nations, but in a larger measure would frighten Japan and Germany if they had any aims on India.

Mr. Prakasam was happy that the usual restrictions which Mahatma Gandhi generally imposed on those who joined him had now been relaxed, the only condition being that all those who joined were prepared to make any sacrifice for achieving India's freedom.

Maulana Nuruddin Behari, supporting the resolution, said that as soldiers of the battle for India's freedom, they had no right to question the strategy of their General. When the call came, it was their duty to follow. The Communists had confused the issue of Hindu-Muslim unity with India's right to freedom. The Hindu-Muslim problem was different. The proposed struggle was for India's freedom and the speaker had no doubt that the Muslims would not lag behind in this struggle for freedom. The Communists were keeping out of it not because of the Hindu-Muslim question, but because they did not want to join it, they were making an excuse of the Hindu-Muslim question. He assured Mahatma Gandhi that thousands of Mussalmans would join the movement.

At this stage, *Maulana Azad*, the Congress President, said that the session would conclude to-night and called upon Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru* to wind up the debate.

Amendments Rejected

After Mr. *Nehru* had replied to the debate the Congress President made a statement on the Hindu-Muslim question (see *poste*) and then put the various amendments to vote. Three amendments were withdrawn and the remaining were all rejected by an over-whelming majority, only twelve members voting in their favour.

The original resolution was then put to vote and was carried by an over-whelming majority, only 13 members voting against. The Congress President declared the resolution passed amidst loud and continued cheers.

Mahatma Gandhi then addressed the House for hundred and twenty minutes in English and Hindustani. See below.

Maulana Azad, winding up the proceedings, stated that he was addressing the United Nations on the Congress demand and would strive till the last minute to reach a settlement. The session concluded at 10 p. m.

Mahatma Gandhi's Speech

"I take up my task of leading you in this struggle not as your commander, not as your controller, but as the humble servant of you all ; and he who serves best, becomes the chief among them. I am the chief servant of the nation ; that is how I look at it," declared *Mahatma Gandhi*, addressing the A. I. C. C. in English. He added : "I want to share all the shocks that you have to face."

Gandhiji referred to the interpretations put in foreign countries on his utterances during the last three weeks and said : "I know that in the course of the last few weeks, I have forfeited the privilege of the friendship and the trust of many of my friends in India and abroad, so much so that they now have begun, some to doubt my wisdom and some even to doubt my honesty. My wisdom is not such a treasure that I cannot afford to lose it, but honesty is a precious treasure to me."

"LORD LINLITHGOW—A PERSONAL FRIEND"

Gandhiji then referred to the friendship which had grown between him and many Viceroys, and in particular, between him and *Lord Linlithgow*. "It is a friendship which has outgrown mere official relations. I hope Lord Linlithgow will bear me out personally. This is not a secret", he said.

Gandhiji then referred to the deep friendship he cherished for the late *C. F. Andrews* and said : "At the present moment, the spirit of Andrews is sweeping me, and Andrews seems to me to be the highest that I have known in the English. With Andrews, I enjoyed a relationship, closer than which I have not enjoyed with any Indian. There was no secret between us ; we exchanged our hearts everyday. Whatever was in his heart, he would blurt out without the slightest hesitation or reservation. It is true he was a friend of *Guru Dev*, but he was awed by *Guru Dev's* presence."

"THE VOICE WITHIN ME"

Proceeding, *Mahatma Gandhi* observed : "With this background, I want to declare to the world—whatever may be said to-day to the contrary, and although I may have forfeited the regard of many a friend of the West, even the trust of some of them—that even for their love and for their friendship, I must not suppress the voice within me. Call it conscience, call it by anything you like, call it the promptings of my basic nature. I do not mind how you describe it, but there is something there. I have learnt Psychology and I know exactly what it is, although I may not be able to describe it to you. That voice tells me that I shall have to fight against the whole world and stand alone. It also tells me : 'You are safe so long as you stare the world in the face, although the world may have blood-shot eyes. Do not fear the world, but go ahead, with the fear of God in you.' That thing is within me. You have to forsake wife, friends, forsake everything in the world.

"I want to live the whole span of my life. But I do not think I will live so long. When I am gone, India will be free and not only will India be free, but the whole world will be free. I do not believe that the Americans are free, or that England is free. They may be free according to their conception. I know what freedom is. English teachers have taught me its meaning. I must interpret that freedom according to what I can see and what I have experienced."

CRITICS URGED TO SEARCH THEIR HEARTS

Gandhiji then referred to the work and philosophy of *Dadabhoy Naoroji*, Sir *Pherozshah Mehta* and others and said : "Unconsciously, from its very inception, the Congress has always been non-violent. I do not claim that every Congressman conforms to the highest principles of non-violence even as a policy. I know that there are many black sheep. But I am trusting them, in general, without subjecting them to an examination. It is this fundamental trust that rules my life. From its very beginning, the Congress in its fundamental policy—which is to bring about Swaraj—has been non-violent."

Urging all his critics to search their hearts before accusing him of dishonesty, *Gandhiji* said : "I want Englishmen and all the United Nations to examine their hearts, search their hearts. What crime has the Congress committed in demanding Independence to-day ? Is it wrong to do so ? Is it right to distrust that organisation ? I hope, Englishmen don't do so I hope that it won't be done by the President of the United States, and by the Chinese Generalissimo, *Marshal Chiang Kai-shek*, who is still fighting desperate battles with Japan for his existence. After having owned *Jawharlal* as a comrade, I hope he won't do it. I fell in love with Madame *Chiang Kai-shek*. She was my interpreter, and I have no reason to doubt that she was a faithful interpreter to her husband." Gandhiji added : "She has not as yet said that we were wrong in demanding our Independence, I have great regard for British diplomacy, which has enabled them to hold the empire so long. But now others have studied that diplomacy and are putting it into practice." *Gandhiji* asserted that "even if all the United Nations opposed me, even if the whole of India tried to persuade me that I am wrong, I will go ahead, not for India's sake alone, but for the sake of the world."

"WE WONT HIT BELOW THE BELT"

Gandhiji declared that Britain had given India the greatest provocations, but in spite of all that, "we won't hit below the belt. We have too far progressed in real gentlemanly fashion. We will not stoop to any such thing." *Gandhiji* then explained the difference between his non-embarrassment policy in the recent past

and his present policy. "That policy was non-embarrassment, consistent with the honour and safety of India. There is no inconsistency between what we demand to-day and what we demanded before", he added.

Addressing the United Nations and Britain, *Gandhiji* said they had the opportunity, now, of a lifetime, to declare India free and prove their real intentions. "If they miss it, they will be missing the opportunity of a lifetime, which never comes twice in the same generation, and history will say that they did not discharge their overdue debt to India. I ask for the blessings of the whole world and I ask for the active assistance of the United Nations. I do not want to say anything more to them." *Gandhiji*, continuing, said that he had always differentiated between Fascism and the Democracies, despite their many limitations, and even between Fascism and British Imperialism. Concluding *Gandhiji* said : "I have pledged the Congress and the Congress will do or die."

"A FIRM BELIEVER IN COMMUNAL UNITY"

Speaking in Hindustani, *Mahatma Gandhi* said :—

"I congratulate you on passing the resolution. Those who opposed it also deserve my congratulations for their courge of conviction. There is no shame in opposing the resolution. We have learnt this lession since 1920. It is better to be in a minority, provided we stick to truth and determination. I have learnt this lesson long ago. I have now learnt a further lesson from the dissenting members. I am pleased to note that they have followed me in this direction. I would venture to suggest that the proposals that have been submitted are not perfect. Everything has got one or other defect. Nothing is perfect. Nothing is perfect without Truth. *Maulana Saheb* and *Jawaharlal* have explained to you the implications of this resolution.

"There was a time when every Muslim was professing that India was his Motherland. The Ali Brothers thought so. I am not prepared to believe, for a moment, that it was a lie or bluff. I would prefer to be ignorant rather than to doubt my colleagues. Thousands of Hindus and Muslims have told me that if the Congress is really serious about solving the communal tangle and establishing permanent unity, the task can be accomplished during my life time only. From very childhood I have been a firm believer in Hindu-Muslim and communal unity. From my very school days, I have had firm faith in the unity of India. When I had been to Africa, I undertook a brief for a Muslim client. I championed the cause of Muslims there. I never distrusted them. I did not return from Africa as a disappointed or as a defeated man.

"I do not care for the abuses which are being hurled on me by some of my Muslim friends. I do not know what I have done that has offended them. I am undoubtedly a worshipper of the cow. It is my belief that every creature on this earth is the creation of God. My friends, especially the Muslims, Maulana Bari and Maulana Azad can testify to this fact. I dine with the Muslims. I dine with all without any consideration of caste or religion.

"MR. JINNAH MISGUIDED"

"I hate none, and there is no hatred in me. The late Maulana Bari was my host in Lucknow. He was a thorough gentleman. It was the time when there was no mutual distrust or suspicion. Mr. *Jinnah* has been a Congressman in the past. He seems now to be misguided. I pray for long life to him and wish that he may survive me. A day will certainly dawn when he will realise that I have never wronged him or the Muslims.

"I have the fullest confidence in the sincerity of the Muslims. I will never talk ill of them even if they kill me. They have every right to form any opinion of me, but I still continue to be the same man as in the old days. Muslims may in the heat of the moment, forget themselves and abuse me. Islam does not teach one to abuse. If the Muslims of India are true followers of the Holy Prophet, then let them follow His techings faithfully. Their abuses are worse than bullets to me, but still, I am prepared to welcome them.

LET ISSUE BE DECIDED BY A TRIBUNAL

"A World Federation could only be established by mutual agreement. I would pray to my Muslim brothers to judge for themselves dispassionately which is right and which is wrong. Let the issue be decided by a tribunal, and let us all abide by the verdict of the Tribunal. If the Muslim League is not prepared to accept this offer, then, how can they expect to force the scheme upon others by mere coercion ? Let them persuade their fellow countrymen to their point of view and

make them agreeable to the scheme of Pakistan. If they failed to convince and convert, this would lead to internal strife. I have no desire to live to witness such a tragedy.

"Islam never teaches its followers to hate anyone. It preaches universal brotherhood and a spirit of mutual tolerance. I am devoting my time and energy, and I am even prepared to lay down my life for the mission which has been entrusted to me by God. Hindu-Muslim unity is dear to my life. I have no mental reservation on the issue of Pakistan. Pakistan cannot be away from Hindustan. Let both and all of us strive for the attainment of the freedom of India.

"CANNOT WAIT ANY LONGER FOR FREEDOM"

"Mr. *Jinnah* does not seem to believe in the Congress programme and in the Congress demand. But I cannot wait any longer for India's freedom. I cannot wait till Mr. Jinnah is converted for the immediate consummation of Indian freedom. I am very impatient. Communal unity is undoubtedly essential for the country's freedom, but you must know it is freedom for all and not for any particular community.

"I wholeheartedly endorse the Maulana Sahib's offer to the British that India be handed over to any community. I would not be sorry if the authority is transferred to the Muslim masses. India is the homeland of Indian Muslims. For instance, take the case of my son Hiralal. He had embraced Islam. By changing his religion, can he disown his nationality and country? Supposing he is able to change his nationality and country, all the same he cannot disown his father. Under the persuasion of his mother he wrote to me a letter. My wife told me that she was not sorry because her son had changed his religion, but was sorry because he was a drunkard. My grandson went in search of his father, but when he found him, he saw that he was addicted to vices.

"Let every Muslim stand by the Congress. The door is open for them. They can capture the Congress and then change its policy. Nobody can prevent them from doing so. The Congress is a democratic body. Let the Hindus also know this, that they will have to fight for all, including the minorities. Let them be ready to lay down their lives for saving the lives of Muslims. It is the first lesson in Ahimsa. One must be tolerant towards his neighbour. Let the Muslim and others also follow this advice. It is going to be a mass struggle. It can be made effective if everyone follows my advice.

"NOTHING SECRET ABOUT MY PLANS"

"There is nothing secret about our plans. It is an open campaign. But yet see the circular of Puckle Saheb. It is an utter impossibility for the authorities to oppose and crush the Congress with the aid of mushroom parties. We are opposing an empire and it is a powerful empire. It is going to be a straight fight and let there be no mistake about it. Let there be no confusion also. There should be no subterranean activity. Those who undertake underground activities will come to grief.

"I have always enjoyed the confidence of the masses. I have toured the country extensively. I have always confidence in the masses. The time is very critical. I cannot ask Britain or Japan to wait till we are prepared to fight them. If I wait any longer, God will punish me. I am not speaking for India alone. This is the last struggle of my life. Delay is injurious and waiting any further would be humiliation for all of us. It is high time that we are free so that we can help other nations struggling for freedom.

"Our struggle is now to start. But before launching the movement, I will address a letter to the Viceroy and wait for his reply. It may take a week or a fortnight or three weeks. In the meantime, we will have, apart from carrying out the Thirteen Points of the Congress Constructive Programme, to observe the following code:

"FREEDOM SHALL BE YOUR MANTRA"

'Let every Indian consider himself to be a free man. He must be ready for the actual attainment of freedom or perish in the attempt. His attitude towards life should be that he is a free man. Mere jail-going would not do. There is no more bargaining. There is no room for office acceptance. There is no compromise on the demand for freedom. Freedom first, and then only the rest. Do not be cowards, because cowards have no right to live. Freedom should be your 'mantra' and you should chant it.

'"The Press should discharge its duties freely and fearlessly. Let it not allow itself to be cowed down or bribed by the Government. Let it be fair and dis-

charge its obligations honestly. It should have a free forum for one and all. I want the freedom of the Press. Let the Press be ready to be closed down, rather than allow itself to be misused by the authorities. The Press, besides, is a business proposition. They have buildings, machinery and big establishment. They will have to be prepared to sacrifice them. They can resume publication in a free India. I have sacrificed my Navjiwan Press. A number of men were thrown out of employment. But it did not pain me in the least, because I closed it for upholding a principle. Let the Press disown the undertaking given to the Government by the Standing Committee. Let it be your reply to *Puckle Saheb*. Let it not sacrifice its self-respect and submit to humiliations. It should strive for the creation of a new atmosphere.

Duty of the Princes

"Let the Princes know that I am their well-wisher from the bottom of my heart. My father had been a Dewan. I myself was born in a State. I have eaten their salt. I do not want to be unworthy of the salt. The Princes should rise to the occasion. They must part with the responsibility of administration to their subjects. Let them read the sign of the times. If they fail to do this, they will have no quarter in a Free India. The destiny of Free India will be decided by *Jawaharlal* and others who have no sympathy for Feudalism. Let the Princes shear themselves of their autocracy.

"Let the Princes also not abuse their authority. Their only chance of a survival depends on the goodwill of their people. I would venture to ask the Princes whether they are not equally anxious to see India free. If the answer is in the affirmative, let them come forward. If the answer is in the negative, then I do not hesitate to say that even the Paramount Power will not be able to come to their rescue, because the Power itself will not be there. Responsible Government should immediately be conferred on their subjects.

Underground Activity Deprecated

"Let me emphasise that there should be no under-ground activity. There should be no secret movement. It is a sin."

Referring to Government servants, Gandhiji said that there was no need for them immediately to resign but they should write to the Government to say that they were with the Congress.

"Students and professors should", he said, "imbibe the spirit of freedom. They should stand by the Congress. They must have the courage to say that they are for the Congress. Should the emergency arise, they should cheerfully abandon their occupation and careers."

Mr. Nehru's speech on the Resolution

Speaking in English on the Working Committee's resolution, in the A. I. C. C. Mr. *Jawharlal Nehru* declared : "This resolution is not a threat. It is an invitation. It is an explanation. It is an offer of co-operation. It is all that. But still, behind it, there is a clear indication that certain consequences will follow if certain events do not happen. It is an offer of co-operation of a free India. On any other terms there will be no co operation. On any other terms, our resolution promises only conflict and struggle."

Mr. Nehru went on to say that some friends abroad thought that Congressmen were acting unwisely. He was not saying that they were wrong. In their environment, they could not think otherwise. But, he declared, "Let there be no mistake about it. We are on the verge of a precipice and we are in dead earnest." Mr. Nehru said that the resolution, when passed, would not only represent the decision of the A. I. C. C. ; it would represent the voice of the whole of India. He would even go a step further and say that it represented the voice of the entire oppressed humanity of the world. If Britain had accepted this resolution and acted according to its demands, it would have seen a vast change not only in India but all over the world. The whole nature of the war would have been changed. A real revolutionary background would have been given to it. He pointed out that the essential thing about this war was that it was something infinitely more than a mere war. It was a world-war all right but greater than that ; it was a prelude to and a precursor of a vast revolution that was enveloping the whole world. The war might end now or it might be carried on for some time more, but no peace would be established, no equilibrium attained until this revolution ran its appointed course.

REVOLUTIONARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WAR

It was a great misfortune, Mr. *Nehru* said, that the leaders in the West had not realised or if they realised, had not acted as if they had realised the revolutionary significance of the war. They were still carrying on this war on the old lines and thought that they could win it only by building more ships and more aeroplanes. Probably, in their position, he would have done the same thing. They were not thinking in terms of a vast surge of the elemental emotions of humanity. Until they did that, they could never attain success, but would only go from failure to failure. He hoped that they would learn the lesson. He could only hope that they would not learn it too late.

Mr. Nehru asserted that Mr. *Churchill* and other Britishers had not got over thinking in terms of the Anglo-Saxon race, and recalled a recent speech of Mr. Churchill when he visualised the day when the Anglo-Saxon would march through the world in dignity and majesty. He reminded Britishers and Americans that there were other races in the world besides the Anglo-Saxon race and this racial superiority could never more be tolerated.

At the present time, Mr. Nehru went on, the Allied cause was only negatively right, in the sense that Germany and Japan were worse. But Indian freedom would change the whole nature of the war and make it right positively. Even the people of Nazi Germany and those who were helping the Germans would feel the impact of the change.

"NARROW SOLDIER'S POINT OF VIEW WILL NOT DO"

Mr. *Nehru* regretted that people in England, America and elsewhere were looking at every question from the narrow soldier's point of view. But it did not matter to them how other people viewed the Indian question. He could only tell them that they would not be deterred from their course by any amount of threats. On the other hand, Westerners ought to realise that, at this stage, threats could only make the position infinitely worse and more difficult for them.

Mr. *Nehru* made an earnest appeal to all the people in India that they should not forget their high aims and objectives, that they were fighting not only in the interests of India but in the interests of all countries of the world including China and Russia. He was a Nationalist, and he was proud to be a Nationalist, but they should not settle down to a narrow nationalism. They must always remember that they should develop right internationalism, but, not the pseudo-internationalism of the present day world or of the League of Nations.

Mr. *Nehru* declared that they are going to face great difficulties in the days ahead. All that he could say to those Englishmen and Americans who considered that the Congress was not right was that it was for the Indian people to decide for themselves. They know what it was to be under subjection much better than Englishmen or Americans. After all, it was the Indians who would have to undergo enormous sufferings and privations if there were a Japanese invasion of India.

"We have entered the fire and we have now to come out of it succesfully or be consumed by it, declared Mr. Nehru.

MUSLIM LEAGUE ATTITUDE CRITICIZED

Mr. *Jawharlal Nehru* vehemently denounced what he called the one-sided propaganda that the Congress should resume talks with the Muslim League, without understanding the numerous attempts made by the Congress in that direction. "How many attempts have we not made, and how often have we not been frustrated in our attempts ?" he asked, and added, "We are prepared to pay any price for unity except the price of Independence. How many obstructions have not been placed in our path which have had no relation to the real issue ?

"I can talk and negotiate with anybody who recognises democratic freedom for India, but I cannot negotiate with anyone who refuses to recognise the fundamental issue, the freedom of India. I was told during the Cripps negotiations that a certain leader insisted on behalf of Muslims that the Viceroy's power of veto should not be removed or in any way qualified. If any section wanted that the British Viceroy should exercise his veto-power against the decision of his Indian Cabinet, it means clearly that that section is against the freedom of India. I do not want to injure any one's feeling especially at a time when we are about to launch a great struggle for freedom. I tried, for one whole year, to find out what the League wanted, and I was unable to understand what they want.

"I have not been able to find out a parallel to such a situation in the history of the world. I have not come anywhere else across such a situation

except in the land of Hitler. The Sudetan crisis bears similarity to the situation here. For purposes of negotiation, we are not even allowed to select our own representatives. We are told that we cannot send Muslims to represent the Congress. This is an insult to our great organisation and to our revered President. We were prepared to stake everything consistent with our dignity and self-respect towards finding a satisfactory settlement. Whenever we knocked we found the doors were bolted, and we knocked ourselves against a wall. Are we beggars to be treated like this ? Are we going to be so dishonourable as to sacrifice our mansion of Indian freedom which we want to build ? Are we going to be kicked about by men who have made no sacrifice for the freedom of India and who can never think in terms of freedom at all ?

"Our conscience is clear. We have made everything that is humanly possible for arriving at a settlement. The Muslim masses are not reactionary. We have made strenuous and sincere attempts to resolve the issue, and all our attempts have either been sabotaged or frustrated." Mr. *Nehru* said that the chief difficulty was that the problem was more political than communal.

President's Decision to address United Nations

Winding up the proceedings of the A. I. C. C. *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, the Congress President, stated that, in the present world conflagration, India could side with only one set of combatants. But for India to effectively participate with the right side in this war, it was necessary to properly mobilise the people of India. The present circumstances did not help in enthusing the people to all-out effort, which would most certainly change the trend of the war. However much one wished, it would not be possible to rouse Indians to enthusiastic participation in this war till the right thing was done by India, namely, the country was made free.

With a view that the position of the Congress and that of India should not be misunderstood, the Congress President stated, he had issued a number of statements since the passing of the Wardha Resolution. He was making the United Nations understand that the present move of the Congress was to enable India to take her righful place in the world conflagration. "Though the resolution had been passed, he was for trying to bring about an understanding till the very last minute. He would try to do everything possible to make the British and the other United Nations understand that a free India would wholeheartedly help the United Nations. He was convinced that such efforts, instead of weakening the Congress case, would strengthen the hands of the Congress. If in spite of such efforts, the United Nations did not respond, the loss would be theirs and not that of India. The Maulana announced that he was sending copies of the resolution to President Roosevelt, to China and to the Russian Ambassador in London. If all their efforts failed, then it was for Indians to take a determined step forward, with the resolve that in this struggle they would venture ahead, no matter what happened to them whether they sank or swam, whether they would win or lose.

President on Congress-League understanding

The President, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, in a statement before putting the Working Committee's resolution to vote, said that the Congress had been trying to bring about unity, but every time an effort was made the door was closed from the other side. If the Muslim League was willing to negotiate, he would persuade the Congress within twentyfour hours to start negotiations. But every time he had attempted a settlement, the door was closed and barred.

Several attempts had been made by him during the last two years to arrive at a settlement, but it always proved to be a one-sided effort. The other side was not willing to come forward to discuss the question. Even during the Allahabad meeting of the A. I. C. C., he made it clear to Rajaji that the Congress was willing to discuss the question and was prepared to start negotiations.

Continuing, the Maulana stated that the position of the Congress was well-known. It had always kept the door for negotiations open. What was the use of telling the Congress to arrive at a settlement, when it was always prepared to do so and had kept the door for negotiations open ? What was required of those who were shouting for Hindu-Muslim settlement was not to shout at those who kept the door open, but to go and break their heads at the other door, which was not only shut, but bolted with nails driven so that it might not open at all.

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

Working Committee Resolutions—New Delhi—29th. to 31st. August 1942

DECLARATION OF INDIA'S FREEDOM

A meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha was held in New Delhi on the 29th. August and continued till the 31st August. In a lengthy resolution, it demands an immediate declaration of India's independent status and the opening of immediate negotiations by the British Government with the principal parties in India to solve the present deadlock. The resolution further demands the formation of an Indian National Government, which, it asserts, will declare its determination to fight the common enemy.

The Working Committee asserts that if the British Government does not respond to its demand, the Mahasabha will be compelled to revise its present programme, and devise ways and means whereby Britain and her Allies "will realise that India, as a self-respecting nation, can no longer be suppressed."

The Working Committee appointed a Committee of seven members to organise a campaign to mobilise public opinion in support of the National Demand, and if possible to negotiate with the leaders of the principal political parties and representatives of the British Government. The following is the text of the resolution:—

The peril confronting India demands the mobilisation of India's tremendous man-power and gigantic natural resources which can never be secure without a National Government. The experience of Burma and Malaya and the working of the present constitution in this country during the last few years demand the radical transformation of the present system of Government, which has failed either to mobilise public opinion or to utilise the resources of the country effectively in the cause of Democracy and Liberty. If the struggle has got to be won and if the present menace is to be destroyed, it is clear that India's national will must support the defending army and this can never be secured by the mere employment of non-Indian troops or by the continuance of the present Government, which commands neither the confidence nor the willing allegiance of the Indian people. The dangerous international situation which threatens India and the imminent danger of foreign invasion and the urge for national emancipation stimulated by the professed aims of the United Nations demand the immediate declaration of India's Independence and the formation of a National Government to whom power must be transferred subject to necessary adjustments during the war for fighting the menace and for the national defence of India.

The All-India Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, demands—

(1) The immediate declaration by Britain of India's independent status.

(2) The immediate initiation of negotiations by the British Government with the principal political parties in India to solve the present deadlock, which is impeding war efforts and is bound to widen the cleavage between England and India.

(3) The formation of an Indian National Government to whom all power should be transferred by the British Government.

(4) The National Government will be composite in character and will consist of representatives of the principal political parties in the country.

(5) Similar National Governments should be formed in the provinces which will include representatives of the principal political parties.

After the termination of the war, a Constituent Assembly is to be set up by the National Government to frame a constitution for the Indian nation based on democratic principles, and if any minority is not satisfied with the safe-guards laid down in the constitution, the minority will have the right to refer the matter to an independent Tribunal whose decision will be binding on all concerned.

The Indian National Government in India will declare its determination to fight the common enemy. It will act in close collaboration with Britain and the United Nations for carrying out a common war policy, which will be determined by the Allied War Councils on which India will be represented by Indians chosen by the National Government, the Commander-in-Chief remaining in charge of the operational control of the war.

The Indian National Government will pursue a policy of militarisation and Industrialisation for the effective national defence of India and will raise a National Army for the purpose.

In this national crisis, no party should raise any issue calculated to disrupt

Indian unity and hinder the establishment of a National Government. In case any party adopts an obstructive attitude and does not want to co-operate in the formation of a National Government, then the other parties should still be invited to form such a National Government.

Muslim League's Attitude Condemned

This Committee records its emphatic opinion that it would be fatal to the cause of Nationalism and to the ordered evolution of a free India, if, as has been suggested in some quarters, the Muslim League alone, with its present avowedly anti-national outlook, is invited to form the Government at the Centre. The Hindus will never accept such a Government.

This Committee condemns the anti-national attitude adopted by the Muslim League and profoundly regrets that it is still pursuing a policy which will intensify the strife and bitterness between the communities calculated to help the continuance of foreign domination in India.

"British Govt. Encouraging Anti-National Forces"

This Committee is of opinion that the anti-national and anti-Hindu force are being encouraged by the attitude of the British Government and by its reluctance to part with power to the representatives of the Indian nation. This Committee has reason to believe that immediately the British Government genuinely decides to transfer power to Indian hands, the reactionary elements will be rendered ineffective and the representatives of the leading political parties will join hands and save India from the impending disaster.

This Committee is of opinion that the constitution of a Free India should be a Federal one, with the largest possible measure of autonomy for the federating units. In the interest of maintaining the unity and integrity of India, residuary powers must be vested in the Federal Government and not in the federating units.

The Hindu Mahasabha, as the representative organisation of the Hindus of India, has pursued the policy of responsive co-operation in spite of the tragic surrender by Britain, through Sir *Stafford Cripps*, to the malignant disruptionists in India. The time has now come when the Hindu Mahasabha must warn the British Government that, although force may suppress the violent outburst of popular discontent, for the time being, it can never appease or remove the fundamental cause of India's discontent. The only way to secure the willing co-operation of India in the titanic struggle against the present menace is to recognise India as a free country and to respond to India's demand for a National Government. The interests of England and her Allies require that political freedom should be conceded to India in such a full measure that it would be impossible for the enemies of England to offer anything more alluring to the people of India.

If the British Government still persists in its policy of callous indifference to India's national aspirations and does not respond to this demand for the recognition of India's freedom and for the formation of a National Government, the Hindu Mahasabha will have no alternative but to revise its present programme and to devise ways and means whereby Britain and her Allies will realise that India as a self-respecting nation, can no longer be suppressed.

The Hindu Mahasabha feels that in this crisis, when the Congress Committees have been banned as unlawful bodies and the Muslim League has taken up an impossible attitude of mere negation, it is the duty of the Hindu Mahasabha to make an earnest attempt to bring about the solution of the present deadlock and to make a final effort for an Indo-British settlement on honourable terms and to mobilise public opinion throughout India in support of the National Demand.

Committee Appointed to Organise Campaign

For effectively carrying out this double objective, this Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha appoints a committee consisting of the Working President, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Rai Bahadur Meher Chand Khanna, Mr. G. Deshpande, President *Savarkar* and Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth (both ex-officio), in order to organise an intensive campaign for mobilising public opinion in support of the National Demand and if possible to negotiate with the leaders of the principal political parties as well as representatives of the British Government. This committee should submit its report to the Working Committee by the end of September and a meeting of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee should be summoned at Nagpur on 1st October to make recommendations as to the course of action which the Hindu

Mahasabha should adopt and the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Committee should meet thereafter at Nagpur on the 3rd and 4th October to discuss the recommendations of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha.

POLICY OF REPRESSION CONDEMNED

This Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha condemns the policy of repression which has been launched by the Government of India and deplores the complete lack of statesmanship exhibited by the Government. This Committee demands the immediate release of all national leaders who are now detained in jail.

RELEASE SHRI Y. D. JOSHI

The Working Committee notes with satisfaction that Shri Yeshwantrao Joshi, General Secretary of the Hyderabad State Hindu Praja Mandal, has been recently given the status of a political prisoner, by the Nizam's Government as was demanded publicly by the Hindu Maha Sabha. The Working Committee brings it to the notice of the Nizam's Government that as the Hindu Praja Mandal is the only political organisation representing 90 percent of the State subjects it is extremely desirable in the interest of the State to release Shri Yeshwantrao Joshi who is the trusted leader of the Hindu Praja Mandal.

RELEASE OF CONGRESS LEADERS

(a This Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha condemns the policy of repression which has been launched by the Government of India and deplores the complete lack of statesmanship exhibited by the Government, particularly in view of the fact that *Mahatma Gandhi* was anxious to approach the Viceroy, the British Premier and the heads of the principal Allied nations for the purpose of securing an honourable settlement before starting any movement.

(b) This Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha records its strong condemnation of the assaults, lathi charges and indiscriminate firing indulged in by the Police on inoffensive and peaceful citizens who have not taken any part in the disturbances and offers its heartfelt sympathy to their families.

(c) This Committee demands the immediate release of all National leaders who are now detained in jail.

Working Committee Resolutions—New Delhi—3rd. to 5th. October 1942.

The next meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha was held at New Delhi on the 3rd October and continued till the 5th. October. The following resolutions were passed :—

EXECUTIVE'S CALL TO NATIONALISTS

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha in a resolution expresses the opinion that the statements of the British Premier and the Secretary of State for India and the refusal of the Viceroy to grant permission to the members of the special committee to interview Mahatma Gandhi make it clear that the British Government have no intention of parting with power, or facilitating the formation of a National Government in India.

GOVERNMENT'S CONTENTION

"The Hindu Mahasabha," the resolution proceeds "put forward the National Demand in order to convert this war which was imposed on India by the British imperialists into a genuine people's war to effectively organise the national defence of India during the present crisis. The failure on the part of British to respond to this National Demand and the policy of blind repression which is being relentlessly pursued convince the Working Committee that the Government want to utilise and exploit the present situation in order to suppress the forces of nationalism in this country.

PROPAGATE THE DEMAND

"The Working Committee calls upon all Mahasabha organisations throughout the country and all sections of nationalists who are interested in the emancipation of India to mobilise public opinion on an intensive scale for carrying on a mass campaign in order to preach and propagate the demand formulated by the Hindu Mahasabha which can truly be called the National Demand.

"The Working Committee appeals to all political parties in India to co-operate with the Special Committee appointed by the Hindu Mahasabha so as to force England to take the initiative in solving the deadlock.

NEGOTIATIONS TO CONTINUE

"That having regard to the satisfactory progress made by the Special Committee in establishing contact with the various political parties and leaders, and in mobilising public opinion in this country, the Working Committee while reaffirming its resolution of August 31 considers it desirable in the larger interest of the nation, that the negotiations and discussions with the political parties should be continued by the Special Committee who should submit its final report within a month and calls upon the Hindu Sanghatanists throughout India to keep themselves in readiness to respond to any call that may be given by the Hindu Mahasabha in accordance with the aforesaid resolution.

BAN ON FESTIVALS AND PROCESSIONS

(1) The Working Committee notes with great concern that customary religious festivals and processions of Hindus have been stopped or restricted by authorities at places on the excuse that owing to the present political disturbances unruly elements might take advantage of the occasions to promote troubles. The Working Committee feels that it is the duty of the Government to afford protection and facilities to the exercise of the normal and purely religious festivals of the Hindus which have been observed from times immemorial as established customs. It calls upon all local Hindu Sabhas to use all legitimate means against any interference with their long established religious, customary ceremonies and festivals.

COLLECTIVE FINES CONDEMNED

(2) The Working Committee of the A. I. Hindu Mahasabha condemns the policy pursued by the Government whereby heavy and disproportionate Collective Fines are being imposed only on Hindus and are being realised with the aid of the armed forces in a ruthless and peremptory manner. This glaring and cruel discrimination is the result of a deliberate policy of communal vindictiveness which must be opposed by the Hindus. The policy of the imposition of collective communal fines is not only immoral and unjust in view of the declaration of the responsible members of the Government to the effect that the general public have abstained from acts of violence and sabotage but is directly responsible for creating communal hatred and racial animosity.

The Committee calls upon the Government of India to abandon forthwith the policy of imposition of such collective fines, which are being inflicted on many innocent and law-abiding Hindu citizens who had nothing to do with any subversive movement. The Working Committee further calls upon the Hindus not to submit to such arbitrary and illegal exactions but to resist the payment of such fines by all legitimate means.

INQUIRY COMMITTEE

(3) The Working Committee of the A. I. Hindu Mahasabha has learnt, with horror and indignation, about the alleged wholesale burning and looting of Hindu villages, raping of Hindu women and of other acts of cruelty by the Military and the police in Bihar, United Provinces, and other parts in India, which, if true in their savagery and heinousness, appear to be on par with those reported to have been committed by Germany and Japan on the people of territories subjugated by them.

In view of the numerous allegations made by some of the responsible and leading members of the Mahasabha, the Working Committee appoints an Enquiry Committee which will be nominated by the President, (1) to enquire into the allegations, (2) to collect accurate facts and (3) and to submit its report to the Working Committee by the first week of December, 1942. The Enquiry Committee is authorised to constitute Provincial Sub-Committees to assist them in such investigations and collection of accurate information.

The Committee also calls upon the Government of India to appoint immediately a Judicial Committee of Enquiry for conducting investigation into these allegations with a view to remove the deepest resentment that has been caused throughout the country and to punish the officials responsible for these excesses.

(4) This meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha views with great concern the arrest of Shri Sant Tukdoji Maharaj by the Govt. of C. P. and Berar, who is greatly respected as such by millions of Hindus all over India and his arrest without any reasons having been published so far is bound to hurt the religious feelings of his disciples,

sympathisers, followers and all Hindus all over Hindusthan which may prove very harmful under the present political circumstances. The Working Committee therefore urges that Shri Sant Tukdoji Maharaj should be released from custody as early as possible.

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

24th. Session—Cawnpore—29th. December 1942

In a tastefully decorated pandal which was filled almost to its capacity, the twenty-fourth session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha commenced its session at Cawnpore on the 29th. December, 1942.

Over 15,000 people and 500 delegates from different provinces attended the session. Mr. *V. D. Savarkar* who was indisposed and looked week was carried in a chair to the base of the flag staff from the main entrance. He hoisted the Mahasabha Flag amidst great ovation.

Messages wishing success to the session were read out among others from Dr. *M. R. Jayakar*, Master *Tara Singh*, Sikh leader, Dr. *Heman Das*, Sind Minister, and Mr. *M. N. Mittra*.

Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, ex-President of the Mahasabha, and Dewan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda, also sent messages regretting absence and wishing the session success.

The proceedings opened with "Bandemataram" song, whereafter Mr. Savarkar was formally elected President of the session. Prominent delegates from different provinces, including Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Rai Bahadur Harish Chandra and Mr. B. G. Khaparde, supported the election of the President in the language of their respective provinces on the proposal of Lala Lakshmipat Singhania, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Mr. *Savarkar* began reading his address at 5-15 p. m. He was given a great ovation when he appeared on the rostrum. Due to weakness Mr. Savarkar remained seated on a chair, while reading his address in Hindi.

Mr. Savarkar concluded his address shortly after 6-30 p. m. He was heard with rapt attention by the audience and towards the close he received enthusiastic acclamation.

Lala Lakshmipat Singhania's Address

Lala Lakshmipat Singhania, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the President-elect and delegates, said: "It is not desirable at this time to blame the Congress for having always tried to come to terms with the Muslims by giving them concessions and raising their demands ever more. It is also not wise to say that they would accept only those demands of the Muslims which are reasonable and warranted by their numerical strength in the country. If we want freedom and if we want a National Government at the Centre during the war, we shall have to rise above these considerations and find out a solution."

Tracing the history of the efforts towars a political settlement of the Indian question the Chairman recognised that the political parties did not generate strong nationalism by forming coalition ministries. He opined that this resulted in communal bitterness and mutual suspicion. He did not think that the resignation of the Congress Ministries gave an impetus to the demand for Pakistan.

Laying down what, in his opinion, should be the policy of the Hindu Mahasabha in the present situation of the country, he begged the Sabha to ponder over past mistakes and import a wider outlook, although other parties might seem to have a narrow vision. The reaction of it was bound to melt their narrow-mindedness and create liberal attitude in them. Their political problems, intricate and complicated as they were, should be solved by a correct appreciation of the conditions prevailing in the country.

Proceeding, Mr. Singhania emphasised the need for a truly National Government and said: "The war efforts are going on in full speed, the recruitment to the army is increasing day by day and industrialisation of the country is proceeding rapidly. Hindus should enlist in larger numbers in the army and start as many industries as possible." *Lala Lakshmipat* characterised collective fines as morally wrong and exhorted the Mahasabha to devise some means to get the grievances of the Hindus redressed in this respect.

The Presidential Address

The following is the full text of the presidential address :—

You have really overwhelmed me with kindness in appreciating my services,

quite limited though they are, so highly as to elect me in an unbroken succession for the sixth time to the Presidentship of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, the highest office of honour and duty which lies at the disposal of Hindudom today. If I too on my part do not shirk to accept this responsibility for the present, in spite of the most willing resignations tendered by me from time to time requesting you to relieve me of this post in view of my ailing health, it is only due to the fact that forces from outside the camp of the Hindu Mahasabha have actually been conspiring first to waylay the Mahasabha and then capture it by some crafty *coup-de-tat*. Some of them try to browbeat it into submission, others are scheming to kill it with kindness and all of them want it to betray that Hindu ideology and those fundamental principles of independence and integrity of Hindusthan, the holy land and fatherland of us Hindus, which alone form both the charter and the vindication of its existence apart from and independent of the Congress, as the foremost representative organisation of Hindudom as a whole. It is consequently the imperative duty of each and all of us Hindu Sanghatanists on whom has fallen in this generation the duty to protect Hindudom and this Mahasabha, this holy shrine of our Hindu nation, to stand on guard at each of its gates and serve the post alloted to each with unswerving fidelity. It is this special emergency that has made me to take up this post which you have all summoned me again to hold.

Bhagalpur Epic

Before I proceed, I must first take a rapid review of some leading events which happened during this year in connection with the Hindu Mahasabha, so as to enable us to realise more precisely where we stand to-day and what should be our immediate programme.

This year opened just when we were in the very thick of the Bhagalpur Civil Resistance Campaign. The most important aspect of the struggle which constitutes an abiding source of strength and self-confidence to our people is the fact that we Hindus could present a United Hindu Front and demonstrate beyond cavil or criticism that in spite of castes or creeds, sects and sections, Hindudom as a whole does still pulsate with a common National Being. That Pan-Hindu consciousness which the Hindu Mahasabha has so long been striving to create has at last become a living reality, forceful and organised enough to resist and at times even to cow down the anti-Hindu forces which held their sway unchallenged for such a long time in the past. From our esteemed leader Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerji down to those hero-souls who laid their lives unknown to fame or name, thousands and thousands of Hindu Sanghatanists—Rajas and Ryots, Millionaires and Millhands, Ex-Ministers and M.L.A.'s, Sanatanists, Sikhs, Jains and Aryas—all rushed to Bhagalpur from every corner of India, animated by the common urge to defend the honour of the pan-Hindu flag. The struggle was not restricted to Bhagalpur alone, but ultimately it spread all over six districts of Bihar which came under the ban and its shocks were felt throughout India. They faced lathi charges which were the order of the day. The armed mounted forces of the Government charged the processionists and civil resisters at various places trampling men, women and children under the hoofs of their horses. Organised firing was also resorted to but in cities and towns and even villages the Hindu civil resisters faced it all with unabated zeal in defending the honour of the Hindu colours and in winning the goal which was the objective at issue. There can be no exaggeration in proclaiming that the 23rd Session of the Hindu Mahasabha held at Bhagalpur, despite the Government ban, proved to be the most momentous and most successful one of all the Annual Sessions held till then by any All India organisation including the Congress in the modern history of India.

I shall be wanting in my duty if I, as the President, fail to express on behalf of the Session our deepest gratitude to all those who took part in the Bhagalpur Dharma Yuddha as soldiers in the spirit of crusaders although the Hindu Mahasabha has nothing else to offer to mark its appreciation of their services, but the crown of thorns of martyrdom to those who laid their lives in the struggle and their very wounds to those thousands of soldiers who were wounded as the "Iron-Crosses" they won.

The second aspect of the struggle which must be noted here is the fact that it was fought in defence of Hindu rights as Hindu rights and under the unalloyed Hindu colours. The Nizam Civil Resistance Movement and this Bhagalpur campaign wherein millions of Hindus rose in protest against the humiliation of the Hindu flag drove the last nail in the coffin of that pseudo-Nationalism which kept dominating the Hindu mind for the last 30 years or so, had penalised any

agitation to uphold any special rights of the Hindus as a "National" sin, throttled the Hindu voice, suppressed the Hindu spirit, reduced the Hindus to political orphans in this land.

These struggles did also prove to all concerned that the Hindu Mahasabha was not only powerful enough to raise a mass movement of legitimate resistance on an all-India scale in defence of Hindu rights, but had a better tactical sense of timing them and conducting them strategically to an assured success.

Within a couple of months of the cessation of the Bhagalpur struggle, the All-India Committee of the Mahasabha was held in February in Lucknow and passed off successfully inspite of the riotous opposition staged by the Moslems there.

The Cripps Mission

Then came the Cripps mission at the end of March. The British Government had been for years feigning to believe that the Congress represented the Hindus, the Moslem League represented the Moslems and consequently the political equation followed inevitably that the Congress and the League together represented all India. But in the meanwhile the Hindu Mahasabha had established itself so firmly as a new political power in the land challenging both the Congress and the League whenever Hindu interest demanded it that the British Government had to recognise the Mahasabha, by the time the Cripps mission came, as one of the three outstanding All-India organizations and as the foremost accredited representative body of Hindudom as a whole. To the Congress and many other parties and leaders the Cripps scheme seemed at first sight sufficiently alluring to undertake a hopeful survey to discover confidently some oasis in that political Sahara. It was the Hindu Mahasabha alone which publicly declared just at the first glance at the scheme that Sir Stafford wanted really to play to the American gallery, and carried on those endless negotiations with the Indian politicians, just to make them play the tune he called. Not only that, but the Mahasabha unerringly and immediately discerned and pointed out the cloven-foot concealed under a heap of roses on which the scheme really stood. It was the clause laying down the condition that the declaration of freedom of India could be made by Great Britain only if the Hindus admitted the principle that provinces should be allowed to have the right of self-determination by their own majority to secede from the Central Indian Government, and even to set themselves up as States independent of it. This clause constituted a veritable danger aimed at the heart of the integrity of Hindusthan as an indivisible Nation and a centralised State. The Hindu Mahasabha rejected it unceremoniously and in rejecting the clause it had to reject the scheme in toto. While all other parties including the Congress had tacitly accepted the clause and swallowing that camel kept straining at the gnats of portfolios here and there, this total rejection of the scheme by the Hindu Mahasabha centralised at a stroke the attention of the whole nation in general, and the Hindus in particular, on the real point that mattered most. While the independence of India was still floating in the hazy clouds of promises alone, the integrity of India was in imminent danger of being stabbed in the back. The lead that the Mahasabha gave by rejecting the scheme at a stroke on this issue, was followed after some fuss of negotiations by almost all parties in the land under this or that excuse.

The Working Committee of the Mahasabha which was immediately held regarding the Cripps scheme reasserted in its resolution that, in view of developments in the political situation in the world, nothing short of an immediate and unconditional declaration of India's independence could animate and enthuse the whole country to mobilise its full and willing fighting strength, both in men and material, to fight out the war which then would have been our own concern as truly as it was in the case of the British people.

It was necessary to demonstrate that the Hindu Sanghatanist world was solidly behind the Hindu Mahasabha on these two fundamental points which compelled the Mahasabha to reject the Cripps scheme. It was therefore decided that an anti-Pakistan day should be observed throughout India by the Hindus under the pan-Hindu colours on the 10th of May 1942, which being the anniversary of the National rising of 1857, had been annually celebrated by the Hindu Mahasabha as the Independence Day. Accordingly this day was observed throughout India under the auspices of the Hindu Mahasabha with intense enthusiasm on an unprecedented scale. Jammu, Peshawar, Poona, Amritsar, Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Patna, Calcutta, Bombay, Nagpur, Lahore, Madras, almost all capital cities and hundreds of towns and villages held innumerable meetings which were altogether attended on

that evening by millions of millions of Hindus who took up a public pledge to support the Hindu Mahasabha and to stand by the two fundamental principles on which it had taken its stand, the independence and integrity of Hindustan. Although the Moslems were conducting, without let or hindrance, a pro-Pakistan campaign and men like Mr. *Rajagopolachari* were allowed to preach vivisection of Hindusthan as freely as they liked, illegitimate and one-sided ban was placed on the anti-Pakistan demonstrations at several places like Patna, Arrah and others on this All India anti-Pakisthan day. But the Hindu Mahasabhaites defied those unjust bans, took out their processions and held metings, even though hundreds of them got arrested for the only fault of asserting their basic civic rights. The determination with which Hindudom as a whole expressed on this day its uncompromising opposition to any scheme which involved the granting to the provinces the right of secession, proved once more the strength of the hold the Hindu Mahasabha had come to exercise on Hindu mind and how it had thus established its right to represent genuine Hindu feeling far more correctly and effectively than the self-styled Indian National Congress could ever do.

The Congress, in the meanwbile, was rapidly on the other hand yielding to the pressure of the Moslems and had already got itself committed to the promise that it would not oppose the grant to provinces to secede if the Moslems insisted on it. As if the Moslems had not already insisted on it uncompromisingly enough to brow-beat the Congress itself into submission ! Mr. Rajagopalachari in particular got simply possessed of the Pakistani spirit, He actually planned a triumphal tour to convert the benighted Hindus all over India to his new faith. He left Madras and selected his own presidency at the outset to infect it with the Pakistani epidemic, but the Mahasabhaites were alert everywhere and gave him hot chase throughout his tour from Madras to Bombay. Dharmaveer Dr. Moonje and Prof. Deshpande,—the indomitable champion of the Hindu cause who has only recently been arrested under the Defence of India Act,—were deputed to tour the Madras Presidency and there along with the veteran Hindu Mahasabhaite leader Dr. *Varadrajalu Naidu*, they dislodged Rajaji so completely from every platform that like the proverbial hare "whom hounds and horns pursue," even the redoubtable Rajaji, in spite of the obliging blessings and public sympathies of Gandhiji himself, had to return discomfitted "back to the place from whence at first he flew" ! Since then he seems to have left the forum and taken to his table to busy himself with the more congenial task of issuing statements after statements to convince the benighted Hindus that the Moslem demand were just. the Pakisthan was the key to Swaraj, two and two do not make four but five !

"QUIT INDIA"

Just then the Congress had almost made it clear that it meant to start some kind of civil resistance movement, under the usual non-violent dictatorship of Gandhiji. The Hindu Sabhaites from all parts of India grew naturally anxious to know what attitude they should adopt towards this Congressite movement which was meant to order Great Britain straightway to 'Quit India' forthwith. Now it was the duty of every Indian patriot, and especially of a Hindu patriot, to join a movement whic had for its goal the absolute political independence of Hindusthan. But the question of timing and the ways and the means were also of outstanding importance. Even leaving it all aside, the goal to be achieved by any movement was the question of questions which must be decided to begin with. You must know before you go to fight the object for which you have to fight. The Congress had made it crystal clear by that time that it was ready to agree, even to vivisect India as an organic and a centralised State, in order to placate the Moslems, and to persuade them to join the movement. Then again 'Quit India' was not the only demand which they advanced, but inconsistently enough they added to it a rider which demanded of Great Britain that though the British should leave India, yet they must retain their British forces and even the American forces behind to protect India against the Axis powers invading her. In short the war-cry of the Congress movement came to "*Quit India but keep the British army here and the Americans to boot*" !! And the price of the movement for Indian Independence was the vivisection of Indian integrity !! Under such circumstances it became quite necessary to clear up the issue before the Hindu Mahasabha got committed to any such movement, even though it was primarily meant for freedom of India, which was the proclaimed demand of the Hindu Mahasabha itself on its own initiation. Consequently it laid down the following conditions in my speech in a mammoth meeting in Poona on the Bajirao Maidan on the 2nd of August, the report

of which was broadcast and published, not only in the Indian press but by the foreign press also, before the A. I. C. C. met Bombay.

CONDITIONS OF CO-OPERATION

The leading conditions were as follows :—(a) The Congress should guarantee the integrity of Hindusthan from the Indus to the Seas as an organic nation and an integral centralised state. (b) The Congress should, therefore, openly repudiate the granting of any right to the provinces to secede. (c) Representation in the legislatures etc. should in proportion to the population of the majority and the minorities. (d) Public services should go by merit alone. (e) That the Hindu Mahasabha should be recognised as the representative body of Hindudom and consequently no step should be taken affecting Hindu rights without its consultation and sanction. (f) All minorities should be given effective safeguards to protect their language, religion, culture etc. but none of them should be allowed to create a "a state within a state," as the League of Nations put it, or to encroach upon the legitimate rights of the majority as defined above. (g) The residuary powers should be vested in the Central Government.

Had the Congress agreed to these conditions the Hindu Mahasabha could have considered whether to co-operate with it on any reasonable lines of action. These conditions were so indisputably national that 'the Indian National' Congress in fact ought to have been the first, instead of the Hindu Mahasabha, to proclaim them if it was genuinely and justly representing the Indian Nation as a whole. But the Congress refused stubbornly to have anything to do with these conditions. Nay, in their resolution at Bombay, the A. I. C. C. actually declared that the residuary powers shall be vested in the Provincial Governments instead of the Central, in addition to the concession the Congress had already made to the Pakistanees of the principle of provincial self-determination to secede. The climax came when Gandhiji, after being proclaimed as the defacto dictator of the Congress, wrote an authoritative letter to reassure Mr. *Jinnah* of his readiness to hand-over the whole Government of India including the India States to the Moslem League. I quote the relevant passage from the letter itself :—

"In all sincerity let me explain it again that if the Moslem League co-operated with the Congress for immediate independence, subject of course to the provision that independent India will permit the operations of the Allied armies in order to check Axis aggression and thus to help China and Russia, the Congress will have no objection to the British Government transferring all the powers it today exercises to the Moslem League on behalf of the whole of India includiug the so-called Indian India. The Congress will not only not obstruct any Government which the Moslem League may form on behalf of the people, but will even join the Government. This is meant in all seriousness and sincerity."—M. K. GANDHI.

Comments are superfluous. The betrayal of Hindu rights of genuine Nationality could have gone no further. Such a letter would have been burnt in protest from a thousand platforms throughout India by the enraged Hindu-Sanghatanist world, had not restraining counsel prevailed in view of the patriotic objective at issue and had we not been passing through abnormal times. Were the Hindu Mahasabhaites deliberately to join a fight whose prize and inevitable consequence was the vivisection of their own Motherland and Holy land ? Then again, there were the technical question which are also of no less importance regarding the timing, the ways and the means and, above all, the effectiveness of which we could depend upon on sane calculations. This was the crucial and fundamental issue which made the Mahasabhaites in general feel duty bound not to identify themselves entirely with the Congress movement as it was then vaguely contemplated.

Since then, of course, the Congressites themselves have been disowning their connection with the present wave of violent disturbances passing over the country. Consequently we need not take upon ourselves the responsibility of labelling it all as a Congress Movement and the question of joining it or otherwise does not rise at all, so far as the point under discussion is concerned.

7. Then all of a sudden several hundreds of the patriotic Congress leaders including *Mahatma Gandhiji* were arrested and later on a violent wave of popular discontent and governmental repression of it threw the whole country into turmoil. Today thousands of our Hindu brethren, Congressites and non-Congressites, have already suffered, or are suffering untold calamities from death to detention. They are all our kith and kin and our deepest sympathies cannot but go out to them in grateful appreciation of the fact that they have faced these sufferings from a patriotic motive, or as the result of the patriotic struggle. Unscrupulous goondaism

which is inevitably let loose in such great commotions cannot of course deserve any sympathy. But even the British Government or the British public could not but admit that the struggle was essentially the struggle of the people for the freedom of their country. If that be a guilt, then we have all been participating in it and are proud to be guilty of it.

Unjust Propaganda

But patriotism itself demands that it is a national duty of all of us Hindus to see to it that sympathy with patriotic sufferings must not be allowed to get the better of our judgment and drive us headlong and blindfolded on a path, which we conscientiously believe to be detrimental to the best interest of our Hindu Nation. To make a common cause on a wrong issue or a line of action which is bound to lead to national disaster, simply to present a "United Front" is not the essence of patriotism, but amounts to a betrayal of national duty. It will be well if those who criticise the Hindu Mahasabha, either through indiscretion or impudence, for not following the Congress rightly or wrongly for the sake of and merely 'Unity', because the Congress was actuated by patriotic motives, would do well to remember that patriots also are no exception to the general rule that it is human to err. Those who sincerely think that a particular line of action is detrimental to the Nation and therefore reject it and choose to serve it in the ways and means they are convinced to be more effective under the given circumstances to realise a common ideal cannot be deemed on that only ground as less patriotic than those who acted otherwise. It is regrettable, however, that forgetting this fact the Congressite Press, day in and day out, have been trying to bring the Hindu Mahasabha into disrepute. Their criticism when reasonable and decent could be met by reasons given above. But the larger part of the Congressite press and propaganda has thrown decency of criticism to the winds, and is growing malicious and sad. In righteous defence of the Hindu Mahasabha such criticism must be challenged and checked. Some of these critics seem to be irritated at the thought that the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha did not jump over the walls of the jail the very day *Gandhiji* and others were arrested for raising such a momentous cry of "Quit India but keep your army here". So far as the "Quit India" is concerned it is enough to point out that some of the outstanding Mahasabha leaders and followers today had been amongst those handful revolutionists who publicly raised the standard of Indian independence for the first time in current history and rose in an armed revolt when Gandhiji and some of the present leaders of the Congress were singing Hallelujahs to the British Empire, extolling its blessings and thinking it their duty as loyal citizens and subjects of that Empire to take its side against the Zulus and the Boers who were fighting for their freedom. When further on as consequence of their revolutionary activities these Hindusabhaites of to-day had to stand under the shadow of the gallows or were undergoing the sentences of transportations for life, rotting in Andamanese dungeons for decades, were not the present outstanding Congress leaders including Gandhiji 'guilty' for not making a common cause with the revolutionists merely for the sake of "United front" and for not seeking the gallows or getting themselves locked in the cellular jails in the Andamans ? Coming nearer, what have you to say regarding the Congress when it not only kept itself at a respectable distance from imprisonment, but actually joined hands with the *Nizam* and took up a pledge "not to embarrass His Exalted Highness" while thousands of Hindu Sanghatanists were carrying on a deadly struggle with the *Nizam* for the most legitimate rights of the Hindus and were facting lathi charge, imprisonments and tortures at the hands of the Nizam's Government ? Far from sharing these sufferings with the Hindu Sanghatanists were not the leaders and followers of the Congress strutting about as Ministers of provinces under the British Crown, some drawing fat pays, others rolling in the lap of luxury ? And what about Bhagalpur, when for the defence of fundamental civil liberties, of freedom of speech and freedom of association, not less than one hundred thousand Hindu Sanghatanists carried on an active struggle with the Government of Bihar throughout the six districts which came under the ban against all the forces which the Bihar Government could draw upon : firings, bayonetings, not to speak of whippings, imprisonments etc.

If they try to explain and justify this conduct on the part of the Congressites as not due to want of public spirit or to a lack of courage, but to an honest difference of opinion on patriotic grounds as to the line of action and principles, which the Congress had with the Hindu Mahasabhaites and consequenly attempt to justify the Congress on not presenting a "United front" at the cost of national

good, as Congressites interpreted it by joining the Hindu Mahasabha,—then they should have sense enough to perceive that that very justification holds good in the case of the Hindu Mahasabha too, because they too did not like to be dragged as moral slaves by whatever the Congress resolutions decreed or movements demanded.

Similarly another argument which forms the stock in trade of the libellous criticism and propaganda of the Congressites with regard to the policy of the Hindu Mahasabha of occupying centres of political power, howsoever limited it be, springs back upon themselves and unlike the boomerang hits only themselves hard. The Hindu Mahasabha, through its elected or supported representatives, has now come to occupy responsible positions in political councils, committees, ministries, legislatures, municipalities and such other centres of political power and it is this fact which has pre-eminently contributed to the outstanding political importance which the Mahasabha, and through it Hindudom as a whole has come to attain throughout India as never before. It is human that some of the unemployed Congressites should get irritated to find that so many of the 'jobs' should have fallen into other hands and should make them accuse the Hindu Sanghatanists as mere 'job-hunters'. We pity them for their irritation. But we cannot excuse them for making a virtue of necessity and go about posing as so many suffering saints who never cared a fig for these very worldly and servile 'jobs'.

For was it not only the other day that the Congress from one end of India to the other went on such 'job-hunting'? They agreed to act as Ministers—not as Kings, but servilely enough as Ministers—to the Governors, who, in their turn, were servants of the British Crown. They, who now accuse the Hindusabhaites as helping Imperialism, took oaths of allegiance to the British Imperial Crown, accepted salaries, invited whole troops their followers and hangers on, to get the loaves and fishes of the offices, posts and positions, distributed only among themselves. They could do only those things which the Governors permitted at their pleasure in the last resort. They laboured under the constitution which they had prentended to despise. Whenever they failed to satisfy this or that section of the public they either pointed out to the limitations under which they held office or they sallied out firing and delivering lathi charges on those of their countrymen who disobeyed them, or picketted them. If anybody fasted at their doors in protest of their actions they told him bluntly "You may lie there comfortably till you die. I must attend my office and do my duty as I choose." Did not Rajagopalachari himself the foremost of those ministers who "followed the Mahatma" tell the world in blunt accents in justification of the actions of the Congress Government that the first duty of the Government was to govern.

Policy of Responsive Co-operation

Do you condemn the Congress for this 'job-hunting' and rough riding? or do you justify all this as patriotic? Do the Congressites explain it all away on the ground that larger public interest demanded that even under limitations the Constitution should be worked out to squeeze whatever public good you can get out of it? If you say 'yes' to the latter, then in justifying yourselves you justify the Hindu Mahasabha too, in its policy of capturing centres of political power, limited though it be to begin with and standing on that point of vantage, try to leap over and occupy more effective centres of power.

The Hindu Mahasabha holds that, leading principle of all practical politics, is the policy of Responsive Co-operation, and in virtue of it believes that all those Hindu Sanghatanistes who are working as Councillors, Ministers, Legislators and conducting Municipal or any public bodies with a view to utilise those centres of Governmental power to safeguard and even to promote the legitimate interests of the Hindus without, of course, encroaching on the legitimate interest of others, are rendering a highly patriotic service to our Nation. Knowing the limitations under which they work, the Mahasabha only expects them to do whatever good they can under the circumstances and if they do not fail to do that much it would thank them for having acquitted themselves well. The limitations are bound to get themselves limited step by step till they get altogether eliminated.

The policy of responsive co-operation which covers the whole gamut of patriotic activities from unconditional co-operation, right up to active and even armed resistance, will also keep adopting itself to the exigencies of the time, resources at our disposal and dictates of our national interest.

It must be remembered in this connection that if there be any 'job-hunters', it is precisely these penny-a-liners, who betray such a low taste in their criticism of the Mahasabha and happen to conduct the majority of Congressite second-rate

sheets, and owing to that very fact, are within easy reach of the masses. The majority of them, we all know, have not suffered a scratch throughout their lives in any patriotic movement and would write for any other party if but they are more sumptuously paid. Many of them are actually known to have done so. It becomes inevitable, therefore, in defence of the Hindu cause that from time to time they too must be shown their proper place.

But I shall do injustice to myself if I fail to make it clear that my criticism against this type of a Congressite does not and cannot mean that all Congressites are equally blind to reason or are deliberately bent on harming Hindu interest, or humiliating Hindu honour which Hindus as they themselves are, cannot but be their own interest and honour.

Nay, I know many of these patriotic Congressites do actually appreciate the merits of the Hindu Mahasabha as well. Their racial pride as Hindus get wounded whenever the Congress goes wrong and sacrifices the most legitimate Hindu interests and makes the Hindus to undergo most cowardly surrenders. The very fact that thousands of the devoted workers and several all-India leaders who have now rallied devotedly round the pan-Hindu Standard had once been actively and prominently working in the Congress camp, is enough to bear out this truth that there are and must be thousands of Hindus in the Congress camp who cannot hear to see the Hindu cause anathemtized by the Congress, but who nevertheless have not yet got rid of the habitual reluctance to get out of the Congress but and come openly out of it.

But this past experience makes me feel more or less confident that thousands of those of my Hindu brethren who are proud of their race and this their Motherland of the Rishis and the Avatars will have to leave the Congress before long, through the very urge of their conscience, and can find then but one path to go ahead in defence of Hindutva,—the path that leads to the Hindu Mahasabha Shrine.

Mahasabha Assumes the Lead

As soon as Congress was removed from the political field as an open organisation under the Governmental ban, the Hindu Mahasabha alone was left to take up the task of conducting whatever Indian National activities lay within its scope. For, to call upon the Moslem League to lead any Indian National movement would have rightly enough been taken as insult by it, just as to call the Congress a Hindu body was perversely enough used to be taken by it as an insult. For, India to the Moslem League was but a sub-continent, no Nation at all. But the Hindu Mahasabha believes in an integral Indian Nation, even more intensely than the 'Indian National' Congress itself. The first National point that required immediate attention at that time was to expose the hollowness of the British propaganda, which wanted the world to believe that the *Cripps* scheme failed not so much owing to the unwillingness of the British to part with power, as to the internecine conflicts of the Indian people. The *Cripps* Scheme was held dazzling before the world as a veritable Magna-charta conferring on India all that could be offered to liberate a people from political slavery, and pointing out to it the British press and propaganda called upon the world to witness how higher constitutions bestowed upon peoples, not politically developed enough to deserve them, serve only to worsen their condition. The glorious Magna-charta which wanted to invest India with full freedom proved only an apple of discord. As soon as political power was offered to the Indians,—instead of its receiving it as a United Nation—they sprang at each others' throats, community against community and their ancient civil feuds instead of being healed grew only fiercer. There was no united demand and had we not withdrawn that glorious Magna-charta in time there would have broken up an immediate and bloody Civil War. Thus the British interpreted the *Cripps* episode to India and the world.

That there was and continues to be communal disunity in India need not to be denied. Every country has had to pass through such phases including England and America. But the fact that it was the real cause of the withdrawal of the *Cripps* scheme was a lie and it had to be nailed to the counter, because the British had almost succeeded in duping America and China and even a section in India. The American public and the press which were sympathetic to some extent to India's aspirations before the *Cripps* Mission changed their tone and admitted that England had done all she could and in all sincerity in granting full political freedom to the Indians and that it was really the internal discord amongst the Indians themselves that was responsible for the failure of the scheme.

Above all, in India itself, the Congress and the majority of the Hindus in

particular laboured under the supposition that, if but we could produce as national demand, a United scheme then it will be simply impossible for England to refuse to grant it. That is why the Congress more than often went on its knees before the League. That is why so many all-party and non-party conferences had been held. It was necessary, therefore, even to cure the Indians themselves from this self-deception that some strenuous effort on an All-India scale had to be made. It was also advisable to find out how far the various parties in India did really differ and whether on the two or three questions which concerned all alike some National demand could be framed. It was with this objective in view that the Hindu Mahasabha decided to enter into negotiations with all important political parties and personalities on the three outstanding demands which the Mahasabha had already framed. The immediate declaration of Indian Independence, a National Government with full powers during the war with the exception of the Military portfolio, so far as the operative part was concerned and the holding of a constitution-framing assembly as soon as the war ceased, formed the leading clauses in this demand.

A special Committee was appointed to conduct these negotiations, consisting of the Working—President, Dr. *Shyama Prosad Mookherjee*, Dr. *Moonje*, Sjt. *N. C. Chatterjee*, Raja *Maheshwar Dayal Seth*, Rai Bahadur *Meharchand Khanna* and Prof. *Deshpande*. The response that the Committee received from different parties and eminent persons was encouraging and spontaneous. Under the able lead of Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mookherjee* on whom fell the real burden of carrying negotiations, the Committee succeeded in creating such a wave of enthusiasm all over India that the public attention was centred on this topic only. Representatives of the English, the American, the Chinese press also took keen interest in the developments and gave a prominent publicity in their countries to these efforts of the Mahasabha.

The result also was not quite incommensurate with the troubles taken by the distinguished members of the Hindu Mahasabha Committee and of those Indian organizations and leaders who co-operated with them. Firstly, it was full of significance from the constructive point of view. For, the Committee succeeded in producing a 'National Demand' on the most crucial issues, referred to above which could not but convince everyone but those who found it inconvenient to get convinced that India as a Nation demanded with a united will and voice the declaration on the part of the British Parliament that she should be recognised here and now as an Independent Nation. When the Hindu Mahasabha—"the second great all India Hindu Organization" to quote *Lord Devonshire*, the present Under-Secretary of State for India, with the foremost leaders of our Sikh brotherhood, the Presidents of the Momin Conference, and other Moslem organizations, the President of the Christian Federation, the National League, the Liberal Federation, along with the then Provincial Ministers of Sind and Bengal and scores of other eminent politicians who had been legislators and administrators and held most responsible positions in the Government,—have signed or supported the demand it had every right to claim for itself and to be recognised as being nothing short of a national demand. When you add to it the fact that the Congress resolution, too, had more or less emphasised the very items which constituted its national character becomes unassailed. If it even be pretended that such a demand also falls short of a national demand, only because the League or some such sections chose to remain aloof, then no demand ever made by any nation can deserve to be called a national one.

It must be remembered that even the national plebiscites on the strength of whose demand the Canadian or the African or the American Federations were formed were not and could not be considered national or univocal on the sole ground that there was not a single citizen or single party opposed to them. Nay, the fact is that in all such national demands or plebicites those who voted against them could also count their strength in thousands.

A national demand must always mean the demand of overwhelming majority of citizens or parties forming the nation,—irrespective of the dissentient minorities,

THE NATIONAL DEMAND

When the Mahasabha succeeded in producing a definite demand, signed by such an overwhelming majority, it served to explode the British pretext and had a very salutory effect not only on that large section of Indians themselves but even on the Chinese, the Americans and the pro-British foreign press in general which had first acquitted the British for withholding freedom from India and believed

that the chaotic disunity in India itself was really responsible for the withdrawal of the Cripps Scheme. Many of them changed their opinion, saw through the game and came to the correct judgment that it was really the unwillingness on the part of Great Britain to let go her hold on India.

As the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, I forwarded this national demand by cable to the British Prime Minister the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. *Winston Churchill.* I received an acknowledgment from him in which the Prime Minister wrote that he noted with appreciation the endeavours of the Hindu Mahasabha to promote unity among the several elements in Indian life, but observed that they had not so far resulted in any specific and constructive proposals enjoying the support of all the major parties.

Comments need not be made on this reply as the question is already exhaustively dealt with above. Only one point needs to be touched. The only party in in India worth mentioning as a major party that did not support the demand was the Moslem League.—not Moslems ! beacause we had large Moslem organizations signing the demand. If then, the failure of the League to see eye to eye with all other parties in the land is to disqualify a demand from being national, then it only amounts to invest a fraction, of a minority with a power to veto the will of the overwhelming majority of the nation ; Of course, even the League must be knowing that the Prime Minster must have been talking with his tongue in his cheeks when he referred to the League with such an awful indispensibility. If ever the League asked anything or supports anything which goes against the British interest, even the League must not be doubting that the Prime Minister will question its right to speak for the Moslems themselves.

The negotiations were also useful to prove the falsity of the dishonest criticism of the opponents of the Hindu Mahasabha including the Congressite that it being a communal organisation could have no national programme or policy or could take no national lead. It was made clear that the Hindu Mahasabha was more national in its programme and yet less liable to fall a victim to weak-kneed vagaries like the Congress or to perverse communalism like the League. In practical politics also the Mahasabha knows that we must advance through reasonable compromises. The very fact that only recently in Sind, the Sind Hindu Sabha on invitation had taken the responsibility of joining with the League itself in running a coalition Government prove this. The case of Bengal is wellknown. Wild Leaguers whom even the Congress with all its submissiveness could not placate grew quite reasonably compromising and sociable as soon as they came in contact with the Hindu Mahasabha and the coalition Government, under the premiership of Mr. *Fazlul Huq* and the able lead of our esteemed Mahasabha leader Dr. *Shyamaprosad Mookherji*, functioned successfully for a year or so to the benefit of both the communities. Moreover, further events also proved demonstratively that the Hindu Mahasabhaits endeavoured to capture the centres of political power only in the public interest and not for the loaves and fishes of the office. Witness the hold and eloquent statement issued by Dr. *Mookherji* when he threw away the portfolio the moment he saw that the Governor had made it impossible for him to serve the public and continue in the ministry with any degree of self-respect.

Utility of Foreign Propaganda

Even though we do not contribute in the least to the forlorn hope that Americans, Russians or any other foreign nation will risk its own interest and take up cudgels to free India on account of political justice or a high sense of humanity alone, still we cannot altogether dipense with the unity of foreign propaganda, for the very practical reasons to acquaint the independent nations with the political situation in our country and combat any propaganda set on foot by anti-Hindu parties to mislead their judgment or to secure their sympathies. The very self-interest of each of the nations in the world is so intertwined and got mixed up with the self-interest of others that each of them requires to know and let know the real political situation each other. Coalitions and countercoalitions even though be based on national self-interest of each nation could be advantageously formed if each nation knows the correct political situation in all other countries in the world. Ever since the war began England launched a world-wide propaganda that she was fighting for freedom and democracy all over the world, but the Hindu Mahasabha believed not a word of it and openly said so in its resolutions. England, therefore, had to prove to Americans and others that if she could not free India here and now, it was due to India's own fault. American interests on this and several other grounds required that if India is satisfied it will be an inexhaustible source of men and

materials for them to win the war. So they grew more anxious to study the Indian situation. Before the war broke out America had some hazy notion that there was a National Congress and the Moslem League. The former was a Hindu body in the main and the League represented the Moslems. Consequently they thought that the Congress and the League meant united opinion of the Hindus and latter the Moslems. They heard now and then something about the Hindu Mahasabha, but they did not know how to squeeze it in between the two. They had not the slightest notion that the Mahasabha had come to occupy an outstanding position as an All-India body.

But since my cablegram to President Roosevelt which was featured prominently throughout the American press, and through it the world press, the attention of the American public and the press was drawn more pointedly to the Mahasabha, and a curiosity grew in foreign countries to know more closely its ideology, position and policy. Several press representatives and public men who came to study Indian position in general from America, England, and China interviewed the Hindu Mahasabha leaders also. Some of them wrote back to their respective press acquainting their public with the ideology and the outstanding position of the Hindu Mahasabha as the representative all-India body of the Hindus, just as the Moslem League was the representative of Moslem interest. A number of cables sent from the Presidential office and other Mahasabha centres on several occasions got good publicity as the American press representatives assured me. Even American film-men got the Presidential office and the routine work photographed personally for a movement I am told that newsreels show them on the American screens. At the time of the negotiations also the foreign press-agents took keen interest and did considerable propaganda to make the voice of the Mahasabha heard outside India. The contact we have thus succeeded in establishing with American, Chinese and even British public men who interviewed personally the President and several other leaders and with the public press overseas, has already grown intimate enough in making them realise that any pact, signed by the Congress alone, can not bind the Hindus, unless and until it is agreed to and sanctioned by the Hindu Mahasabha, as the foremost representative body of the Hindus, nor can any agreement between the Congress and the League alone could be taken as an Indian National agreement, if the Hindu Mahasabha is not a a party to it This fact will stand us in good stead at the end of the war when the powers sit together to reshape the map of the world, and if the political constitution of India does form an item on their agenda at all.

PROPOSED DELEGATION TO THE U. S. A.

It was imperative for reasons indicated above that we should send a delegation on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha to America, England, China at any rate, defeat the British propaganda which was carried on a Governmental scale and also to acquaint the American public with the ideology and policy of the Hindu Mahasabha. That section at any rate which took interest in Indian affairs and knows something of the Congress and the League in these foreign countries must be kept well-informed of the Hindu Mahasabha activities also. Consequently a delegation under the lead of Dr. *Moonje* and Babarao Khaparde was to be sent to America. Another delegation was to go under the lead of Dr. *Varadarajalu Naidu* to England to counteract any mischief likely to be done by the move on *Rajagopalachari's* part, who also wanted to go to England. But as *Rajaji* was not allowed or did not ask for any facilities, there was no particular point in pressing on for a passport to Dr. *Naidu*, as they were quits. Other outstanding leaders also from Bengal, Punjab and United Provinces were consulted in this connection and had not any facilities been denied to Baburao Khaparde and others at the very outset the question was left not further pursued. The reasons advanced by the Government were various. But the most amusing part of the public criticism in non-Mahasabhaite camp was that they condemed along with the Government the very idea of taking out delegations to foreign lands that would reduce the prestige of our public life and support the British plea that there were dissensions in India. It is bad indeed to wash one's dirty linen on a public square. But the point is who did it first? Did not the British press propaganda went round the globe at the failure of the Cripps Scheme that there were incurable communal dissension in India with a thousand tongued voice? Then again do you think that the thousands of Americans and Chinese at present in India have left their eyes and ears in America? And the Germans, and the Japanese? The whole world knows that there are communal dissensions, but the whole world must also

know and does know that no nation in the world can be in some or the other phases of its history was without its own communal dissensions, in the War of Successions or Wars of Roses. The point is that just as inspite of the dissensions England has bestowed the curse of slavery on India inspite of her will, so also England can and therefore ought to bestow a blessing of freedom inspite of her dissensions. Just as she is guarding slavery with bayonets she would guard the freedom too. Or she should openly say that she does not want to free India because of the British imperialistic designs and not owing to our dissensions. If the Hindu Mahasabhaites were allowed to go to Americas our dissensions could not have been a news to the Americans, but would have acquainted them why these dissensions arose and what is the solution of the Hindu Maha-sabha for them. The delegation would have enabled the foreign public to judge better between the black sheep and the grey and the wolf.

But nevertheless the Government had done well in inviting Rai Bahadur *Meherchand Khanna*, President of the N. W. Frontier Hindu Sabha to join the delegation to the Pacific Relations Committee. The Delegation had already reached its destination. Rai Bahadur *Khannaji* is bound to have ringing publicity to his thesis 'Pakisthan and the Hindu view'. To enable you to judge how rapidly though not sufficiently rapidly the Hindu Mahasabha has asserted its position in England and the other countries, I give below a couple of extracts from the brochure published by the Oxford University Press recently and written by R. Coupland who had on many occasions to observe the Indian affairs at close quarters when he was touring India as well as when attached to the mission of Sir *Stafford Cripps*. for what they are worth.

(1) "...Still more vociferous was the Mahasabha the militant Hindu organization, which has always maintained that all India is Hindustan and belongs to the Hindus, For sometime past its leaders have denounced as a vice that very non-communalism which Congress boasts as a virtue. Congress, they say, is an unfaithful servant of Hinduism, and it is one more proof of the existing communal tension that the Mahasabha, which not very long ago had little weight in Indian politics, *is growing fast in membership and influence.* Its policy is quite frankly communal. 'Our Moslem countrymen should realise', says its fiery President, Mr. Savarkar, 'that even in their own affairs they should accept the inevitable', etc. etc,"

(2) "Militant Hinduism, true to form, was more out-spoken. 'The basic principle of the Hindu Mahasabha' said its Working Committee, 'is that India is one and indivisible" and it cannot be true to itself or to the best interests of Hindustan if it is a party to any proposal which involves the political partition of India in any shape or form,"

Lord Devonshire, the Under-Secretary of State for India, referred to the Mahasabha, as, "The second great All-India Hindu Organization." If the Congressites were anxious to secure credentials from the Governors, there is no impropriety if we refer incidentally to some references just to know in what light others see our activities.

Pro-Pakistani Hindus

Till a couple of years ago it were only the Moslems who were fighting for Pakistan and all our arguments we had to address to them, but since the Cripps Mission and the Congressites admission yielding to the Pakistani demand in its worst form, as I have shown earlier in my speech, a preposterous position has arisen. There has sprung up politically speaking a hybrid species of pro-Pakistani Hindus and they have been infecting the Hindu mind as rapidly as a contagious and loathsome disease would do. Some of these Congressites are good Hindus but they have been duped into believing that it is in the interest of the Hindus also to allow the Moslem provinces to secede and bring about a final and everlasting unity. Then there are very statesmanly Hindu personalities who recognise no affiliation to any party or body as it behoves statesmanship, but whose views and votes are nevertheless bound to be counted as Hindu ones. It is regrettable that many of those esteemed persons should have been ready to admit the principle of provincial secession and thus statesmanly enough betray not only the Hindu cause but what they worship like a fetish the Nationalism as well. How these pro-Pakistani Hindus are working to persuade the Hindus and even to persuade the Government to compel the Hindus to get persuaded, can best be illustrated by the untiring efforts of Mr. Rajagopalachari, This 'Acharya' has really been exerting himself with more sincerity and perverse fanaticism than any mad Mullah known to History,

Consequently, the real danger to the integrity of India rises now more eminently from the mentality of the Pakistani Hindus than from Pakistani Moslems. I deliberately choose some of these points to argue which (I know from personal knowledge to weigh heavily on the minds especially on that section of our Hindu brethren who still belong to the Congress persuasion but who nevertheless have a Hindu heart.)

(a) It must be noted first of all very carefully that there is fundamental difference between a provincial re-distribution and provincial self-determination to secede. The latter forms the essence of Pakistan whatever its other aspects or extents be. There is no fundamental objection from Hindu point of view to any re-distribution of provinces, whether on linguistic, military, financial or any other reasonable ground provided it does not weaken the national strength and does not involve any underlying anti-National and anti-Hindu designs. But the question of provincial secession from the Central State must be altogether ruled out in as much as it means nothing short of breaking up Hindusthan into pieces before a century passes away.

(b) Again the granting of the right to provinces to secede from the Central Government at their own sweet will and allow them to set up as separate states entirely independent of the Central Indian Government is far more dangerous than the demand for Pakistan meaning thereby freedom to cut off definite number of provinces because they contain Moslem majority. In the latter case of a definite Pakistani demand intolerable as it is and which also we must oppose with all our might does still come to the loss of a definite number of provinces. But the principle of self-determination cannot but form a veritable sword of Damocles kept hanging on the head of the Central State. It will be practically an invitation and instigation to any province to secede and blow up at stroke the whole ground on which the Indian State has to stand. The majority of the Moslems, is the only ground in Pakisthani demand for secession, but in admitting the principle of provincial secession we shall have to face the demand on the part of any province at any time on any economical and any other conceivable ground to secede from the Central Government. Remember the political centralisation in India is still passing through a phase of formation. The Indian Central State and the political integrity and cohesion are still standing on a fissury rock. We cannot be cocksure that sometime or the other even some of these provinces where there is not a Moslem majority may be caught up by disintegrating forces and rise against the Central Government, and carried away by the provincial or even sub-provincial egoistic fever demand secession and form themselves into separate states. America, Russia and several other nations can serve as danger signals to us in this connection. In fact even those nations which today are strongly unitary had to pass through this phase and it was only a powerful centrifugal force which kept the centri-petal tendencies on the part of their components effectively suppressed till they got slowly eliminated altogether.

(d) Those who think it matters not much to allow the Moslems to form their independent federation on the North West Frontier Provinces in which there is already an overwhelming majority of the Moslems should take into consideration the military aspect which makes such a surrender simply suicidal on our part. Can you ever find such a nation on the surface of the earth which would willingly hand over their strongest possible frontiers into the hand of those very people who seceded from them and had been cherishing hereditary desire to dominate over it ? Then again, remember that on the heels of Pakistan there comes treading the demand for Pathanistan. Those Frontier Provinces if they get entirely free from the control of the Central Government are sure within measurable time to join hands with the tribals and form a contiguous Pathani state. For the sake of the very existence of 'Hindusthan' we can never willingly let go our hold on those mountain ranges which form our National frontiers and guards. And why should we do it all ? To avoid rupture with our Moslem friends ? But what guarantee have you to believe that this rupture instead of getting lessened by our handing over our frontiers to them as a free gift will not only get intensified ? For is it not more likely that those who are now relatively weak and yet are talking of Civil war, once they get an independent footing as a state, sufficient time and liberty to organise themseves and entrenched on the powerful frontier-ranges, grown stronger precisely in the proportion your position grows weaker by the withdrawal of your frontier ? Unity, when it lays our nation exposed to a more dangerous position, is worse than open hostility.

COUNTING WITHOUT THE HOST !

(e) Some of our learned Hindu leaders after most complicated calculations maintain that there is no harm in allowing the Moslems to secede and form Pakisthani independent states in the North-Western parts and even in Bengal, because they are bound to be so crippled financially and economically that they will soon themselves be compelled to repent for secession and go down on their knees. But this financial weakness need not lead to repentance alone, as our learned Hindu economists expect. So long as we continue to be so cowardly as to yield to any preposterous demand on the part of the Moslems to keep up the show of unity and so terribly afraid of Moslem discontent as to allow even the integrity of our Motherland to get broken up into pieces—is not more likely that this very financial and economical starvation of these would-be Moslem states goad them on to encroach once more on our Hindu provinces and, instigated by the religious fanaticism which is so inflamable in the frontier tribes even now and urged on by the ideal of Pathanisthan under the lead of the organised forces of the Ameer threaten to invade you if you do not hand over to them the remaining parts of the Punjab right up to Delhi to make them financially and economically self-supporting ? The example of the Tribes is already there. They carry out incursions every year into the Indian provinces and loot, kidnap, murder, hold to ransom only the Hindus in particular as a rule. Although they are goaded on by Moslem fanaticism in the main yet several Congressite Hindus were not found wanting in disgracefully condoning these nefarious activites of the tribal Pathans on the ground of "financial and even sexual starvation" from which those "Poor" souls (!) had to undergo inordinate sufferings. I am referring to facts howsover disgraceful they may be, and not to fictions. What guarantee is there that, given this cowardly and ever-yielding inferiority complex on the part of the Hindus and this mania for Hindu-Moslem unity, these financially starved Pakisthani Provinces will not invade the Hindu provinces on their borders with far greater strength than they can command now ? A troop of Hindus of such mentality would similarly condone their encroachments, sympathise with their demands and vote for handing over even Delhi to those invading Moslems before a shot is fired in order just to make a show before the world of a genuine Hindu-Muslim unity or alliance ! The "poor" Moslems in the Eastern Bengal are even now making their poverty a sufficient excuse and their fanaticism a merit to loot and harass the Hindus whenever they find an opportunity to do so. When once you allow them to get organised into a governmental strength as a separate Moslem Raj, do you not think that this very financial starvation which you admit will cripple their would-be state, would provide them with a compelling cause to invade or harass the Hindus in Western Bengal ? And unless you are cured of this unity-mania, would you not be face to face again with the same bogey—an alternative of handing over some rich slices of Bengal to save the Moslem state from perpetual starvation or be prepared to resist their perpetually growing demand ?

(f) But some of my Pakisthani Hindu friends whisper in my ears "We know all these things, but our yielding for the time being is the craftiest stroke of policy. When we once get rid of these troublesome Moslem provinces and are left free to organise unhindered by them the unalloyed part of Hindusthan, then we shall consolidate our Hindus and raise them into such a mighty military power so rapidly that the Pakistani provinces of the Moslems would be simply brow-beaten into submission". The only question that should be put to them by themselves is, "Have you not counted without the host—the British ? Have you got any definite guarantee from the British that as soon as you yield to the Pakistani demand, they would clear out and leave you to organise your Hindustan as you choose ?

Secondly even if that is done, where is the magic wand that shall raise the Hindus into such a military power while the Congress mentality continues to dominate thousands of them ? We thank you for your inner intention of raising the Hindus into an independent and strong power and for feeling as a Hindu of Hindus, but do you not think that the Moslems too would utilise that interval with a vengeance to strengthen their position and amalgamating themselves with their kith and kin across the frontier grow quicker into a powerful Pathanisthan here or a Pakisthan there ? Mind you, they have not a single Congressite among them and on the other hand the Moslem minority in every province of your would-be-Hindusthan would be dominating even Congressite Hindus here as they are today creating the same troubles over again and demanding that you must come to terms

with the Pakisthani States by sacrificing some more Hindu Provinces on the altar of the fettish of Hindu-Moslem unity as our 'patriotic' 'Azads' and 'Alis' have been purposively doing today! And if you, as a stauch Hindu realise that, in that case somewhere or the other we shall have to resit the Moslems, then would it not be better to resist them today by flatly refusing even to listen their intolerable demand, when they are relatively weaker and when we can prove relatively stronger by simply changing our yielding mentality and replacing it by the Hindu Sanghatanist Ideology pointing out to the aggressive tendency of the Moslems their right place and command them "thus far and no further?

(g) Some of our wise men also are labouring under the misconception that the question of Pakisthan is just like the Ulster phase in Ireland. But the fact is that they are committing a grievous error in comparing the two and suggesting that just as the Irish accepted an Ulster we Hindus should accept the Pakisthan. In Ireland there was a question of only a small corner to be set aside as Ulster. But the Pakisthan demand seeks to break up India into a number of separate Moslem States and insist upon that there should be no Central Government of India at all; worst than that, the principle of provincial secession at the sweet will of provinces were never raised in the Irish negotiations. Had this principle been accepted or tolerated by the Irish there would have been no integral Ireland to-day. This principle of provincial secession if accepted by the Hindus would sound the death-knell of our national cohesion, integrity and unity.

(h) The chain of reasoning of these Pakistani Hindus comes to this. We want Swaraj. England is not going to bestow Swaraj unless and untill there is a united demand and univocal constitution framed by Hindus and Moslems together. Moslems have made it clear that they will not join the Hindus in producing a united demand unless and untill they are allowed to break up the integrity of India and the Pakistani States are allowed to be set up with no connection with any Central Government. Therefore we must satisfy the Moslems, yield to their Pakistani demands and get Swaraj.

HOUSE ON A LIVING VOLCANO!

Now almost every world in this chain of reasoning is fallacious and the whole chain of reasoning based on a foolish hope. Although we want Swaraj, yet that Swaraj must mean the Hindusthani Swaraj in which Hindus, Moslems and all other citizens shall have equal responsibilities, equal duties and rights. Such a Swaraj would not even tolerate a particular community on religious grounds to get itself cut off from the Central government, demand portions of our country which the inalienable basis on which this our national Swaraj stands and any such aggressive claim on the part of a community would be immediately put down as an act of treachery by the united strength of the Central Government. Secondly, it is silly to believe that England is only waiting for a united demand and would walk out of India, as soon as that rag signed by the Hindus and Moslems is handed over to them. I emphatically assert that even if the Congress, Hindu Mahasabha and the League produce a United demand signed by all the crores of Indian citizens and ask unequivocally for Independence, Britain will never give it for the mere asking. It is this superstition that if but the Congress and the League demanded with one voice anything in the world, the demand would immediately prove irresistible, is responsible for making the real assests the League does join the Congress and even if the whole of India goes to England she will say "Well boys, you have behaved wonderfully. Hindus, Moslems, all united in a common demand for Independence. But as all of you united are still unitedly helpless, disarmed and unable to protect yourselves Great Britain must continue to rule over you even for the moral obligation to save you from the foreign aggression." So, on the whole, all that you do in this bargain is to pay the price knowing perfectly well or rather foregoing with open eyes that the substantial thing for which you paid the price can never be delivered over to you. And after all what is the price? The vivisection of your Motherland and of your Holyland—the liquidating altogether of the spiritual, racial and above all the political unity and of the certain chances of its rapid consolidation.

And above all, if we grant for the sake of argument that paying such a tremendous price of your racial honour and future, you are handed over Swaraj by the British on conditions laid down by the Moslems, what kind of Swaraj and whose Swaraj it can possibly be? It can in no way be a Swaraj in which the Swatya of the Hindus is safeguarded for reasons which I have already shown above at some length. Any independence which is achieved at the price of admission of and on

the brittle basis of the principle of provincial secession is bound to be like a house raised on a crater of a living volcano.

I appreciate the emphasis the Viceroy has laid at least on the geographical unity of India and the fervent appeal His Excellency has made, in his recent Calcutta speech, to maintain the integrity of our country on the ground of practical politics also. Reasonable safeguards to the minorities must be given and the League of Nations has already shown us the way in one of the world famous documents formulating what reasonable safeguards to minorities really mean. But the Viceroy perhaps inadvertently, use the term 'fully satisfactory to the minorities' instead of qualifying the safeguards as reasonable. Fortunately our countrymen, the Parsi, Jewish, and Christian communities have extended their readiness to abide by the safeguards laid down as reasonable for the minorities which the Hindu Mahasabha also is ever willing to guarantee. The fact is that it is not a question of minorities, but of one minority, the Moslem-minority alone. To say that the safeguards must be fully satisfactory to the Moslem minority is to stultify the whole statement, beacause the only safeguard which can be satisfactory to the Moslem minority is, as definitely told by them, to lay an axe at the root of Indian integrity. Thus, we are caught in a vicious circle. The self-destructive solution that, to save the integrity of India as a nation, let us kill it outright in order to satisfy the Moslems, is like that of some clans who to save their daughters from dishonour when they grew, used to kill them as soon as they were born.

(i) Consequently taking all these above reasons into consideration it will be crystal clear to the Hindus who have still kept an open mind on this question that even yielding the principle of provincial secession or Pakisthan in certain provinces could never bring about Hindu-Moslem Unity, but such a move will throw Hindus alone into a hopeless predicament. There was no chance whatsoever for the cowardly hope, even though they feel that it is a crafty one, to be realised that this or that concession to the Moslem is bound to prove final and ushering in a permanent and amicable alliance between the two people. So long as it is you who yield, so long the Moslems would be fools to give up their aggrandisation on Hindusthan; and the Moslems are certainly no fools in so far as this ambition is concerned. Invasions against the Kafirsthans are in their grain. They are fed on real or boosted up stories of their past conquest, and the only way to hold them in check is to make them realise that any such mad dreams would cost them much more than it would to their opponents. That is why Mr. Jinnah who speak in the accents of an Alexander the great, the conqueror of the world, when he addresses some local meetings of his admirers, brandishing a presented sword here or there, threatening the Hindus alone, has never displayed the courage of threatening an armed revolt against the English, who in fact are comfortably seated on the very Gadi of the Moguls and left no trace of the Moslem Empire throughout India, for he knows that the consequences would be immediately terrible.

(j) The only organised body that had the courage to tell the Moslems that the consequences of their efforts to destroy Indian integrity would be in the long run as terrible, is the Hindu Mahasabha alone. You are, Oh! Hindu Sabhaits and Hindu Sanghatanists, you form the last citadel in which the Hindu Hope and Hindu Future have come to seek refuge and take its last stand for the sake of honour, if not for immediate success, and among the faithless crowd of Hindus themselves, you form the last faithful army which has rallied round to defend the Pan-Hindu Colours as our ancestors did under such trying circumstances at Chitor! If you at any rate—Oh! Hindu Sanghatanists, do not betray yourself and the tradition of Chitor, then rest assured you will in the near future be able to sally out or by falling in the struggle as indomitable and uncompromising warriors enable your Race to sally out of the Chitor of Martyrdom to the Raigad of Victory. Come out then to assert boldly and uncompromisingly on behalf of Hindudom that just as in America, Germany, China and in every other country not excluding Russia, so also in Hindusthan the Hindus by the fact that they form an overwhelming majority are the Nation and Moslems but a community because like all other communities they are unchallengeably in a minority. Therefore they must remain satisfied with whatever reasonable safeguards other minorities in India get and accept the reasonable in the light of the general world formula framed by the League of Nations. We may adapt it to Indian circumstances by concessions more or less on minor questions but no minority in India shall be allowed to demand to break the very integrity of Hindusthan from Indus to the Seas as a condition of their participation in the Central Government or Provincial ones. No

province whatsoever, by the fact that it is a province, shall be allowed to claim to secede from the Central State of Hindusthan at its own sweet will. Hindusthan as a nation can have a right of self-determination but a province or a district or a Taluka can have no right to run contrary, by the strength of their own majority to the Law and the Will of the Central Government of Hindusthan. All we can in fairness promise is to grant a representation to all India citizens on the general principle of 'one man one vote' or if that is not found to the taste of the Moslems we may go a step further and base all representation strictly on population. We know for certain that those minorities like Parsis, Christians and others who have expressed unmistakably their loyalty to united, undivided and indivisible Indian Nation and the Indian State are, with reasonable safeguards, with the Hindus and willing to work shoulder to shoulder for Indian independence. It will be well for the Moslems even in their own interest to bear faithful allegiance to the Indian nation on the same conditions offered to other minorities. But if the Moslems, mistaking the pseudo-national yielding attitude of the Congress for the attitude of Hindudom as such persist in their outrageous and treacherous demand for Pakisthan or the principle of Provincial self-determination then it is high time for you, Hindu Sanghatanists, you must proclaim your formula from the very tops of the Himalayas, we don't want Hindu-Moslem unity at all on such conditions. "If you come, with you, if you don't without you, and if you oppose, inspite of you, we shall fight as best as we can, to secure the independence and defend the integrity of Hindusthan ! Hindusthan shall remain an integral and powerful nation and a central state from the Indus to the Seas. Any movement on the part of any one to vivisect it would be treacherous and strongly suppressed just as any movement of Negrosthan would be strongly punished by the American nation.

All laws are but generalisations primarily based on detailed observations. The detailed observation of the history of Hindus through centuries on centuries points incontrovertibly to the fact that the Hindu Nation is imbued inherently with such an amazing capacity of resurrection, of renaissance, of rejuvenation that, the moment which finds them completely overwhelmed by anti-Hindu forces is precisely the moment which ushers in the day of Deliverance—to quote the favourite style—of the birth of an Avatar ! ! It was in the darkest hour of the Night that Shri Krishna was born. It is this indomitable spirit of the inherent vitality that enabled our National being to prove almost immortal in relation to other races or nations, ancient or modern, and invested it with that strength which ultimately demolished and swept away all anti-Hindu forces, which raised their head from time to time against us. This is no mere rhodomontade I am indulging in. Leaving aside even the Pouranic period, and the Huns, Shakas and even taking into consideration the Moslems who came as conquerors, this is the gist of well-authenticated Hindu history.

The Moslems came as conquerors, but stayed too long to be conquered by the Hindus and beaten to a chip in a thousand and one battle-field till at last the mighty Moslem Empire which rose like a rocket fell like a stick, till at last the Hindu horse of Victory rode off unchallenged from Attock to Rameshwar, from Dwarka to Jagganath.

WOULD MOSLEMS LEARN THE LESSON ?

To validate this historical fact, only look at these two following pictures :— Just take up the map of India about 1600 A. D. The Moslems ruled all over Hindusthan unchallengeably. It was a veritable Pakistan realised not only in this province or that, but all over India :—Hindusthan as such was simply wiped out.

Then open out the map of India about 1700 to 1798 A. D. and what do you see ? The Hindu forces are marching triumphantly throughout India. The very Mogul throne at Delhi is smashed to pieces literally with a hammer by Sadashivrao Bhau, the Generalissimo of the Marathas ! Our Hindu-Sikh brotherhood does ultimately deliver the Punjab from the Moslem yoke and rule supremely from the borders of Tibet to the banks of the Kabul river ; the Gurkha-Hindus rule in Nepal, while the Marathas from Delhi to Rameshwar have planted the triumphant Hindu flag from capital to capital, from temple to temple. The Pakisthan actually realised by the Moslems was entombed and out of it rose up once more Hindusthan, resurrected and triumphant. The conquering Moslem had to eat the humble pie in the long end and got so completely crushed and weened of his dominating dreams that even to-day in his heart of hearts he shudders to think of his fate as soon as he sees the probability of the consolidated strength of the over-whelming Hindu majority in the land.

It would be good to the Moslems themselves if they once realise the import of this historical truth. The fate which overtook them even when they had succeeded in translating the whole of Hindusthan into an actual living and mighty Pakistan, ought to warn them of the miserable future they would have in store if they persisted in dreaming wildly of a Pakisthan which is to-day but an airy nothing, a forlorn hope !

The Hindu Mahasabhaites should remember that as is very probable they will be called upon to fight out any attempt on the part of the Moslems to thrust the Pakisthan on us whether by resorting to the "revolt" whatever the Leagures may mean thereby, then the entire burden, responsibiliy and consequently the merit also will be yours in facing the struggle single-handed. The Congress-minded Hindus, the worshippers of pseudo-Nationality would not only be of no use to you but would actually try to combat you and try to put you into a false position by their willing surrender to the Moslem demands as Hindus. You should therefore try to mobilise your forces and reserve whatever strength you can command for the defence of the integrity of India which no one else but you alone may defend. You are the salt of Hindudom but if the salt loses its flavour, with what shall it be salted. Independence of Hindusthan has no meaning at the cost of its fundamental integrity as a state and a nation. It may be thrust on us even as the British rule is thrust on us ; but just as that does not deprive us of the right of struggling for our freedom from England, even so, if we but do not betray our own conscience and sign willingly any or all schemes proposing percentages and plebiscites, which are growing in abundance like mushrooms either out of or pusillanimity, you will find yourself soon in a position to panic press on both the demands regarding independence and integrity and together get them realised through your our strength.

So far as the most determining factor of all, namely the World War is concerned,—neither the Axis nor the Allies have as yet secured any results so decisive as to invest them with an unquestionable superiority. Consequently the best policy for all nations situated as we Hindus are, is to continue to sit on the fence and watch the results, keeping ourselves all the while as well organised, as well informed and as tactfully ready to take as much advantage of the last results, when the war ends.

A Propaganda for Sanghatanists

In view of this indecisive aspect of the war and the necessity for the Hindu Sanghatanists to keep mobilised their forces for the resistance which they are very likely to be called upon to offer and continue the anti-Pakisthani struggle single handedly and owing to our inability howsoever regrettable but which must be recognised as an actuality to enter the world combat on our own account to win back our Independence the most far-sighted practicable programme which if carried on faithfully even handicapped though we are while the war continues without arriving at any decisions, is as follows :—

(a) To continue a hundred times more intensely the Hindu Militarization Movement and try to get recruited and enlisted as many Hindus as possible in the Army, Navy, the Air Forces, Ammunition Factories, War Technique etc. The results of this movement are already so encouraging as to make it quite superfluous now on my part to marshal out all the arguments I had been doing so often. When the war began, the percentage of the Moslems had so dangerously gone high in the Army as 62 per cent. This was the result of the Gandhist policy denouncing the soldier as a sinner and the spinner as the greatest spiritual warrior, who alone was the real liberator of the land and was sure with the music of his spinning wheel to win over the hearts of all Hitlers, Stalins, Churchills and Tojos. But ever since the Hindu Mahasabha found that the war had made it incumbent on the Government to throw the doors of the Army, Navy and the Air Forces open to the Hindus, it whipped up military enthusiasm amongst the Hindus and conducted an organised campaign to send thousands and thousands of Hindus to all branches of the military forces of the land. The result as has recently been declared is that the percentage of the Moslems in the Army has gone from 62 to 32 percent. This must also be reduced to some 25 in just accordance with the population proportion of Hindus and Moslems. The Hindu Mahasabha branches all over India must start Militarisation Boards to send to the forces of the land the best and the bravest of the Hindus. If any province or a district wants to study an organisation board which has proved most competent in this respect it should do well to personally study the working and the results achieved by the Militarisation Mandal at Poona under the able lead of our esteemed Hindu Sabhait leader Sjt.

L. B. Bhopatkar. Hundreds of promising Hindu youths have already secured King's Commissions, Viceroy's Commissions and are leading the forces with efficiency and merit and getting an up-to-date knowledge and practice of warfare in different battlefields. The same can be said of the Air Forces. Believe that nothing can stand the Hindus in better stead even after the war as this Hindu Militarisation will do. I assure every Hindu soldier and officer who is now serving in the Indian Army. Navy or the Air Forces etc., that they are doing as patriotic a service to their Nation as those who went to jail at Bhagalpur, if not more. The immediate defence of our hearths and homes does also make it incumbent to make a common cause with the British forces till they are in the field, if not more.

(b) Continue to capture all centres of Political Power from the Central Executive Council, Legislatures, Defence Committees and Councils, Municipalities, Ministries in the Civic part of the Government just as on the Military side. The men who come to occupy these centres of power must be either elected by the Hindu Mahasabha or supported by it as Independent Hindu Sanghatanists. But in no case should a Hindu be trusted with any such centre of power, who by persuasion belongs to the Pseudo-Nationalistic Congress School and glorifies more in betraying Hindu rights to the Moslems than in defending them against Moslem encroachment.

(c) Do not fritter away your energies or keep your Sanghatanist forces shackled down in any untimely and tactless movement which pursuing high sounding slogans loses more than it gains in the long run. Remember, it is not the slogan but the strength that counts. Under the war fever only arms can speak and not slogans however high-sounding.

(d) But you must be ready to give a fight in defence of the civic rights of the Hindus when they are locally attacked or humiliations deliberately offered to the Hindu honour or any just grievence or to face any anti-Hindu riots, as we have already been doing year in and year out. Only those issues which are beyond our power to tackle and are to be fought out on an all-India scale against armed forces, overwhelmingly more powerful than those we can rally, disorganised and disarmed as we relatively are, should not be taken up just now. Time and strategy demand that we should leave them till we are in a better position.

(e) In the meanwhile, in order to mobilise our forces and keep them prepared for any emergency such as the Pakisthan struggle, we should continue the constructive activities to make our Hindu Mahasabha organisation as strong as possible. The general and suicidal error, which makes us under-value constructive programme which we could easily carry out even during the war time, must be utilised all the more intensely enlisting as many members, starting branches at many places down to the Taluks and villages and keeping them well organised and working is a duty which the Hindu Mahasabha must continue to do and can do even now with a hundredfold speed and activity.

Remember also that the removal of untouchability is a task as easy to be tackled as it is bound to strengthen Hindu consolidation. It will be nothing short of a victory won in the battlefield if we within five years' time, can sweep out untouchability from the face of our country by killing the very idea of not touching our coreligionist on ground of birth in a particular caste alone, and removing automatically the special disability, some economical and some social, from which those of our religious brothers are suffering most unjustly at this hour. It is only a change of mentality and nothing more than that can achieve this seemingly insuperable task. If every one of the Hindu Sanghatanists simply says and begins to act on it that "I would not look upon anyone of my coreligionists as untouchable simply on account of birth in a particular caste" the question will be solved without a farthing's cost or the least measure of suffering and we shal have a veritable army of some three crores of our co-religionists fighting shoulder to shoulder with us under the Pan-Hindu flag on behalf of Hindudom.

So long as the war continues without reaching any decision, this is the most profitable and the most tactical programme which the Hindu Mahasabhaites and the Hindu Sanghatanists can work out before the war introduces any revolutionary factor concerning our own country so as to demand our first attention and compells us to adopt ourselves to it forthwith.

HOLD FAST!

All our present programmes, it need not be mentioned, are based on the assumption that Britain comes out at any rate so successful of this World War,

as to continue to be the Soverign power in India. Nothing has happened so far as to undermine the probability of this assumption. But then, the forces of Japan are hanging on so persistently on our eastern borders undislodged to any appreciable measure; and on the other hand the Axis Powers have been surrounded at any rate for the moment by a veritable hornet of irritated nations, that no one even among the most optimistic statesmen or commanders or dictators, are in a position to predict with any certain definiteness the results of the war. Till that time along with those nations who cannot but helplessly watch their destinies tied up with the fortunes of the powerful combatants on both sides, India too, disarmed as it is, must bide the time and tide.

The dice of Destiny are loaded already: All nations are thrown in the crucible! The very seas are at flames, and the skies are garrisoned with and showering thunderbolts day and night. No nation can continue under this World War the same. No nation after this World War can emerge just as it was. Many of those who were at the pinnacle of their power will be reduced to the dust. Many who were trampled down in the dust may all of a sudden find themselves in a position to rise and come to their own. The face of the earth is bound to get revolutionised in any case, and in that revolutionary upheaval which at present lies in the lap of the War-Gods, one thing only could be said certainly so far as India is concerned—that we cannot but be one of the foremost factors whose future is bound to get revolutionised though we cannot and may not point out definitely the aspects of it. One thing you may rest assured that all possible aspects are already viewed as carefully as human ingenuity can and neither the continuation or the termination of the war can find the Hindu Mahasabha unprepared to take full advantage of every revolutionary phase the war passes through, near or far off, so as to press on the Hindu cause. As has happened so many times in the Hindu History that it was precisely in the darkest hour that the Avatar destined to deliver us was born. It is not quite unlikely, nay, it is more likely than not, that the spirit of Renaissance of the Hindu Race may yet find an opportunity to assert itself and as if by a miracle, similar to those our Purans sing, Hindudom emerges triumphant over all the forces of evil which are attacking it to-day.

About possibilities and even about probabilities wise men should not assert any thing more definitely! All that they should do is to conserve the forces of their nation in the meanwhile, and wait for the probable time and tide, so that they may be not found wanting, if the probability does arise all of a sudden.

Hindu Sabhaits and Hindu Sanghatanists! Only see to it that on the eve of such a probable, miraculous development in the near future, do not play cowards to your conscience under the weight of the present, nor get yourselves stampeded by the pseudo-nationalistic forces into any unbecoming pacts; in short do not sell your birth-right for a mess of pottage.

Hold fast to the programme chalked out by the Mahasabha, plain though it may seem, and get not yourselves trapped into any untimely outburst, which, instead of bringing you near to success may only serve to find you entirely disabled to catch the tide of fortune which in all probability is likely to reach your shores under the pressure of the war!

At all events, hold fast to the crux of the Hindu Sanghatanist ideology, namely, "Hinduise all politics and Militarise Hindudom." It will serve you truly and well in any situation that the future may unfold.

Second Day—Cawnpore—30th. December 1942

Proceedings & Resolutions

Felicitations to Pt. Malaviya

The second day's session of the Hindu Mahasabha commenced at 4-30 p.m. to-day amidst scenes of great enthusiasm, Mr. *V. D. Savarkar* presiding.

The President, on arrival in company with other leaders, was greeted with prolonged shouts of Mahasabha slogans. On the rostrum was hung a garlanded photograph of Pandit *Madan Mohan Malaviya* whose eighty-second birthday was being celebrated all over the country on this day.

After the "*Bande Mataram*" song and recitation of three poems in praise of the President, Mr. *Savarkar* moved the first resolution offering felicitations to Pandit *Malaviya* on his birthday. He paid eloquent tributes to the veteran leader whom he described as the founder, inspiration and guide of the Hindu Mahasabha organisation. He was gratified that Pandit Malaviya was still active, though he

had reached a ripe age and wished him long life and health. The resolution was carried amidst shouts of "Madan Mohan Malaviyaji-ki-Jai."

This was followed by two resolutions of condolence moved from the chair on the demise of Sir *M. N. Mukherji* and Mr. *Gyanchand Verma*. The resolutions were passed all standing.

DR. S. MUKHERJEE CONGRATULATED

Rai Bahadur Harish Chandra (Delhi) next moved the following resolution :—

"This session of the Hindu Mahasabha congratulates Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mukherjee* on his resignation of the Finance Ministership of the Bengal Government and puts on record its appreciation of the spirit of responsive co-operation which he has shown in continuing only as long as he could serve the public according to his light and relinquishing it the moment it was made impossible by the high-handed policy of the Governor and the bureaucracy."

Mr. *B. G. Khaparde* (Amraoti), seconding the resolution declared that Dr. Mookerjee had, by his action, vindicated the policy and the ideal of the Hindu Mahasabha. The resolution was carried unanimously amidst applause.

Mr. *Chantra Narain* (Bareilly) next moved the resolution regarding the celebration of the twenty-fifth century of Vikrami Samvat. He was supported by Mr. *Gopeshwar Babu Mehra* (Bareilly) and Mr. *Chandra Gupta Vaidalankar* (Delhi). The resolution was passed.

PLEA FOR HOLDING HINDU WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Mrs. *Janki Bai Joshi* (Poona), moving the resolution recommending that a Hindu Women's Conference (Mahila Parishad) should be held simultaneously with the All India Hindu Mahasabha session, declared it was time that they realised the important role that women played in their homes and it was but proper that they should be encouraged to take interest in political matters. The course she had suggested would enable them to know and appreciate the principles for which the Hindu Mahasabha stood. She hoped that the Conference would accept the proposition without any dissent. Since 1935, she continued, women had been off and on taking part in the deliberations of the Mahasabha. It was only at the Bhagalpur session that they were advised to keep themselves aloof and she found that, at the present Cawnpore session, women were not taking as much interest as they should.

Mrs. *Savitri Dularey Lal* (Lucknow) supported the resolution, endorsing the views expressed by the mover, whereafter the resolution was unanimously carried.

SYMPATHY FOR FLOOD-STRICKEN PEOPLE

Mr. *Ashutosh Lahiri* (Bengal) moved a resolution expressing sympathy with the people of Midnapur and Twenty-four Parganas in Bengal and Orissa, who had suffered during the recent cyclone and the people of Sind owing to floods. He complained that prompt relief could not be arranged to the sufferers in time.

Pandit Vishwant Shastri (Orissa) supported Mr. *Lahiri* and detailed the havoc caused by the cyclone in the affected parts of Orissa. The resolution was passed.

ORGANISATION OF DEFENCE PARTIES

Mr. *Ananda Priya* (Baroda), moving the resolution recommending to the Hindu Mahasabha to organise defence parties for self-protection and internal security in co-operation with other organisations, emphasised the advisability of arranging such parties and said that, in case of emergency, they could render valuable assistance to the public. He warned the Mahasabha to lose no time in preparing itself to meet the difficult times that they all would have to face. These parties would help them in saving their life and property.

Mr. *Chandra Karan Sarda* (Ajmer) seconding the resolution, pleaded that Government should grant necessary facilities for the formation of defence parties. The resolution was passed.

PRESIDENT'S APPEAL

Before adjourning the session till the next day, Mr. *V. D. Savarkar*, in a brief speech, said that the two main resolutions of the session would come up before the House to-morrow. The issues which concerned them most were the demand for Pakistan and the Mahasabha's programme in the immediate future. He knew that the public outside was naturally eager to know the Mahasabha's decisions on these momentous questions. Mr. *Savarkar* emphasised that, whatever their decisions, there was no question of going back and they had to decide with

a full sense of responsibility. Exhorting the Hindus to rally under the banner of the Mahasabha, Mr. Savarkar said that they must realise that their strength was the strength of the organisation. He claimed that the Mahasabha spoke for thirty-two crores of Hindus, and it behoved them to make their organisation powerful and effective. No other organisation could rightly claim to speak on their behalf, asserted Mr. Savarkar. The Hindus, he concluded, were a nation, while others were communities. (Loud cheers).

Third Day—Cawnpore—31st. December 1942

Non-Availability of Foodstuffs

The third day's session of the Hindu Mahasabha resumed its sittings at 4-30 p.m. this evening, Mr *V. D. Savarkar* presiding. It passed the main resolution reiterating the Sabha's opposition to any constitutional scheme which undermined the integrity of the Indian nation and asking the British Government to modify their policy of possible vivisection of India as embodied in the Cripps proposals.

Messages, wishing success to the session, were received from Pandit *Madan Mohan Malaviya*, H. E. Commanding-General Sir *Baber Shamsherjung Bahadur* Rana of Nepal, H. E. Senior Commanding-General *Tohan Shamsher Jang Bahadur* Rana and Sir *Manilal Thakkar*.

Prof. *Harish Chandra Ghose* (Calcutta) moved a resolution on the non-availability of essential foodstuffs to poorer classes and recommending to the Government (1) to arrange for proper distribution of foodstuffs in the country, (2) to improve and consolidate transport facilities for distribution purposes and (3) not to make any purchases for export abroad. Prof. Ghose referred in particular to the conditions in Bengal and said that, with the stoppage of rice import from Burma, people were experiencing considerable hardships.

Mr. *J. V. Krishnan* (Cawnpore), seconding the resolution, pleaded for a change in the Government policy and urged that the viewpoint expressed by the mercantile community from time to time should be given the consideration it deserved. The resolution was passed.

Resolution on Political Situation

Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mookerjee* was given a great ovation when he rose to move the main resolution of the session relating to "Akhand Hindusthan." The resolution runs as follows:

"The All-India Hindu Mahasabha endorses its demand formulated by its Working Committee at its meeting held in Delhi for the purpose of ending the present political deadlock and notes with satisfaction that the Sub-Committee appointed by the Mahasabha succeeded in securing the highest unanimity possible amongst all present political parties and communities. It records its definite opinion that the political situation has deteriorated owing mainly to the refusal of the British Government to take the initiative and transfer power to Indian hands.

"Complete unanimity on all points among all political parties has never been achieved in the history of any country in the world and insistence on such unity as a condition precedent to transferring power is only a pretext for not parting with political power.

"The impossible attitude taken by the Muslim League and its refusal to come to any settlement unless the principle of Pakistan is accepted—a principle to which the Hindu Mahasabha can never agree to both in the interest of Hindus and India as a whole—has been due mainly to the open encouragement which the League has received and is receiving at the hands of the British Government. Now that the Viceroy in his recent Calcutta speech has openly recognised that the political integrity and geographical integrity of India must be maintained, the British Government should now modify their policy of possible vivisection of India as embodied in the Cripps Proposals.

"The Hindu Mahasabha has been and is prepared to offer its hand of co-operation to all political parties, specially to minority parties, for securing reasonable adjustments and their rights and interests within one United Hindustan. The Hindu Mahasabha re-emphasises that it is fundamentally opposed to any constitutional scheme which undermines the integrity of the Indian nation and the Indian State, which must ever remain one and indivisible, gives sovereign powers to provinces and does not provide for a strong Central Government. The principle of self-determination is to be applied to a nation as a whole and not to its component parts."

BRITAIN RESPONSIBLE FOR DEADLOCK

Moving the above resolution, Dr. *Mookerjee* said that the responsibility for the present political deadlock in the country rested with the British Government. The British Government had failed to meet India's political demand under various pretexts such as disunity among the various communities, want of common front etc. The speaker asked if such want of unity ever stood in the way of the British Government when it had made up its mind to thrust something on India. He instanced the case of the communal award and the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935.

"We do not want any foreign aggression, nor do we want any foreign rule. We want India to be ruled by Indians and on behalf of Indians" he declared. Proceeding, Dr. Mookerjee said that practically all parties had demanded immediate independence. The Hindu Mahasabha, representing the Hindus, did not ask for any privilege which it was not prepared to concede to other communities. It was wrong to bring religion in the field of politics and Dr. Mookerjee held the British Government responsible for bringing religion into politics.

UNITED NATIONAL DEMAND

Referring to the efforts made by the Hindu Mahasabha to formulate a united national demand, Dr. Mookerjee confessed that the Sabha's efforts did not meet with complete success in so far as the Muslim League was concerned, because of the stumbling block of the League's demand for Pakistan, but substantial agreement among various other parties in India in regard to the political demand has been reached. Dr. Mookerjee declared that such parties as were willing to shoulder responsibility should be entrusted with power. But this could come about only if the British Government decided to transfer real power The speaker regretted that the response from the British Government so far had been nil.

Dr. *Mookerjee* declared it was absurd to say that the British Government was simply pining to transfer power to Indian hands. The Hindu Mahasabha could not be a party to any settlement that sacrificed the integrity of India. If the principle of Pakistan was accepted Indian freedom would go into the background for ever and for good. They wanted communal harmony and peace which could be achieved if both Hindus and Muslims combined and placed the interest of their country before their communities.

Dr. Mookerjee severely criticised the Cripps Proposals and appealed to the Hindus to organise themselves under the banner of the Hindu Mahasabha, and if there were undesirables in the organisation, he asked the audience to purge them out of it and to take charge of affairs in their hands.

Seth *Jugal Kishore Birla* (Delhi), seconding the resolution, declared that, while they were prepared to agree to reasonable adjustments, it was impossible for them to accept the Muslim demand for Pakistan and sacrifice the interests of Hindus.

Sardar Nandsingh (Amritsar) assured Mr. Savarkar on behalf of the Hindu youths all over the country that, if occasion arose, they would make all sacrifices for this cause.

Mr. *B. G. Khaparde* (Amraoti), speaking in support of the resolution, criticised the Congress for accepting the principle of communal representation which, he said, struck at the very root of nationalism. Pakistan was an impracticable proposition and Hindus were opposed to it.

Mr. Karamchand Bhalla (Lahore) and Mr. Chandra Gupta Vedalankar (Delhi) further supported the resolution which was then passed unanimously.

Charter of Rights

Dr. *M. B. Udgaonkar* (Bombay) moved the next resolution which ran as follows :

"This session of the Hindu Mahasabha is of the opinion that in order to remove the misconception prevailing amongst a certain section of the people regarding the privileges, responsibilities, status and rights of the citizens in the state as visualised and conceived by the Hindu Mahasabha, it is desirable to state the position of the Mahasabha in this respect in a manner allowing of no confusion. This session, therefore, appoints a committee consisting of the following persons to draft a charter of rights and responsibilities of the citizens of India in general and the minorities and such other sections of the people as the workers and peasants in particular, and submit it to the All-India Hindu Mahasabha

Committee within three months for necessary action : Dr. B. S. Moonje, Dr. S. P. Mukerjee, Dr. Naidu, Dr. Gauri Shankar Prasad, Mr. G. V. Ketkar (Convenor), Dr. M. B. Adgaonkar. with powers to co-opt."

Mr. R. M. Kate (Nagpur) seconded the resolution whereafter it was carried.

Collective Fines on Hindus

Mr. *Gauri Shankar Prasad* (Bhagalpur) moved the resolution condemning the action of the Central Government and of the Provincial Governments in imposing collective fines on the Hindus alone and demanding of the Central Government the immediate reversal of a policy under which one community was alone made to suffer for the acts of some people with whom the general mass of Hindus had no connection. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Bal Shastri (C. P.) and supported by Mr. Madhusudan Majumdar (Gujerat) after which it was passed.

The Mahasabha also passed a resolution requesting the Jaipur Durbar to allow Hindi to be used as court language in the State.

Direct Action

Dr. *B. S. Moonjee* moved the most controversial resolution of the session which, during the course of discussion in the Subjects Committee, was referred to a special sub-committee. The resolution states :

"In view of the fact that Great Britain is not prepared to part with power as has been clearly proved by their rejection of the national demand formulated by the Sabha and in view of the fact that Pakistani Muslims are actually threatening civil war and particularly in view of the fact that the principle of Pakistan is being encouraged by the British Government as evidenced in the Cripps scheme, this session of the Hindu Mahasabha has come definitely to the conclusion that an active movement must be resorted to compel Great Britain to recognise India as an independent nation in the world, as well as to defend the integrity of India against the Pakistani Muslims.

"To devise ways and means for mobilising the resources of the Hindus to cope with external aggression and internal disorder and to prepare the Hindu force to fight out this struggle efficiently, this session authorises the Working Committee to formulate a plan before April 30, 1943, with a view to that end."

Moving the resolotion, Dr. *Moonje* said that the Subjects Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha had appointed a sub-committee consisting of Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Raja Maheshwardayal Seth, Mr. Khaparde and himself (the mover) to redraft the resolution which was originally before the Subjects Committee, with a view to effecting a compromise of all views held on the subject. He was glad to announce that the resolution he was moving was a unanimous resolution. Explaining the significance of the resolution, the speaker pointed out that the Hindu Mahasabha was determined to make the British Government recognise the independent status of India. The Mahasabha under no circumstances would agree to the Pakistan scheme vivisecting Mother India.

Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth said that the resolution was not a new one. It was first brought before the Working Committee meeting at Delhi. It was then decided that if the British Government did not accept the national demands as put forth by the Hindu Mahasabha, the latter would launch a "direct action" programme to mobilise Hindu opinion to force the hands of the Government to concede those demands. The British Government had refused to yield in the matter and the time had come when they should take the next step and resort to direct action to bring pressure on the bureaucracy to declare India free and withdraw the Cripps proposals indirectly granting Muslims Pakistan. He advised Hindus to rally under the Mahasabha banner under the leadership or Mr. Savarkar and follow the programme recommended by him.

The resolution was carried unanimously amidst applause. The session then came to a close at 8 p.m. with a "Bande Matram" song.

The All India Muslim League

Working Committee—Bombay—16th. to 20th. August 1942

Establishment of Provincial Government

After the annual session of the All India Muslim League had been held at Allahabad from the 3rd. to 6th. April 1942, a meeting of the Working Committee of the League was held at Bombay from the 16th. to 20th. August 1942 when it adopted a long resolution on the present political situation, indicating the League's attitude to the questions of the formation of a National Government and to the Congress movement. The following is the full text of the resolution :

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, having given their deep and anxious consideration to the present political development in the country, deplore the decision arrived at by the All-India Congress Committee on August 8, 1942, to launch an "open rebellion" by resorting to mass civil disobedience movement in pursuance of their objective of est ablishing Congress Hindu domination in India, which has resulted in lawlessness and considerable destruction of life and property.

"It is the considered opinion of the Working Committee that this movement is directed not only to coerce the British Government into handing over power to a Hindu Oligarchy and thus disabling themselves from carrying out their moral obligations and pledges given to the Mussalmans and other sections of the peoples of India from time to time, but also to force the Mussalmans to submit and surrender to the Congress terms and dictation.

"Ever since the beginning of the war and even prior to that, the sole objective of the Congress policy has been either to cajole or to coerce the British Government into surrendering power to the Congress—a Hindu body with a microscopic following of other communities in utter suppression of one hundred millions of Mussalmans, besides millions of other peoples of this vast sub-continent of India. While claiming the right of self-determination for "India", which is a mere Congress euphemism for Hindu majority, it has persistently opposed the right of self-determination for the Muslim nation to decide and determine their own destiny.

"On May 1, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee, by their resolution, emphatically repudiated the Muslim League demand for the right of self-determination for Muslims and thus closed the door for the settlement of the communal problem, which is a condition precedent to the attainment of the Freedom and Independence of India. The Congress had also recognised this as an indispensable condition and had therefore, made it a prominent plank in the Congress programme for over twenty years, but by their recent decisions have suddenly thrown it overboard and in its stead substituded the fantastic theory that the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem can only follow the withdrawal of British power from India.

"The negotiations of Sir Stafford Cripps with the Congress broke down not on the issue of Independence, but because of the refusal of the British Government to hand over the Muslims and the minorities to the tender mercies of the Congress. Any acquiescence in this on the part of the British would have been strenuously resisted by the minorities, and particularly by the Muslim nation, with memories of tyranny in the Congress governed Provinces still fresh and vivid in their minds.

"Baulked in their effort to cajole Sir *Stafford Cripps* to agree to the transfer of power to the Congress caucus, they decided upon a slogan—"Quit India", accompanied with the threat of mass civil disobedience. This slogan is a mere camouflage, and what is really aimed at is the supreme control of the Government of the country by the Congress.

"The Mussalmans are not a whit less insistent on freedom for the country and the achievement of Independence of the people of India, which is the creed of the All-India Muslim League. They are, however, firmly convinced that the present Congress movement is not directed for securing the independence of all the constituent elements in the life of the country, but for the establishment of Hindu Raj and to deal a death blow to the Muslim goal of Pakistan.

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League note with dissatisfaction the attitude and policy of the British Government towards the national aspirations of one hundred millions of Muslims of India.

"While the Congress aims at ignoring and suppressing the Muslim demand,

the Working Committee regret that the British Government have been unresponsive to the Muslim League's offer of co-operation. The appeasement of the Congress has been the central pivot of the Government policy, with barren and sterile results and has now culminated in the open defiance of law and order.

"Since the commencement of hostilities the Muslim League has been ready and willing, either singly or in co-operation with other parties, to shoulder the responsibility for running the administration and mobilising the resources of the country for the war efforts for the defence of India, if a real share in the power and authority of the Government at the Centre and in the Provinces was conceded within the frame-work of the present Constitution, and in pursuance of this policy, the Muslim League accepted the underlying principles of the August offer of 1940 of the British Government.

"But the Government in implementing the offer, nullified the essential principles of it and so made it impossible for the Muslim League to co-operate wi h the Government on honourable terms. In spite of the fact that the British Government had spurned the offer of co-operation of the Muslim League still under the imminent shadow of the Japanese menace, the Muslim League once again reiterated their offer by their resolution of December 27, 1941 in the following words:

'In view of the fact that the entry of Japan in the war on the side of the Axis Powers has brought the danger much closer to India and has forced into greater prominence the question of the defence of India, the Working Committee consider it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League from the very beginning has expressed its willingness to share the responsibility of the defence of the country, is evident from the stand taken by the President of the All-India Muslim League as far back as November 1939...

'The Working Committee once more declare that they are ready and willing as before to shoulder the burden of the defence of the country, singly or in co-operation with other parties on the basis that a real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the Government at the Centre and the Provinces within the framework of the present Constitution, but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of the future Constitution'. But the British Government completely ignored the offer of the Muslim League.

"While the proposals of Sir *Stafford Cripps* virtually conceded the Congress demands on the right of secession from the British Commonwealth of Nations and forming of a Constituent Assembly with a preponderant Hindu majority for the framing of the post-war Constitution, they merely recognised the possibility of establishing Pakistan, supposed to be implicit in the non-accession scheme.

"The Working Committee are definitely of the opinion that if the Muslim masses are to be roused to intensify the war effort with all the sacrifices that are involved in it, it is only possible, provided they are assured that it would lead to the realisation of the inspiring goal of Pakistan. The Muslim League, therefore, calls upon the British Government to come forward without any further delay with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing to the Mussalmans the right of self-determination and to pledge themselves that they would abide by the verdict of the plebiscite of Mussalmans and give effect to the Pakistan scheme in consonance with the basic principles laid down by the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League passed in March 1940.

"Having regard to the oft-repeated declaration of the United Nations to secure and guarantee the freedom and independence of the smaller nations of the world the Working Committee invite the immediate attention of the United Nations to the demand of one hundred millions of Muslims of India to establish Sovereign States in the zones which are their homelands and where they are in a majority.

"The Working Committee are fully convinced that Pakistan is the only solution of India's constitutional problem and it is in complete consonance with justice and fairplay to the two great nations—Muslims and Hindus—inhabiting this vast sub-continent; whereas if the Congress demand is accepted it would bring the hundred millions of Mussalmans under the yoke of Hindu Raj which must inevitably result either in anarchy and chaos or complete strangulation and annihilation of Muslim India and all that Islam stands for.

"This Muslim League, as it has been repeatedly made clear, stands not only for Pakistan and the freedom of Muslims, but also for the freedom and independence of Hindustan and the Hindus.

"The Muslim League has been and is ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a Provisional Government of India, in order to mobilise the resources of the

country for the purpose of the defence of India and the successful prosecution of the war, provided the demands of Muslim India, as indicated above, are conceded unequivocally.

"In these circumstances, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, after anxious and careful consideration, call upon the Mussalmans to abstain from any participation in the movement initiated by the Congress and to continue to pursue their normal peaceful life.

"The Working Committee hope that no attempt shall be made from any quarter to intimidate, coerce, molest or interfere in any manner with the normal life of the Muslims; otherwise the Muslims would be compelled and justified to offer resistance and adopt all such measures as may be necessary for the protection of their life, honour and property.

MR. JINNAH ON THE RESOLUTION

The resolution, which was released to the press on the 20th, August was forwarded to H. E. the Viceroy, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, the British Prime Minister and to the heads of the United Nations, said Mr. *M A. Jinnah*, President of the League, interviewed in the evening.

Several questions were put to Mr. Jinnah on the resolution. Mr. Jinnah emphasised that it was a unanimous decision. He declined to say anything when asked if there was more unsaid in the resolution than what was explicitly stated.

Reiterating that the Muslims were not whole-heartedly in the war effort, Mr. Jinnah said: "Officially, the Muslim League has not undertaken the responsibility of the burden of war effort, because the Government have declined to give us a real share and authority in the governance of the country on honourable terms."

Mr. *Jinnah* declined to elucidate what exactly the Committee meant when it stated that it was prepared to negotiate with "any party." He, however, agreed that "any party" meant any recognised party "which is able to deliver the goods."

The Muslim League President emphasised that the position of the League remained the same as before. The resolution demanded an immediate declaration accepting the principle of Pakistan as a pre-requisite to the League joining any provisional National Government.

Question: Does this resolution mean that you want Pakistan ahead of the independence of the rest of India?

Mr. *Jinnah*:—I want the British Government to make without delay the declaration demanded in the resolution, whether anybody wants it or not. On the declaration being made, we are ready and willing to consider any proposal from any party for the purpose of setting up a provisional Government for the mobilising of war effort, for the defence of India and for the prosecution of the war. There is no limit to the powers that may be transferred to this Provisional Government. It will, of course, be a matter for negotiations. We cannot walk into the parlour of a Provisional Government, where we neither have an equal footing, nor is there any settlement of our demand for Pakistan. Once a Provisional Government is formed without the express declaration that we ask for and the pledge from the British Government, we might be presented in the end with a repetition of the Cripps proposals.

To another question, Mr. Jinnah said that the Committee would consider the position again if there was no response at all from the British Government.

Working Committee—New Delhi—8th. November 1942

Resolution on Sind Affairs

The next meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee was held at New Delhi on the **8th. November 1942** when it appointed a Committee of five to take such action as it may think proper with regard to the Muslim League affairs in Sind. The following is the resolution:

"The Working Committee regret that the Sind Muslim League Party in the Legislative Assembly and the Executive of the Sind Provincial Muslim League failed to carry out the instructions of the President regarding the formation of the Ministry in Sind, according to the power conferred upon him by the resolution of the Working Committee passed on October 22, 1939, but in view of the further developments that have taken place since October 19, the whole matter is entrusted to a Committee, consisting of Nawab Ismail Khan, Chairman, Mr. Hossain Imam, Sir Nazimuddin, Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman and Kazi Mohamad, to take such action in the matter as it may think proper."

Collective Fines

A second resolution passed to-day said : "The attention of the Working Committee has been drawn to a number of cases, where collective fines have been imposed or have been realised from the Mussalmans who, on the admission of the Government themselves, have kept themselves aloof as a community from the civil disobedience movement that has been started by the Congress. This action of some of the Provincial Governments is not in consonance with the policy of the Government as the Muslim League understands it. The various Provincial Leagues are hereby asked to collect such cases and make representation to the Provincial Governments concerned for redressing the wrong. If, however, they fail in their efforts to have justice done, they are instructed to report the matter to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League for proper action."

The Political Situation

Besides passing the two resolutions on Sind and on collective fines, the Muslim League Working Committee, during its six-hour sitting to-day, is understood to have reviewed the political situation, including the forthcoming meeting between Mr. *Rajagopalachari* and Mr. *Jinnah*.

The general view was believed to be that negotiations for a settlement with the Congress could only be entered into with the accredited spokesmen of that body : that Mr. Rajagopalachari's role could only be recognised as that of a mediator between the two bodies and that the League and its President may, if necessary, use their good offices to help Mr. Rajagopalachari to establish any contact he may desire with the imprisoned Congress leaders.

In the course of to-day's discussion it was disclosed that Sir *Sikandar Hayat Khan*, Punjab Premier, in a statement at a meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League yesterday, disclaimed authorship of or association with the framing of the scheme attributed to him envisaging a partition of the Punjab by the application of self-determination to minorities in that Province.

On the whole, the trend of opinion in the Working Committee appeared to be that since its Bombay meeting, nothing of importance had developed requiring a further statement of the League position. The Bombay resolution was accordingly expected to be placed before the Muslim League Council for ratification when it met on the next day.

Council Meeting—New Delhi—9th. November 1942

Mr. Jinnah's Address

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in his opening address to the Council of the All-India Muslim League held at New Delhi on the 9th. November 1942, restated the League's position regarding Pakistan and its attitude towards proposals for a Provisional Central Government.

Mr. Jinnah referred at the outset to attempts to misinterpret the League's attitude and to characterise the League as "allies of British imperialism obstructing the path of freedom in India." "These efforts are disgraceful", he declared.

Reaffirming the Muslim right to self-determination in zones where they were in a majority, Mr. Jinnah declared that India had never been a nation governed by one single power, even by the sword. Even to-day one-third of India was not under British rule. The present administrative oneness was entirely the making of the British (Cheers).

"This Government," he went on, "which has been in this sub-continent for 150 or 160 years is not a government with the sanction of the people behind it. It is a government imposed upon the Mogul system. The sanction behind it is British machine-guns and bayonets, not the sanction of the people (cheers).

'Now, there has been aroused a great political consciousness among the people and we want our freedom and independence, we want to be masters of our own affairs in our own land and we would like to say good-bye and farewell to the British administration over this sub-continent (renewed cheers). Our proposal for Pakistan pre-supposes the freedom and independence of India (more cheers). It is obvious, according to our proposals, we agree to give three quarters of Indian territory, larger than any single country except perhaps China or Russia, with a population of 250 millions, to the Hindus. We say : 'Have your independence and freedom and self-rule in the Hindu zones. Let us have self-rule in our land.' But it seems Hindu leadership thinks : 'Three-fourths we have got in our pocket. What do we lose ? Let us, if we can, diddle them out of the one-fourth. That is

the spirit, that is the manoeuvre under the garb of the various proposals that we have seen hitherto. A National Government responsible to the Legislature is a fine phrase, but it comes to this that Mussalmans, as a minority, must submit and surrender to Hindu Raj. That is a position that Mussalmans will never accept." (Cheers).

Mr. Jinnah went on to refer to the perils of the present times and said : "Naturally any sensible Indian would be only too glad to do all he can to mobilise all our resources in order to resist any aggressor. Our American friends can go back to America, our British friends can go back to England. Where shall I go ? Therefore, I am more vitally concerned in the protection and the safeguarding of this country than any body else. (Hear, hear). It is for this reason that we have said we want the British Government and other parties in this country to agree to the right of the Mussalmans to self-determination and to abide by the plebiscite verdict of Mussalmans. If that verdict is in favour of a partition of India, of carving out independent Moslem zones, then all parties should agree to abide by it and give effect to it. Once we are assured of this by a solemn and honourable agreement we have repeatedly said that, in the formation of the Provisional Government, we, not as a minority but on an equal footing, shall not only place no difficulty in the way but we shall do our best to see that all necessary power is transferred to that Provisional Government.

"So far the only reply that comes from every quarter—I mean from Hindu leadership—is kite-flying, and the appeal to this foreign nation or that foreign nation. What is the use of appealing to any foreign nation ? Is that foreign nation going to run the Government in this country ? The Government of this country is going to be run principally by the two major parties Hindus and Mussalmans. That does not mean that the interests of the minorities are to be neglected. They also will have to be considered in any scheme of things that may be agreed upon.

"That is the position. I find that there is some change coming over the thoughtful sections of Hindus, and I hope they will realise that it is more in their interest than anybody else's that we should meet and place our cards on the table as friends and see that justice in done to both (hear, hear). Let us hope that this spirit will soon display itself. In the meantime, we can go no further."

Referring to the present movement, Mr. Jinnah asserted that it was inimical to Muslim interests because it had been launched to force the Government's hands to surrender to the Congress and concede their demands, which meant a death-blow to Muslim interests. "I hope that Hindu public opinion will realise that and revise the policy."

"The British attitude," he went on, "is also understandable, curious. Because one party had adopted this course, which is meaningless and impossible, the British Government are marking time and are following the Asquithian policy of 'wait and see." It is a great blunder. You cannot wait and see. The sands are running out. Our frontiers are not safe. Our battlefields are not out of danger and this policy of wait and see is the greatest mistake that the British Government can make. I should have said, 'Get on and mobilise, If you cannot mobilise 100 per cent, mobilise 90 per cent if not 80 per cent, but mobilise'. The sooner they consider, reconsider and revise their policy the better. I think they ought, without any further delay, to concede the Muslim demand, which is just to the Hindus and fair to us. Concede that demand. I think the British Government if they did that, will establish their bonafides that they intend to give the people of India freedom.

On behalf of the Muslims, Mr. Jinnah gave an assurance that they would do everything on a footing of equality to get power transferred to India. He recognised some change coming over the thoughtful sections of Hindus who seemed willing to do justice to both the communities and expressed the hope that the spirit would very soon display itself.

Referring to the British attitude as being curious and un-understandable, Mr. Jinnah warned them that they were committing the greatest blunder of their lives by merely marking time when their frontiers were not safe. "Establish your *bona fides* before the world," he appealed "and give freedom to India as soon as possible."

Passing on to other items on the agenda, Mr. Jinnah referred to the question of collective fines and said these were being realised from Mussalmans notwithstanding the Government's admission that Mussalmans had kept completely aloof from the movement. "I take this opportunity of congratulating Mussalmans on

carrying out the instructions of the All-India Muslim League. In fact, this has proved beyond doubt—is there any need after this of taking a plebiscite of the Mussalmans ?—that Mussalmans are not with the Congress and do not approve of its policy and programme." (Hear, hear). "From this platform I draw the Government of India's attention to this and ask that they should take every precaution that these fines are not realised from Mussalmans who are innocent and who should be thanked and not penalised."

After touching upon the situation in Kashmir, the question of Kazaks and the position in Sind, Mr. Jinnah gave an account of the progress of the Muslim League. "The Muslim League organisation," he said, "is really growing by leaps and bounds (hear, hear) all over India." The Civil Defence Committee, he went on, had toured the country in three months. "The object was to organise Mussalmans everywhere, not with a view to creating trouble but in view of the internal trouble that might take place or external elements which might cause trouble. Mussalmans were asked purely as a defensive and humanitarian service, to organise themselves in order to protect life, honour and property." This did not mean that the organisation would not render any help or give any relief to non-Mussalmans if it lay in their power. "Our five-year plan is over. It has been carried out without any money or appeal to Mussalmans. It has been a success." He had heard from foreign correspondents who had been going round that wherever they went they saw that Mussalmans were solidly behind and with the League (cheers).

"You have, therefore, got millions behind the League. You have organised the League in a manner never before known in the history of India. You have a clear road before you. It is being made clear even to the illiterate. We have got a definite goal about which there is no doubt and we are determined to achieve our goal." (Cheers).

Resolutions—SETTLEMENT OF DEADLOCK

The Council of the League ratified without discussion four resolutions of its Working Committee passed in April, August and yesterday, including the Bombay resolution.

The meeting authorised its President, Mr. Jinnah, to fix the dates and venue of the next annual session of the League. It also extended the term of its Joint Secretaries till the next annual session.

The four non-official resolutions tabled by Mr. *Z. H. Lari*, Sir *Currimbhoy Ebrahim* and Maulana *Abdul Hamid Badaoni* were not moved. It was pointed out by Mr. Jinnah that the subject matter of the resolutions was covered by the Bombay resolution of the League. The Bombay resolution expounded the latest position of the League *vis-a-vis* the political deadlock and constitutional settlement. Mr. Lari's resolution wanted Mr. Jinnah to communicate with Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Jinnah asserted that this very sentence and the discussion which was likely to follow would do more harm than good. Mr. Jinnah felt that the House should leave the whole matter to its President to implement the Bombay resolution. Mr. Jinnah said that he, as the President, had drawn the attention of the sponsors of the resolutions that they might do more harm by moving their resolutions, and if they fell in with his request, the resolutions should not be moved.

This point of view prevailed with the sponsors of the resolutions, who did not move them.

FACILITIES FOR HAJ PILGRIMAGE

The Council appointed a Committee of five, consisting of Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badaoni, Nawab J. Amsidali Khan and Mr. Abdul Hamid to contact the Member of the Governor-General's Council for Haj in regard to stoppage of Haj this year. The Committee would report to the President in the event of their not getting satisfaction from Mr. Aney.

The question was raised through a resolution tabled by Khwaja Abdul Ghani of Lahore. During its discussion in which Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Maulana Zafar Ali participated, it was alleged the Government could have arranged for necessary shipping facilities, if they really wanted to do so. Maulana Hasrat Mohani wanted four sailings to Behrein from where, he said, the pilgrims could travel to Mecca by motor buses and boats.

Mr. *Gazdar*, Chairman of the Karachi Haj Committee, did not agree with this view. He explained that the Government had already made necessary arrangements for Haj this year but the naval authorities refused to take the risk. He was

satisfied that sea journey to Arabia could not take the responsibility of endangering the lives and property of the intending Muslim pilgrims.

Mr. *Jinnah*, intervening, suggested that the House should appoint a committee to contact the authorities in order to satisfy themselves whether the Government's action was justified. The House agreed to this suggestion.

POLICY REGARDING STATES

The Council adopted the amended resolution of Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan, which, *inter alia*, condemned the aggressive behaviour of the Kashmir National Conference Party and the attitude of the Kashmir Durbar which, in the opinion of the Council, was aimed at crushing and undermining the attempts of Kashmir Mussalmans to organise themselves. The resolution urged the Government of India to warn the Kashmir Durber and demand of it to punish the offenders, including officials and appoint an impartial committee to enquire into Muslim grievances and make suitable recommendations for redress.

During discussion, Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan and Main Bashir Ahmed narrated the hardships of Kashmir Mussalmans and said that the situation had so developed that they in British India could not ignore it. The Nawabzada did not believe in the non-intervention policy in the internal affairs of the Indian States. Both he and Main Bashir Ahmed claimed that Kashmir would be a pillar in Pakistan. They wanted to organise the Mussalmans of Kashmir effectively.

This led to intervention by Maulana Zafar Ali, who deprecated intervention into the affairs of the Indian States. He feared that such intervention might provoke the Hindus to create agitation in the Muslim States of Hyderabad and Bhopal.

Mr. Jinnah reiterated the League's policy that the Indian States were outside their scheme of Pakistan. "How can we prevent people dreaming, if they chose to dream," he said. As for the intervention in the internal affairs of the States, Mr. Jinnah said that when they found gross mal-administration and tyranny, they would have to come to the rescue of their brethren in faith, irrespective of the fact that they were in Kashmir or in China. In Kashmir the Musalmans, he said, were not allowed freedom of speech and freedom of association. They must see that their rights were safeguarded and their grievances redressed.

The resolution was adopted.

The Council also adopted a resolution on Palestine. It called upon the British Government to honour their pledges and do justice to the Arabs of Palestine by granting them independence. The resolution was moved by Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim and supported by Mr. Aziz Lalji. The session then adjourned *sine die*.

A. I. Muslim Students' Federation

Annual Session—Jullunder—14th. & 15th. November 1942

The open session of the All India Muslim Students' Conference commenced on the 14th. November 1942 at "Gulzar Jinnah" specially built three miles north of the city of Jullunder. Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* presided.

After presentation of a civic address by the Jullunder Municipal Committee and an address by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Jinnah addressed the gathering in Hindustani.

The civic address mentioned Jullunder as a reputed city of peace and goodwill and expressed the hope that Mr. Jinnah would so guide the deliberations of the Conference as to bring the major Indian communities closer and nearer to each other and thus lay the foundation of universal harmony and lasting friendship.

Replying to the civic address, Mr. Jinnah declared : "Let me assure you that nobody desires more than I do a settlement but it takes two to make their contribution to peace and settlement."

In his second speech, delivered in Hindustani after the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Jinnah reviewed the League's position from the inauguration of provincial autonomy to the breakdown of the Cripps negotiations and said that some of his Hindu critics had now changed their views

regarding the Pakistan issue. He prayed that this might lead to the establishment of separate sovereign States for the two major communities of India.

Mr. Jinnah emphasised that he was no longer afraid of the British or the Hindus but of his Muslim brethren who pulled their weight in opposite directions.

Advice to Muslim youth to see what they could do to revolutionise Mussalmans of the Punjab without taking part in the present political movement in the country was given by Mr. Jinnah, performing the opening ceremony of the Islamia College, Jullundur, in the after-noon. Mr. Jinnah was presented with addresses on behalf of the Anjuman-i-Khadiman-i-Islam, the managing Committee of the College and the College Union. In a joint reply, Mr. Jinnah stressed the importance of the right type of education for Muslim youth.

Second Day—Jullunder—15th. November 1942

Mr. Jinnah Restates League's Terms

The Muslim League's offer to mobilise the Mussalmans to keep the enemy out of India's doors and form a provisional Government to which real power should be transferred provided the British Government made a declaration, and the other parties agreed to it, on the right of Muslims to self-determination and guaranteed and pledged themselves to give effect to the verdict of Muslim plebiscite regarding the Pakistan scheme was repeated by Mr. Jinnah, addressing the second day's session of the Conference to-day.

Mr. Jinnah, thanking the Federation for asking him to preside over their deliberations, dwelt on the task before the Muslim students. He endorsed the aims and objects of the Federation, but warned them that while they were students they should prepare themselves for and not take an active part in the political struggle that was now going on in the country. They should organise the Muslim students of India into a compact body to safeguard their interests, undertake a constructive programme for the social, economic and educational uplift of the Muslim community and popularise Islamic culture and studies and encourage better understanding and goodwill among the various nationalities of India.

Mr. Jinnah then proceeded to analyse the political situation in the country and said: "At present there is a deadlock. In May, 1942, Mr. Rajagopalachariar favoured the idea of Pakistan (prolonged cheers). He is a great Hindu leader and a capable man and has been one of the foremost leaders of the Congress. Not only was his proposal—which is different from ours—summarily rejected by an overwhelming vote of the A. I. C. C. at Allahabad, but another proposal which laid down that the Congress would have nothing to do with the question of Pakistan or the partition of India—Akhand Hindustan—was carried again by an overwhelming majority. Thereby they banged the door because they were not prepared even to discuss the question of the Muslim demand for Pakistan."

Criticism of Congress

Mr. Jinnah asserted that there was not the slightest doubt that the Muslim League represented Muslim India, but it was completely ignored and treated with the utmost contempt. Mr. Jinnah went on: "Thereafter Mr. Gandhi hit upon an extraordinary formula, which was that the British must withdraw. I shall be very glad if they do it tomorrow. We shall settle our affairs all right. Mr. Gandhi now says that there is no question of a Hindu-Muslim settlement until the British quit India. It had been almost a creed and faith which Mr. Gandhi repeatedly announced that there can be no freedom and independence of India without a Hindu-Muslim settlement. This was preached day in and day out and was one of the four pillars and conditions precedent to the attainment of the freedom of our India. But this was thrown overboard overnight. An ultimatum was given to the British Government to quit India. Now why was this done suddenly, at a time when Mr. Gandhi himself was partly negotiating, partly humouring and partly coercing? At one time he actually shed tears and even said, 'Of what use is India's freedom if Westminster Abbey and Parliament were bombed?' After these methods had been exhausted, Mr. Gandhi was so angered as to tell the British to quit India. Why? The reason is obvious. He does not mean what he says and does not say what he means. Any intelligent man can see that when he decided to launch mass civil disobedience, his one purpose was to coerce and embarrass the British Government, who are already in great distress due to war to surrender and make concessions to his demands which means destruction for the Muslim. That is the position which the Congress has taken up. They decided to launch mass civil disobedience. The ultimatum was

contained in the decision itself but no time was fixed when the order would be given to fire or march. Before, however, an order could be given the British Government put them all in jail. Now I ask every Mussalman and the fair-minded Hindus to say what they expect the Muslim League to do now. That is where I will stop."

British Attitude

Mr. *Jinnah* then examined the position of the British, who had said that they were going to fight the Congress to the finish. He had told the world that the Congress was only one party and did not represent all Hindus, far from representing the majority of the people of this country. Mr. Jinnah asked that if the Congress had taken up a meaningless and impossible position, what about the rest of India? He quoted figures given by British statesmen about Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Depressed Classes and those Hindus who were not with the Congress and asked what was the British Government's answer to the Muslims. "Of course, I am glad to say," Mr. Jinnah went on, "and I congratulate the Muslims that they in a body from one end of India to the other have kept completely aloof from the mass civil disobedience. The tragedy of it is that it is a civil internecine war in this country and nothing else. I am also glad that the Congress leaders who are behind this movement have also tried their very best, as far as my information goes, to see that they should not interfere with the Muslims, and they know that if they did it will recoil on them. So far so good, but the British Government have taken up a position which is not understandable. They ask what they can do How can they form any provisional Government ignoring the Congress? It is very understandable if the British Government are really sincere and want our hand of co-operation and friendship, which has been offered more than once: if they cannot get hundred percent support let them start with hundred million Muslims."

League's Terms for Forming Provisional Government

Mr. *Jinnah* then explained the Bombay resolution which was confirmed by the Council on November 9. "We have made our position clear", he said. "We want the British Government to make a declaration and want the other parties to agree to the right of Muslims to self-determination and guarantee and pledge themselves to give effect to the verdict of a muslim plebiscite and carry out the Pakistan scheme, the basic lines of which were laid down in the Lahore Resolution in 1940. If that is done, we are more ready than anybody else, because we want to defend our hearths and homes, to mobilise to keep the enemy out of India's doors. We are ready to form a Provisional Government—on the basis of that guarantee and pledge—to which real power should be transferred during the war. Here is a clear constructive proposal founded on fundamental principles. What is the answer?"

Mr. Jinnah then replied to the address presented by the Punjab Balmik Achhut Federation, Ludhiana, and said : "I shall never forget the interests of your community wherever I am. Those of you who will be living in our Pakistan shall be treated on a footing of equality of manhood not only according to our modern conception of civilised government but because of our religious instruction which enjoins that every non-Muslim minority under a Muslim Government shall be treated justly and fairly."

Appeal to Sikhs

As regards the Sikhs, Mr. Jinnah said : "Since I am on the Punjab soil I should like to say that the question between the Hindus and the Muslims is an all-India question and the question between the Sikhs and the Muslims is that of Pakistan ; and, for all practical purposes, it is a question between the Sikhs and the Muslims in the Punjab. If our Sikh friends wish—and we wish—that there should be an understanding and settlement between them and us, then I tell them let us not talk at each other but let us talk to each other. We have no designs on our Sikh friends. I only appeal to them to free themselves from external influences and meet us, and I am confident that we shall come to a settlement which shall reasonably satisfy our Sikh friends."

Mr. Jinnah stated that he had met Sikhs and talked to them in an informal manner. Some of them had now extented to him a most cordial invitation and he wished to thank them.

Self-Determination and Sub-National Groups

Referring to the discussions which had been proceeding in the Punjab on the

basis of a formula for a communal settlement Mr. Jinnah said, "Now the latest trick—I call it nothing but a trick to puzzle and mislead the ignorant masses purposely, and those playing the game understand it—is, why should the right of self-determination be confined to Muslims only and why not extend it to other communities ? Having said that all have the right of self-determination, they say the Punjab must be divided into so many bits : likewise, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind. Thus there will be hundreds of Pakistans. Who is the author of this new formula that every community has the right of self-determination all over India ? Either it is colossal ignorance or mischief and trick. Let me give him the reply that the Mussalmans claim the right of self-determination because they are a national group on a given territory which is their homeland, and in the zones where they are in a majority. Have you known anywhere in history scattered sub-national groups being given a State ? Where are you going to get a State for them ? In that case you have got fourteen per cent Muslims in the United Provinces. Why not have a State for them ? Muslims in the United Provinces are not a national group ; they are scattered. Therefore in constitutional language they are characterised as a sub-national group who cannot expect anything more than what is due from any civilised Government to a minority. I hope I have made the position clear. The Muslims are not a sub-national group. It is their birth-right to claim and exercise the right of self-determination."

Resolutions

The Conference then adopted a resolution moved by Mr. *Hamid Nizami*, President of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation, calling upon Britain to make a declaration guaranteeing the right of the Mussalmans to self-determination and to form a Provisional Government, with real power transferred to it, with the co-operation and support of the Muslim League and such other parties as may be ready and willing to assume the responsibility and authority of the Government for the specific period of the duration of the war in order to mobilise all the resources of India to resist any aggressor.

The session endorsed the Bombay resolution of the Working Committee of the League.

In his concluding remarks, Mr. Jinnah congratulated the organisers of the Conference on its success.

The Punjab Muslim League Conference

Annual Session—Lyallpur—17th. November 1942

Sir Nazimuddin's Appeal

"The Pakistan scheme is not only in the interests of India as a whole, but actually the non-Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces will be far better off than under one Central Government for the whole of India", observed Sir *K. Nazimuddin*, in the course of his presidential address to the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference, which commenced at Lyallpur on the **17th. November 1942.**

He added : "I am convinced that if the non-Muslims will examine this question dispassionately, free from the effects of the propaganda that has been carried on against it, they will see the truth of my assertion. Let us take the case of the Sikhs in the Punjab. Before this year they never had a Sikh representative in the Government of India. They had no voice or influence in the Working Committee of the All-India Congress, and yet in the Punjab during the last twenty years they have not only had their representative in the Cabinet but a very effective voice in shaping the policy of the Cabinet, a position which under a Central Government for the whole of India the Sikhs will never attain. In the Federal Government of the North-Western Pakistan the Sikhs cannot be ignored. The above applies with greater force to the Hindus of Sind and the North-Western Frontier Province."

Pleading for the immediate acceptance of the principle of Pakistan during war time, Sir Nazimuddin said, if there could be complete transference of power to Indians immediately during the war, there was no reason why the question of Pakistan should not be decided now instead of leaving it for decision till after the

war. The Congress wanted Britain to deliver the goods immediately but would not itself deliver the goods which Muslims demanded from the Congress. In the case of the Muslim demand it was to await the issue of the war and not even the commitment of agreement to the principle of Pakistan was made. That was a position which Muslims would not only not accept but would resist with all their strength. If the Hindus could not come to a decision on this question at a time when the gaining of independence for India was at stake, then what chance was there of their ever accepting this principle once power had been transferred from the British to the Hindus ?

In conclusion, Sir Nazimuddin spoke on the question of reorganisation of the League and said that the League should become not merely the political but also the social, educational and economic platform of the Muslims—in fact their one and only Jammat in every village, town and city.

Punjab Premier's Speech

The Punjab Government have recommended to the Government of India to lift the ban on the Khaksar organisation as *Allama Masuraqui* has declared that Khaksars would abide by the conditions laid down by the Punjab Government. This was announced by Sir *Sikandar Hyat Khan* at the open session of the Conference. The Premier said that as soon as Allama Mashraqui's declaration was received by the Government of India the ban might be expected to be removed. The Premier also stated that he regarded Mr. Jinnah as the leader of the Mussalmans of India and his occasional differences with him were really intended to safeguard properly the interests of the Muslims.

Mr. Jinnah's Speech

Earlier Mr. Jinnah, replying to the civic address of the Municipal Committee, clarified the reference in his *Jullundur* speech to the formula for granting self-determination to all communities. He stated that he did not refer to the formula recently floated in the Punjab which he had not yet studied. As a matter of fact, he had referred to the mischievous idea, which was the last effort of the opponents of Pakistan, who had exhausted all arguments.

Both Sir Sikandar's and Mr. Jinnah's speeches, it was pointed out, were delivered in a spirit of compromise which appeared to have been arrived at between the Punjab Premier and the President of the All-India Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah also received addresses from the Christian Association and the Punjab A. D. Dharam Association. He assured both the Associations that their interests would be properly safeguarded under a Muslim Government.

Mr. Jinnah Explains Attitude

The general reference made by Mr. *Jinnah* in his Jullundur speech to the formula for granting self-determination to all communities was further clarified by him while inaugurating the Conference. The session commenced at 10-20 p. m. with one of the biggest Muslim gatherings in the history of Lyallpur. Sir *Sikandar Hyat Khan*, Premier of the Punjab, *Mian Abdul Haye*, Education Minister, the *Nawab of Mamdot* and other Punjab League leaders were present on the dais.

Mr. *Jinnah* was presented with a civic address by the municipality, which described him as an "apostle of the docrine of self-determination for every community" and hoped that he would help in ending the present stalemate and leading his countrymen on the path of progress and prosperity. Mr. Jinnah also received addresses from the Christian Association, the Punjab A. D. Dharam Association and the Lyallpur Muslim Students' Federation.

Replying to the addresses, Mr. Jinnah said that the doctrine of self-determination required very careful study and those who were responsible for "this mischief" (demanding self-determination for all communities) knew perfectly well that they were misleading the people deliberately. He declared unequivocally that when he referred to this formula at Jullundur he was not referring to the formula recently floated in the Punjab which he had not yet studied ; he was referring to "mischievous idea', which was the last effort of the opponents of Pakistan, who had exhausted all arguments. He added that if that doctrine was preached the whole idea of constitutional history and doctrine of self-determination would be reduced to absurdity. This docrine presupposed that they were a national group—not a sub-national group—living in a defined territory where they were in a majority and could set up an independent State.

Mr. *Jinnah* assured the Christian and A. D. Dharam Associations that the

right of their respective communities would be fully safeguarded by any Muslim Government because it was an injunction from the highest authority, namely, the Quran that a minority must be treated justly and fairly.

Mr. *Jinnah* congratulated the members of the A. D. Dharam Association on the awakening in their community. He added that if they studied the proceedings of the Round Table Conference they would find that he had fought more for them than for Muslims because theirs was the worst lot in the world.

Mr. *Jinnah*, inaugurating the conference, referred to the growing strength of the League in the Punjab and said to-day he could see under the League flag all Muslims from the humblest kisan to a nawab. The masses, he added, were the foundation of any nation or country and there could be no nobler mission than that of raising their standard of life and giving them light and joy.

PUNJAB PREMIER'S PLEA FOR COMMUNAL SETTLEMENT

Before the Conference adjourned Sir *Sikandar Hyat Khan* made a speech extending a hearty welcome to Mr. Jinnah and Sir *Nazimuddin*. It was their good fortune that the destinies of Muslim India were being guided by such a selfless leader as Mr. Jinnah. He referred to his occasional differences with Mr. Jinnah over matters of detail and declared that after his doubts and misgivings were removed he always abided by the decision of the majority and whenever there was the slightest possibility of a clash between his personal interests and those of the "Millat" (Muslim nation), the former were overridden by the latter. The Premier explained the circumstances in which he decided to throw his weight with Mr. Jinnah to give a befitting reply to the Congress leaders, who alleged that Mr. Jinnah did not enjoy the support of the Muslim majority provinces. He along with Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly, literally descended like paratroops at the Lucknow session to strengthen the hands of Mr. Jinnah. The Premier went on to explain that he fully subscribed to the Lahore resolution of the League which provided for territorial readjustments and his new formula was not in conflict with the Lahore Resolution. He assured the minorities that their interest were being fully safeguarded and urged for a communal settlement to expedite attainment of India's freedom.

Both Sir Sikandar's and Jinnah's speeches, it was pointed out, were delivered in a spirit of compromise which appeared to have been arrived at between the Punjab Premier and the President of the All-India Muslim League.

Second Day—Lyallpur—18th. November 1942

BOMBAY RESOLUTION OF LEAGUE ENDORSED

A resolution endorsing the Bombay resolution of the Muslim League and expressing full confidence in the leadership of Mr. M. A. Jinnah was unanimously carried at the second day's session of the Conference on the 18th. November. The resolution also unequivocally condemned all alternative schemes which were designed to detract the attention of the Muslims from their goal of Pakistan.

At the outset, the Conference adopted a resolution of condolence on the death of *Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri*, former President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, who took a deciding part in the Khilafat movement.

The Conference accepted another resolution urging due representation for Muslims in public services in the Punjab.

Mr. Jinnah's Reply to Citizens' Address

"I assure you that whatever views I hold, I have no other desire except the happiness of the communities in India and I believe that—if not at present, a little later—when you calmly, coolly and dispassionately examine the proposal I advocate, you will realise that it is the happiest solution of the problem of this great sub-continent", declared Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*, replying to an address presented to him by the citizens of Lyallpur district belonging to all communities.

The address, which was read by *Sardar Bahadur Dilbagh Singh*, a local Sikh leader, expressed the hope that Mr. Jinnah's statesmanship would help in bringing about a settlement honourable to all communities.

Mr. Jinnah reminded the listeners that in history whenever a new idea was put forward it met with strenuous opposition: for instance, the first man who came out in the street with an umbrella was ridiculed but now the umbrella was a common thing. He invited all the communities to come under his umbrella and wished them happiness.

Third Day—Lyallpur—19th. November 1942

REMOVAL OF BAN ON KHAKSARS

The declaration that Muslims "might stand in need of the sword to prevent any aggression on their right" was made by Mr. *Jinnah* in his concluding address to the Conference on the third day, the 19th. November.

Two more addresses were presented to Mr. Jinnah by the Muslim traders and the Muslim young men of Lyallpur.

The Conference passed a resolution appealing to the Government of India to lift the ban on the Khaksar organisation, in view of Allama Mashriqui's declaration to obey the conditions imposed by the Punjab Government and the Home Member's statement in the Central Assembly that Khaksars were not connected in any way with Fifth Column activities of the enemy.

Sir *Nazimuddin*, who presided, moved a condolence resolution touching the death of the late Nawab Sir *Shah Nawaz* of Mamdot who was a tower of strength to the League. The resolution was adopted all standing.

The resolution regarding the Khaksars was moved by Mr. *Ghulam Samad*, member of the Punjab Assembly and seconded by Professor Inayatullah who urged the immediate removal of all restrictions calculated to cripple the Khaksar movement.

The Conference adopted another resolution requesting the Punjab Government not to permit Sikhs to carry "Nishan Sahib" (spearhead) which had beeen held unlawful by the High Court.

MR. JINNAH'S ADDRESS

Before the Conference concluded, Mr. *Jinnah* addressed it in Urdu congratulating the Muslims of Lyallpur on the success of the conference. He stressed the necessity of educational and economic uplift of the Muslim community and referred to the financial handicaps of the League "owing to the absence of Birlas and Dalmias in the Muslim community".

He declared that they might stand in need of the sword to prevent any aggression on their right and emphasised the importance of gradual advance so that it might not be necessary to retract any step taken by them. He advised them to unite for if they became sufficiently powerful they would be able to make and unmake Ministries. "Ministers' he declared, "must understand that they cannot remain in office without our consent."

Mr. *Jinnah* was glad that there had been an awakening in the Punjab and advised them to carry the League's message to every corner of the Province and organise primary Leagues in villages. Ii they acted on his advice he was confident that they would succeed in establishing Pakistan.

APPEAL TO KHAKSARS

Mr. *Jinnah* expressed his full sympathies with the Khaksars and recalled the efforts made by the League for the removal of the ban on the Khaksar organisation culminating in Sir *Sikandar's* announcement in the open session of the Conference that the Punjab Government had no objection to the removal of the ban. He expected the ban would be removed and Allama Mashriqui would be a free man shortly. He hoped that the Khaksars would come under the League flag and work in co-ordination with it as they were passing through critical times and unity among Muslims was essential.

Concluding, he declared: "We want to live honourably in this country and will never tolerate any Government in which we are reduced to serfdom."

The All India Akali Conference

Third Session—Lyallpur—26th. & 27th. September 1942

Presidential Address

The Third Session of the All India Akali Conference was held at village Udowall in the Lyallpur Colony on the 26th. and 27th. September 1942 under the presidentship of **Master Tara Singh.**

The Conference was attended by about one lakh of people from various parts of the country and a-mile-long procession of the President-elect was taken out.

Shiromani Akali Dal, the strongest and the most militant representative organisation of the Sikhs which took birth in the Sikh Gurdwara Reform Movement, has been doing the yeoman's service amongst the Sikhs. It is the organisation which took the Congress to the villages in the Punjab. Also it is the Shiromani Akali Dal which rendered the Sikhs the most efficiently and closely organised Community. It works mostly in the villages. Since 1940 it has been holding its annual open session in the rural side. The 1st All India Akali Conference was held at Attari, the birth place of Sirdar Sham Singh, the famous Sikh General of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, which is situated on the Grand Trunk Road between Lahore and Amritsar; the 2nd at Rurka Kalan in the Jullundur Doab, and the 3rd at the village Udowall in the Lyallpur Colony under the Presidentship of the veteran Akali leader *Master Tara Singh.* The following is the full text of his address :—

When I say we are in dangers I mean to say that both our country and our religion are in danger. Both are apt to fall prey to external and internal dangers. External danger to our country is Japanese invasion and internal danger is unrest in the country. As regards our religion external danger is the invasion of our religion by the atheists and the internal danger is growing faithlessness in and apathy towards all that is sacred.

I shall deal at some length the danger to our country at a later stage. Now I shall say that we are a purely religious community. Other communities are based upon various common interests; but the Sikh community is based upon Sikh religion only. With some other communities, religion may occupy secondary position, but with us it is our very breath. Take away religion from us and we cease to exist. In fact we live as a community simply for the sake of the protection of our religion. We are a people who attach more value to soul than to body, more value to religious duties than to bread, more value to life hereafter than to this transitory life. This is the essence of our religion and this is being attacked by not very deep thinking people with whom bread and this earthly life are the only two real things. *Such men live to eat but we eat to live.* This is the fundamental difference in the outlook of our life—Those who openly declare that bread is more valuable than service of God can have no place amongst us. These rebels of God, these satans, these brutes must never be tolerated amongst us. We have religious differences with the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians and others; but we are all one in our belief in God. God, the root of religion is common to us. So notwithstanding our differences we are fundamentally one. But how can we be one with those who are opposed to God.

I do not solely blame some our misguided youngmen for losing faith in God. There must certainly be some of them, zealous youngmen who grew impatient over the hypocrisy of some of the so-called religious persons who use religion for their wordly ends. Such zealous impatient youngmen must be properly handled and won back, but the confirmed atheists must have no place amongst us.

Atheists from outside and hypocrites from inside are attacking our religion. In fact, these hypocrites work as fifth-coloumnists against religion and we must beware of them.

A word about those who work in the interest of Russia. They can certainly not be trusted. They are against the English, when Russia is against them and they are with the English when Russia is with them. How can man with this mentality be trusted by India.

Present Politics

I wish to speak my mind plainly at this most critical moment. The British Government is wrong in adopting its present attitude. The Congress is right in demanding complete independence. It is wrong to fully trust the British Indian

word just as it is wrong to fully trust the Indian word. There are honest gentlemen but there is no honest nation.

How can the Indians trust the word of the English and how can the English trust the word of the Indians? To me this appears to be the chief obstacle in the way of settlement between England and India What is the solution then? All settlements are based upon trust to a certain degree. I ask you brethren not to trust the English nation as far as possible but do trust them when there is no way out of it. *You have to trust them and they have to trust you to a particular degree in the interest of settlement which is the interest of both of you.* By all means guard fully against deceit or change of mind but do not be too suspicious. This is the only way of settlement.

The British cannot entrust you with full military responsibility during the war. They cannot hand over the power of concluding peace with Japan or Germany on the mere promise that you will not do so. If India having the full power concludes peace with Japan, the English may lose the War. The English will not be wise if they run this risk. The English must concentrate upon winning the war. *They will free India or enslave it whatever contributes to their country victory.* Complete freedom of India may throw the Indians into the lap of or at the mercy of Japan, which is apt to result in the defeat of the English. So this they shall not do, come what may. If they are to lose India, they will do so like brave men after fighting and not without fighting. To lose resources of India will be a great set back to the British arms. If the British give us the full power with the army in their own hands that will not be complete freedom. *Freedom without power of making peace or war may glitter but is not gold.* This is the situation. If we Indians wish to arrive at a settlement with the British we must be prepared to do so, on terms in which we shall have to trust them to a certain degree during the war. This will not be a good settlement and may not be to our liking but there is no alternative to it.

Suppose we do not agree to let the real military power remain in British hands during the war and rebel to wrest the power, what will be the result? Has anybody any doubt? We, unarmed, helpless, disunited, emasculated people can only invite disaster. The Governments are well organised and there are so many engines of destruction at the disposal of the Governments, that it is impossible for the people of any country to overthrow its Government by rebellion. Germany has conquered so many countries. The people of these countries must be very bitter against the Germans but none of them dare rebel.

So I say brethren, armed rebellion for us Indians is idiotic. There is not an iota of chance of success. It is merely suicide. I do not believe in the funny doctrine of non-violence as preached by Mahatma Gandhi. But I am not a fool as to ask you to commit violence of piercing your own heart. If we had power to turn the English out of our country, I would not hesitate for a moment. But is there a single fool in the whole of India who thinks we are strong enough to turn out the English? I, therefore, advise you in your own interest and in the interest of your own country not to be fools to be carried by momentary enthusiasm. This violence which is being committed in India may do harm to the British Government but it will do us no good.

Let us be clear in our mind. Do we want *Swaraj*? Do we want change of masters? Or do we want Communal *Raj*.

If we want *Swaraj*, we cannot have it without communal unity. If we have communal unity we can then have Swaraj after world-wide propaganda. This civilisation has strengthened the rulers with physical power, but it has given a new weapon of propaganda into the hands of the subject people. No nation can resist unanimous demand of its subject people. If the English will do so, they will meet with the hate of people of other countries, which is the most powerful weapon ever heard of. No nation can withstand the opinion of the world. When I say so, I did not mean to ask you to wait for unity. Unity itself can be attained by struggle and sacrifice.

Now, if you want "change of Masters" you may be on the right path but no sensible Indian can support you in this. You can help Japan by creating chaos in the country and dislocating means of communication. I say so, because I know there are people who in their fit of anger and recklessness may pull down the wall of the enemy and be buried under its debris. What do you gain, if Japan takes the place of England? English rule has exhausted itself to a great degree, but fresh Japan rule is apt to take another 200 years before its vitality is as much spent up as that of the British Rule now. For God's sake get rid of your old

mentality of inviting a new invader when the former one becomes old. I am not comparing the Britishers to the Japanese for, having read and heard one-sided propaganda, I do not wish to draw conclusions. Let us take them as equally bad. Why should we then risk our lives and the honour of our women merely for change and a change which is most likely to lengthen the days of our slavery.

Now, the third alternative for us is Communal Raj. The Hindus may prefer Hindu Raj, the Muslims Muslim Raj, the Sikhs Sikh Raj and so on. In this we are pitched against one another. No Community can have it unless interference from outside is some how shut out.

This is very difficult as long as the present day means of communications exist. So effort for Communal Raj may again result in a foreign rule.

What Should be Done Then ?

If we once make up our mind that we shall win complete independence from the English with the help of the world opinion and not with the help of the Germans or the Japanese, our path becomes clearer. To win independence under present conditions with the help of any foreign power is a policy of jumping from frying pan into fire.

I am not non-violent. But I cannot advise you to destroy yourself by nonsensical violence. The violence which is being committed in the country is not bringing independence nearer ; though it may be bringing Japan nearer. I know there are some men full of anger who have ceased to see the good of their country. Such an insane attitude must be got rid of in the interest of the Indian Nation.

I have met various sorts of people during these days and had discussions with them over the matter. I can tell you that I did not meet a single one who did not agree with me. But they who did not like to give up their enmity against the Britishers, preferred fire to the frying pan. There is no use of reasoning with such men who have lost their heads. But I ask you sane people to behave in a sane manner and not to lose your head over the folly of the Britishers. The Britishers are fools not to create peace, satisfaction and good-will in the country at this most critical juncture when it is in their power to do so. But the folly of the Britishers is no excuse for us to behave foolishly.

I wish to be quite frank, at this most critical moment, when life and death of nations are hanging in the balance. Both the English and the Indians will lose if the present state of things is allowed to continue. The only party which will gain is Japan. When I talk in this strain to some friends, they question 'why do the English not see sense" ? My reply is 'For some similar reasons why we do not see sense". Do you mean to say that the English should run the risk of losing the war simply to free us ? They are certainly not so sacrificing or so foolish. So if we are to make peace with the Britishers, we shall have to agree that the Britishers will have the power of prosecuting war. We may call, if we like, an arrangement in which the military power is in the British hands, to be complete independence. But that will be a cow without milk.

Independence in real sense we cannot have just now. We can possibly have it after the war. Now we can have mainly promises, pledges and guarantees with full control over the whole civil administration. We must not put too much stress upon words. If we can agree now it is all right but that is out of question. We can then agree that the English should declare us free now and leave the country to us just after the war without any consideration of the conditions prevalent then. We may then quarrel amongst ourselves, establish Swaraj, or some communal Raj or fall prey to some other foreign aggression etc. I shall sign such an agreement.

All these exigencies are possible. So the best practical thing is that we must get all the power from the British now, except the powers necessary for prosecuting war. We must get satisfactory promises and pledges from the British Government. After doing so, we must whole-heartedly throw ourselves in the war. Our future will much depend upon the power which we develop during the war. Nations are born in war and there is every chance of Indian nation being born in this war. Indian nationhood cannot develop without war.

British Statesmen's Speeches

I am sorry the recent speeches of some of the British Statesmen, including the British Prime Minister, have not been happy ones. The effort of Mr. *Churchill* to prove the non-representative character of the I. N. Congress was particularly unworthy. It is not very wrong if one terms the reasoning in it as merely

childish. The I. N. Congress certainly does not represent all the people nor all the interests of the various people. But it is the most powerful and most representative political organisation of the Indians. I would not admit that the Congress is competent enough to represent or safeguard the Sikh communal or religious interests. But I would not question its representative character where question of broader national issues arises. The Congress represents the nationalism of India.

If the mode of reasoning which Mr. Churchill adopted in order to prove the non-representative character of the Congress, be taken to its logical conclusion, it can safely be proved that more than 100 percent people of India are against the Congress. According to Mr. Churchill, 9 crores of the people of the States are against the Congress. Why? Presumably, because the rulers of the States who represent them say so. If this reasoning is good, then the Governors of the provinces, as representatives of their people, say that their people are against the Congress. This makes cent percent people of India against the Congress. But the account is not closed yet. 9 crores of the Muslims, 5 crores of Scheduled castes and large number of the Hindus, the Sikhs, the Christians & others yet remain to the debit side of the Congress. I might have been able to prove that the Congress represents 100 % of the people of India.

Is this sort of reasoning worthy of the responsible Prime Minister of England? I say stop this wordy jugglery and find a way by which we can all unite to oppose the coming invasion of India.

SIKANDAR BALDEV SINGH PACT

Sikandar Baldev Singh Pact is purely a communal pact and it does not in any way commit the Shiromani Akali Dal. I supported this pact as a communal one in the hope that it will improve the communal situation in the Punjab. The pact itself cannot do much good unless the mentality of the responsible Government officials changes. I wish to express no opinion at present as to its success. Sufficient time has not yet passed to form a definite opinion ; but I wish to draw the attention of Sir Sikandar Hayat and S. Baldev Singh to the real object of the pact as I understood change of communal mentality in the responsible Government officials must immediately exhibit itself.

This pact has no political significance. Sir *Sikandar* has his own politics, S. Baldev Singh his own and I my own. I hope this has been made clear in our political actions since the pact ; and if any body still has any doubt, it will become still more clear as occasions arise.

PAKISTAN

I would like immediate settlement and we should explore all avenues of peace, mutual goodwill and tranquillity. We cannot wage war against an external enemy without internal peace. Angle of our vision must change. Instead of emphasising our points of difference, we should emphasise the points of our common interst A little mutual trust is needed to solve our problem temporarily at least for the duration of war. We must understand that all schemes of independence are smashed if some other foreign power comes here.

If we are determined to oppose the domination of Japan, as a thing which will increase the term of out slavery, we must make up our domestic quarrels. Woe be to the family, whose members continue their domestic quarrel when attacked by robbers. Let us make up temporarily till the danger of the robbers is over. Let us bury our hatchets. Pakistan or no Pakistan can easily be postponed till after the war. It will be postponed even if you go on quarrelling over it. Why not then argee to postpone it and create an atmosphere in which we are better prepared to resist the coming dangers.

Let me make it clear that I am not less opposed to Pakistan because I agree to its postponement. Demand for Pakistan is demand for civil war. It has already created a good deal of bad blood. If you Muslim brethren, go on insisting upon it, there is danger of civil war ; and if it is granted to you there is certainty of wars between different portions of the country. The only permanent solution is to give up this demand of Pakistan. This is my considered view.

I ask you to see from another point of view also. Demand for Pakistan from the British Government and demand for complete independence are inconsistent. Suppose the British give you Pakistan and complete independence at once. What would it mean ? Will the English stay or go away. If they stay, there is no independence and if they go away who will carry out the decision of the English. If the English decree in favour of Pakistan, they will have to stay

in order to execute the decree. If you wish to establish Pakistan with the help of the Britishers and ask the Britishers to go away only after Pakistan has consolidated its position, you are trusting the Britishers too much and your fellow countrymen too little. Such a mentality will never bring independence for you. I am extremely opposed to Pakistan for various reasons—the chief being that it is only a harbinger of permanent slavery and strife.

Nobody is aware of the exact definition of Pakistan, I am opposing it for another reason also for I believe that the object of Pakistan is to create domination of Muslims over Sikhs. If it is not so, what is it then ?

I am here recording my bitter opposition to Pakistan. This does not mean that I am not prepared to postpone the opposition of Pakistan till after war. I am prepared to do so in the interest of the safety of our common country ; and I appeal to all to agree to postpone the solution of this problem, *which will in any case stand postponed till after the war. Why should we go on quarrelling* simply for the sake of quarrelling.

Appeal to the Indians

Brethren, I appeal to you in the name of India and in the name of humanity to desist from committing violence which under the present circumstances is not simply tantamount to committing suicide, but is matricidal. Your intentions may be patriotic and noble, but wrong actions with good intentions are not less harmful. It is wrong to say that the result of sacrifice is always good. Wisdom must control every action of ours, even our sacrifice.

I can give you no guidance in the sense that I cannot chalk out a particular plan of action. I can only say that the times are hard and the situation is complicated. God alone be our guide in such times. I ask you to pray to God, and cleanse your mind of evil by recitation of Gurbani and meditation upon God's name. That is the only sure right path. This is no new thing which I am asking you to follow. Guru said, "His name is the remedy of all evils". I am a firm believer in God and I believe He guides His people rightly at critical times. We must cleanse our minds of all selfishness and greed. Holy people must be our guide. Organise yourself on religious basis to serve the oppressed and the weak if need be. You can succeed in this only if with the help of holy recitation you cleanse your minds of selfishness and other mean feelings. It is the character alone which tells and character can be built by faith in character and holy things. I know there are good selfless people who do not believe in God. But you will find that their goodness is inherited and not developed in this birth. *How can you rise when your aim is bread.* It may be out of place to discuss here the existence of the all powerful God. But I do assert here that those who cannot see the living God are certainly void of deep thinking. They believe in transitory things, for they cannot dive down deep to find out the realities of the world around us.

Appeal to the British People.

We have century long relations. You have been our masters, but now we wish to be masters of ourselves. The world forces have created the present change in our mentality and these very forces will change our relations very soon. Let us then part as friends. What is happening in India brings no more credit to your wisdow than to ours. Your interests and our interests have become common to a certain extent in this war. You don't want Japan to come here and we don't want. But your mistakes are as much inviting Japan as ours. Remember that we are more interested in the protection of India than you. If India is lost you still have a home, but we have no place to run to. We want independence and you agree to it. You can do a good deal to create communal unity. Excuse me for being frank. All this disunity is the outcome of the so-called communal award and the mentality bred by it. I don't blame every Englishman, but we have grave suspicions that some of the English statesmen deliberately brought about this state of things. For God's sake change your mentality now. Your favouritism for a particular community is apt to create sympathy for the enemies in other communities. Be brave and be just. There is yet time to avert disaster. Don't delay then. Do what you can to free us as soon as possible. Without running any risk of a set back in the war, act at once. You will, then, not only win our confidence in the present struggle, but will retain it even after we are independent. I appeal to you in the interest of our common good, in the interest of humanity, in the interest of the liberty of the world, and in the name of the Almighty to rise to the occasion. Insane actions of a few misguided people must not be

allowed to create misunderstandings between us and thus mar the whole future of the whole humanity. You, christian people, I appeal to you in the name of God at this most critical juncture in the history of the world, make a mark and create a noble precedent by freeing helpless weak people when others may be trying to enslave them. You are more responsible than we for the present extreme bitterness, for you are more powerful and more responsible. Rise, otherwise we fall and you suffer.

Resolutions

The following is the text of the resolutions passed in the Conference :—

(a) This Conference urges upon the Rulers of Sikh States to maintain the Sikh character of their States, to observe Sikh rituals and ceremonies and not to contract matrimonial alliances with non-Sikhs. The matrimonial connection of the sister of the present ruler of Patiala State with a non-Sikh has perturbed the whole Sikh Community who expect that the other sister of the Maharaja will be married in a Sikh family.

(b) This Conference holds that the Prime Minister in Sikh States must be a Sikh and that there must be an absolute majority of the Sikhs in the State Cabinet and that the post of the Prime Ministers of Jind, Kalsia, and Kapurthala States may forthwith be given to competent Sikhs.

(c) It is further necessary to fix the percentage of Sikhs in the Civil Services of the State and that the Sikhs must be given due weightage as is done by Hyderabad and with a minimum of 60% in Patiala State.

(d) The Conference urges upon the rulers of Sikh States to enact Gurdwara Legislation with a view to place the control of the Gurdwaras and of the property attached thereto under the management of the Sikh public.

(e) That Punjabi in Gurmukhi scripts may be made a Court and Official language and that the teaching of Punjabi script may be made compulsory in all schools and that liberal grants be allotted to all sikh institutions.

(f) That in the interests of better administration it is essential that representative institutions such as Legislative Assembly and local bodies may be set up in States wherein Sikhs may be given statutory majority.

(g) That Political Prisoners may be treated as better class prisoners.

This Conference demands that it must be recognised by the Government that a *Patit* forfeits his claim to the throne of the Sikh States and that it is imperative for the rulers of the Sikh States to maintain the Sikh character of the States.

PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

The Conference is of opinion that the present situation is born of a sense of frustration of Indian aspirations consequent upon the policy of His Majesty's Government towards India's constitutional problem.

The Conference stands for acceptance of the demand of Indian National Congress to make an immediate declaration of the status of India as an Independent sovereign State and to form a Provisional National Cabinet forthwith.

The Conference expects all important elements in Indian National life especially the Sikhs to do their duty by their country, particularly when the leaders of the Indian National Congress have been placed behind the prison bars under the orders of the Executive.

The Conference holds that repression will not provide any remedy for the removal of the present unrest and is further of opinion that in as much as the Government did not afford any opportunity to Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders to place their view points before the Government and decided to arrest them when there was still a prospect of a compromise between the Government and the Indian National Congress, it is now for the Government to take initiative in the matter and adopt measures with a view to end the present deadlock.

The Conference in this connection declares that while opposing the Muslim League Pakistan Scheme, it stands for the readjustment of provisional boundaries so as to create a Province wherein no single community (Hindu, Muslim or Sikh) may be in a position to dominate.

Proposed by *Master Ajit Singh*, seconded by (1) *Giani Sher Singh* & (2) *S. Lal Singh Ahrti.*

This Conference records its regret that the Bombay Government has restriction on the size of the 'Kirpan', the religious symbol of the Sikhs, even now though the Governor General by notifying it as the religious symbol of the Sikhs has exempted it from the Arms Act.

The Conference understands that this restriction is a direct interference with the religious liberty of the Sikhs and urges upon the Government of India and the Bombay Government to remove this restriction. If the restriction is not removed, further urges the Conference, the Government will itself be responsible for its grave consequences.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

That the treatment at present meted out to the political prisoners is vindictive and is bound to create bitterness in the country. The Politicals are allowed six annas per time per diet, and are not permitted to supplement their food at their expense ; interviews in some cases are not permitted and the right of correspondence is restricted ; they are not supplied with newspapers and most of them are being detained under Executive Orders without a judicial trial.

In the opinion of this Conference rules with regard to the treatment of the political prisoners must be revised forthwith, so as to provide for their treatment as better class prisoners and that the dependants of the political prisoners confined in Jails or otherwise interned must be allowed maintenance by the Government and the Sikh prisoners must be provided with oil, soup etc., as required.

The Governments of Indian States are also asked to act accordingly to this resolution.

The All India Nationalist League

Second Session—Poona—31st. July & 1st. August 1942

Presidential Address

"In my opinion, the visit of Sir *Stafford Cripps* was a calamity for India and the Allied nations. It was the biggest diplomatic failure of Britain and it was also a major military disaster," declared Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta,* presiding over the second session of the All-India Nationalist League held at Poona on the 31st. July 1942. Mr. Mehta also criticised the Congress policy.

Mr. Mehta explained the aims of the All-India Nationalist League and traced the course of India's struggle for freedom and observed, "When after 60 years of nationalist agitation this country could be so wantonly insulted by the British Cabinet, as to be offered a scheme of freedom of the kind embodied in the Cripps Scheme, the only conclusion to which I come is that over 22 years since the death of *Tilak* have been a period of failure, and we must begin again to rebuild the national ideal on the sound lines which the founders and fathers of the Indian National Congress laid down when they started that organisation."

CRIPPS MISSION

Referring to the Cripps mission, Mr. Mehta said : "The stern lessons of history have been completely forgotten by the authors of the Cripps scheme. The reconciliation of the Boer and the British in South Africa came through the South African Union and not by separate zones for the British and the Boer. Canada is a great country to-day because the British and the French combined to make it so. Ireland is to-day hostile to the British, because Northern Ireland was separated from the Southern. It is impossible to realise why the British Government so suddenly surrendered the idea of Indian unity to the forces of disruption. It amounted to a readiness on the part of Britain to scuttle out of India if she could not hold it herself. Briefly, I will say that the Cripps scheme was nothing but a reorientation of the declaration of August, 1940. and respectability was given to it by bringing in a false show of self-determination.

"When the full implications of the Cripps scheme were known there was a sudden and instantaneous feeling of revulsion in all nationalist circles. British imperialism now stands unmasked in all its horrible nakedness and the good people of Britain, immersed in the preoccupation of the war, are not even aware of the tragedy. We are told that the rejection of the Cripps proposals by India was unwise and that the one good result of Sir Stafford's visit was that the Allied nations, like China, Russia and America, were at least convinced of the sincerity of Britain. If that is so, China, Russia and America are deplorably ignorant, and they must not be fed on the propaganda of that kind if the Allied nations are not

to court a disaster. Far from the sincerity of Britain being established, it is her insincerity which has gone home to us all, and America of all countries should, in its own interest as well as in the interest of India, try to understand the situation in this country more correctly than it has so far apparently done. In my own opinion the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps was a calamity for India and the Allied nations. It was the biggest diplomatic failure of Britain, and it was also a major military disaster.

"To cure India of communal trouble which seems to have worried the authors of the Cripps scheme, the right course for Britain should have been to change her own policy, which has been inaugurated since 1905. Having systematically encouraged communalism by unscrupulous means, the British Government have created in India a situation to-day with which they cannot cope, and in utter despair they blame the various communities in India, but really it is their own action which has produced this result.

"I cannot, however, help stating that the Congress Party's rejection of the Cripps scheme was not on the fundamental question of the partition of India involved in the scheme, but for subsidiary matters like the powers of the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the defence question during the period of the war. The main issue in the Cripps' scheme was whether the unity of India was to be a basic thing in any proposals for constitutional progress : on that issue the Congress did not, and even now does not, speak with a clear voice. For all practical purposes, the Congress Party cannot be relied upon to stand firm by the territorial integrity of his country, and it is the duty of every nationalist, of whatever race or creed, to make Indian unity the foundation of every question of policy."

WARDHA DECISION

Mr. Mehta next dealt with the Wardha resolution of the Congress Working Committee and said : "Let us now consider whether the Congress has got the strength to make a success of the latest threat of direct action and let us consider what has been our experience in the past of such campaigns. It must be patent to the most purblind among the Congress Party that the Muslim community to a man will have no truck with the Congress. The Harijans have openly declared their total lack of confidence in the Mahatma. The Hindu Mahasabha repudiates and rightly repudiates the claim of the Congress to speak for the Hindu and is from the beginning identified with the war effort. The commercial community is supplying and is ever ready to supply whatever war materials may be required. Thousands and thousands of men are entering the army. More than a million of our countrymen have come forward to defend India against the foreigner. The Congress leaders, out of their love for non-violence, describe these men as mercenaries. A more mendacious calumny I cannot imagine. It was the bravery of the Indian forces in North and East Africa, in Syria, Iraq and Iran, which saved India from being invaded from the west. But for their heroic resistance against Japan in the east the war would have reached the Indian frontier six months ago. Common decency and gratitude are lacking in the Congress attitude towards these heroes. And yet fighting races and young men are rushing as fast to the colours as they can be armed. Sikhs, Christians, Anglo-Indians, not to say Hindus and Mahomedans, are all on the side of the war effort. All the labour groups have unmistakably expressed their determination to fight Fascism. The kisan sabhas have spoken in the same tune again and again. There is not one single section of the community, except the proverbially truthful and non-violent Congressmen and their prototypes in the press, who will outwardly profess that they are against the war ; all the other sections in the country will, I am confident, fight in support of the security of their country and leave the Congress Quislings to their fifth columnist activities.

"I declare that India considers this war as her own in the interests of her national solidarity of the working class. When Russia is under the heels of triumphant Fascism, when 23 crores of European workers are held in bondage, the duty not noly of the working class but of all democratic elements in this country is to stand up without any calculation for resistance to the Axis Powers."

UNITY OF INDIA

Dealing with the "conversion of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar" Mr. *Mehta* said, "He should be aware that the communal problem in India is largely the creation of our foreign masters and that the next responsibility for it is that of the Congress. It is amazing that a man of Mr. *Rajagopalachariar's* acuteness of mind should

appear to believe that the salvation of the country lies in further pursuing a line of action which has led to such disastrous consequences. If the Japanese are to be successfully resisted in the interest of the security of this country then it is as much a duty of Mr. Jinnah as of Mr. Rajagopalachariar to do so. No special bargaining should be necessary to induce Mr. Jinnah to do his obvious duty. If Mr. Jinnah agrees to resist the Japanese only, if we first agree to disrupt the country, then Mr. Jinnah's assistance is not worth having. Mr. Rajagopalachariar would have us agree to disrupt the country in order that we may have our freedom. If we ask, whose freedom ? He cannot answer. Because under Pakistan the country will have gone before the so-called freedom has come. Let Mr. Rajagopalachariar and others of his way of thinking realise once for all that Indian nationalists are in no mood to listen to such fantastic and transparent contradictions."

Referring to Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Mehta observed : "He was an one time a true nationalist but the divide and rule policy of the ruling race, together with the blank cheque policy of the Mahatma, resulted in a new Jinnah who has thereafter developed into a rankest communalist. But his policy has nothing of reason, justice and sense on its side. In essence and reality, Mr. Jinnah is a mere pawn in the imperialist game and his only value in the view of the Government is his hostility to the Hindus."

Concluding, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* said, "I invite you to become soldiers in the fight for the country's freedom, the freedom of the masses—the democratic freedom of the masses. Remember, that independence is not the same thing as freedom. Country after country during the present war has found its independence not worth a day's purchase when attacked by a powerful neighbour. The ideal of the future, not merely for India, but for the world as a whole, should be independence with collective security in a world federation of States where the freedom of one is secured by the freedom of all."

Resolutions

The following is the text of the resolutions passed by the Conference :—

(1) Obituary

This Conference records its sense of profound grief at the demise of the Hon. Mr. *Raghavendra Rao* and the Hon. Sir *Akbar Hydari*, members of H. E. the Governor-General's expanded Executive Council.

In their death, India has certainly lost able administrators, far-sighted statesmen and staunch and independent Nationalists. In the present political situation of India, their advice would have been of great benefit to India for the consolidation of Nationalist forces and for bringing about unity among various political parties in India.

(2) Cripps Proposals

This Conference ratifies and supports the comprehensive memorandum submitted to Sir *Stafford Cripps* by the President of the All India Nationalist League in April last on behalf of the League. The Conference particularly emphasises the following principles laid down in the Memorandum :

(1) In framing the future constitution of India the fact of national unity should be the only basis ; that unity is a reality to start with and not an aspiration to be achieved hereafter.

(2) The only body rightfully entitled to frame a constitution for India is the electoral college based on universal adult franchise involving no communal distinction,

(3) The control of national defence, foreign affairs and finance are real symbols of freedom. The probable result of the Cripps proposals as pointed out in the Memorandum in the end has come true, viz., that "India's soul will be in anguish and in spite of its will to resist invaders, it cannot help brooding over the menace of a vivisected India and feeling the war effort as of subsidiary importance in her thought and action."

(3) Atlantic Charter And India

This Conference of the All India Nationalist League declares that the omission of India, from the Atlantic Charter has created a reasonable suspicion that India may be, at the end of the war, subjected to an unfavourable and discriminative treatment in the matter of receiving the benefit of the Charter which may be pleaded as restricted to nations subjected to Axis conquest or occupations only. This Conference, therefore, appeals to the authors of that Charter, and the United

Nations, that they should immediately guarantee to India the full measure of that benefit at the end of the war. The Conference further urges that the United Nations will insist that the well-recognised principles of the Charters of the League of Nations should be invoked to solve the problem of the minorities in India, and that the difficulties of the problem shall not be allowed to be pleaded, as an excuse for the British Government not taking upon themselves, if need be, the responsibility of enforcing a fair and just settlement of the Minority problem in the light of the aforesaid Charters.

(4) EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

While considering the recent expansion of H. E. the Governor-General's Executive Council as a belated step in the right direction, this Conference resolves that the step does not go far in the following particulars:

(1) That all portfolios are not transferred to Indians;

(2) That important old and new portfolios like the War Department, the War Transport Department, the Home Department and the Finance Department are given to non-Indians; and

(3) That the Governor-General is not bound to abide by the decision of the Council which still retains its old advisory character.

This Conference therefore, urges the British Government to make an immediate unambiguous declaration granting complete political freedom and equal co-partnership to India in an Indo-British Commonwealth with the right to secede, and as an immediate act towards it to free the Governor-General from the State Secretary's control and establish the convention of the decisions of the Executive Council being binding upon the Governor-General.

This Conference assures the Government that such a declaration and such action will persuade Nationalist India to fully co-operate with Government in the present war and to risk their all in the glorious hope of regaining their National independence.

In spite however, of the unsatisfactory character of the Executive as now expended, this Conference is satisfied that Indian Members of Executive Council can, by their united stand, virtually make the Council effectively function as a real Cabinet. This Conference therefore, calls upon them to act accordingly, instead of functioning as mere Departmental heads.

(b) This Conference is further of opinion that the rule by Governor in the Provinces with the aid of Official Advisers is retrograde and reactionary, and should be immediately replaced by a body of non-official representatives invested with the full Ministerial powers, by convention if necessary.

(5) LINGUA FRANCA

This Conference reiterates the resolution passed at the Lucknow Session of the League in 1940 that Hindi written in Devanagari script should be recognised the inter-Provincial and National language of India and all help should be given to make it popular everywhere.

(6) "GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN"

While appreciating the steps that are being taken by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to grow more food to meet the shortage due to war conditions, the All India Nationalist League is firmly of opinion that the policy outlined by Government is defective in several respects and therefore, not likely to bring about the desired results speedily and effectively, unless it is suitably modified. The League urges the following modifications: firstly, carrying on comprehensive surveys of various regions in the country regarding their minimum requirements of food and fodder, present production and maximum potential capacity for such production by imported seed and manure on the one hand and displacement of commercial crops by food crops on the other; secondly by guaranteeing such minimum reasonable prices for important food grains as will leave to the cultivator fair margin of profit over the cost of production; thirdly by making the "Grow More Food Campaign" a peoples' movement by securing close association of leaders of the public with its direction and conduct; fourthly, by suitably reducing land revenue assessment of such areas where food crops would be grown in place of money crops; fifthly, by devoting special attention to the provision of fodder for work and milch cattle; sixthly, by centralising direction of Provincial Departments of Agriculture temporarily as a war emergency measure; and lastly, by effective co-orienation of policies, activities

of the Lands, Finance, Communications and Commerce Departments in so far as they relate to the vital problem of food production and supply.

(7) EVACUEES

This Conference warns the Government that the resentment felt by the public at the invidious racial discrimination between the evacuees from Burma and other places to this country, has been further accentuated by the almost exclusive preference given to European and Anglo-Burman evacuees by creating new posts and jobs for them, resulting in heavy burden on the Indian exchequer. This policy should be stopped forthwith and the Indian evacuees should receive their adequate share in the Government employment.

(8) DEFENCE AND KEY INDUSTRIES

(a) The all India Nationalist League Conference is aware that some existing industries have developed and some new industries have been started as a result of war demand for third products; but the League deeply regrets that little initiative or planned action has been taken by the Government of India to start important defence or key industries.

(b) The All India Nationalist League therefore, strongly holds that in view of the extreme dependence of this country on imports of vital supplies, establishment and expansion of defence industries such as the manufacture of air-craft, automobiles, ships, heavy munition and tanks as also key industries such as manufacture of locomotives, machinery and machine tools and heavy chemicals, should be actually encouraged and helped in every possible way.

(9) PAKISTAN

(1) This Conference of the All India Nationalist League strongly and emphatically condemns all proposals that are being made by the Muslim League, British Imperialists and others to divide India into Pakistan and other "Stans" as this vivisection is destructive of India's Nationhood and is bound effectively to kill all efforts on the part of the Indian Nationalists to achieve independence now or in future. All true Nationalists throughout the country whatever may be the political party or group proclaim Hindusthan to be one and indivisible as their first article of faith and therefore, this Conference feels certain that they will fight this menace of Pakistan and similar other proposals of partitioning India, and be ready to make all sacrifices to preserve the integrity and solidarity of their Motherland.

(2) This Conference resolves that the so-called Communal Award incorporated in the Government of India Act of 1935 be abolished, as it has hampered the healthy growth of Nationalism and has led to the Pakistan Movement and threatens to keep up permanently the fatal communal virus in the body politic of India and postpones indefinitely the achievement of freedom by India.

(10) CIVIL PROTECTION

This Conference of the All India Nationalist League records its considered opinion that along with cities, villages must be strongly and effectively organised, equipped and armed for civil defence for resisting foreign aggression and preserving internal security.

(11) INDIAN ASSETS IN ENGLAND

This Conference views with deep concern the location of 70% of the assets of the Reserve Bank of India outside India in spite of the fact that India has little or no sterling debt now left to be paid. Past experience of the handling of Indian assets in England has been unhappy and in view of the act that balance of payments have since the war been increasingly in India's favour the Conference strongly urges that Indian assets in England be repatriated to this country as early as possible.

(12) INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

This Conference declares its deep and abiding sympathy for the working classes in this country—both industrial and agricultural—and assures them that every effort will be made by the League to improve their standards and otherwise to ameliorate their conditions in all possible ways. In particular, this Conference will endeavour to assure to the agricultural classes economic prices for their produce and reduction of rents and land revenue, fixity of tenure, the liquidation of their indebtedness and to help them to increase the production of

land by necessary legislative and administrative measures. To the industrial workers, the Conference will endeavour to secure:

(1) Minimum wages. (2) Reasonable working hours. (3) Sanitary Housing. (4) Unemployment, accident and sickness insurances. (5) Old age pensions. (6) Maternity and other benefits to women workers, including equal wages for equal work. (7) Protection to children. (8) Right to form Trade Unions. (9) Right to strike.

(13) LAND COMPENSATION

The Government should give timely assurance to the people of India that even in the case of any war emergency care will be taken that:

(i) With regard to evacuation and other orders involving loss, either temporary or permanent, of landed property of any kind, full compensation shall be paid forthwith, such compensation to be fixed after taking into consideration the value of land and crops, inconvenience and expense likely to be caused to the holder of the land by having to move to another place and the difficulty and delay likely to be involved in obtaining other land, where a dispossessed land-holder could settle;

(ii) Wherever possible, arrangement shall be made to provide other land to agriculturists, where there agricultural land is acquired. In cases where such provision is impossible, compensation in money shall be paid. In the case of temporary acquisition of agricultural land, the full value of crops plus 15 per cent of it shall be paid for each crop lost, and when occupation by the Government terminates, compensation shall be paid for restoring the land to its previous condition for agricultural purposes;

(iii) Houses, where acquired, shall be fully paid for. Where the bulk of agricultural land of an agriculturist is acquired, and only his house is left over, the house also shall be acquired after paying full compensation, should the owner so desire. Where a house is to be occupied temporarily for Government purposes, fair rent shall be paid and the owner compensated for inconvenience and discomfort caused. Arrangement shall also be made for the owner's residence elsewhere, and full compensation shall be paid for transport of his belongings. Until such time as an evacuee is enabled to find suitable occupation in his new surroundings, his maintenance charges shall also be paid.

(iv) In all cases, compensation shall be paid promptly and on the spot, by a responsible officer.

(v) In case no agreement is reached between the authorities and the evacuees regarding the amount of compensation and the matter has to be referred to a tribunal for decision the amount of compensation proposed by the authorities shall be paid forthwith and not withheld pending adjudication of the claim.

(vi) In all cases, there shall be no interference with the use or disposal of private property except with the consent of the owner or in payment of adequate compensation.

The Conference is aware that some Provincial Governments have taken steps on the lines suggested in this resolution, and urges that these proposals should be carried into effect whenever the necessity might arise.

(14) CONGRESS POLICY

Though the Imperialist policy of the British Government is provocative of Mass Civil Disobedience and direct action, this Conference is of opinion that the Mass Movement which is contemplated in the recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee is most inopportune in view of the imminent danger of foreign invasion with which the country is faced. The Conference is afraid that it may lead to internal disorder which is bound to affect the war efforts, and will create a situation favourable to the invader and adverse to the security of this country. The League, therefore, hereby dissociates itself from the movement of Direct Action contemplated by the Indian National Congress and asks people not to take part in it.

Nevertheless the Conference does not absolve the Government from the responsibility of creating the present wide-spread feeling of frustration by their refusal to satisfy the National demand.

(15) MILITARISATION

This Conference is emphatically of opinion that as the question of the defence of India against immediate or possible aggression by Fascist Powers is of paramount importance in the present critical times of War and at all times in its

condition as a free and independent country, and as the exigency of the present war threatening the borders of India offers a great opportunity for Indians to be trained in the art of Modern Warfare in all its branches, all able-bodied and patriotic Indians should avail themselves of the opportunity to join the Army, Navy and Air force in large numbers in a spirit of selfless and devoted service to the country and so lay the foundation of the future National Army of Free India.

This Conference also calls upon the Government to follow a policy of more frank and genuine readiness and admit capable Indians to posts of higher and strategic commands in all branches of the Defence Forces. For, the Conference believes that only by so doing can Government bestir Indian people to rise to the occasion and help in rescuing Democracy in danger.

In this connection, this Conference commends the work and activities of the Maharashtra Militarisation Board in Poona, and recommends the establishment of such boards all over India.

Executive Committee—New Delhi—20th. September 1942

Resolutions

The executive committee of the All-India Nationalist League, adopted a resolution viewing with concern the growing deterioration in the internal situation of the country and deploring the mass direct action "sanctioned" by the A. I. C. C. as most inopportune and calculated to create chaos and to assist the invader.

The Committee condemns without reservation the numerous acts of sabotage, attack on life and property, indulged in by mobs in the various parts of the country and considers them as an inevitable result of the Congress sanction of mass action. The Committee also considers that Government were justified in adopting the necessary measures for the restoration of law and order and the protection of life and property.

At the same time the Committee is painfully aware that there have been complaints of unnecessary and excessive force used by the Military and the Police authorities. The Committee calls upon Government to take steps for the purpose of setting up judicial tribunals in various provinces for investigation in to the complaints.

Indianisation Wanted

The Committee is, however, of opinion that for the restoration of normal conditions in this country, more constructive and positive steps are necessary and urges full Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council as the first essential step in that direction leaving the operational control of the country's armed forces in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief and restoration of provincial autonomy in the provinces.

Unstatesmanlike

By another resolution, the Committee deplores the recent utterance in Parliament of Mr. Winston Churchill about India and his reference to the Indian National Congress as most inopportune and unstatesmanlike and adds : "The Premier's reference to the Cripps proposals as holding the field, in their full integrity and scope will be considered as the latest unequivocal refusal on the part of Britain to part with political power to India. The Premier must be aware that the Cripps proposals are based on the principle of the partition of India which this country will not countenance and which every nationalist will fight to the bitter end."

By another resolution the Committee regrets the refusal of the Viceroy to grant permission to Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee to see Mahatma Gandhi for carrying on his efforts for a national settlement and earnestly requests him to reconsider and revise his decision.

Unhelpful Attitude

The Committee regrets the unhelpful attitude of the Muslim League in demanding the acceptance of the principle of Pakistan without offering similar opportunity of self-determination of non-Muslim minorities in the so-called Pakistan province.

The Committee however hopes that the Indian members of the Governor-General's Executive Council will be able to persuade the Viceroy to call at an early date an All-Parties Conference with a view to exploring all possibilities of an immediate settlement of the deadlock.

The Liberal Federation Polity

Council Meeting—Poona—5th. July 1942

Liberals' Appeal to Britain

Several resolutions touching on the various aspects of the political life of the country were passed at the annual meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India which met at Poona on the 5th. July 1942 in the Servants of India Society's premises with Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, President of the Federation, in the chair. Among those present were Sir *Chimanlal Setalvad*, the hon'ble Pandit *Hirdayanath Kunzru*, Sir *Vithal Chandavarkar*, Sir *R. P. Paranjpye*, Mr. *Kodanda Rao* and others. The following resolutions were passed at the meeting:

"The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India views with deep and growing concern the recent reverses which the United Nations have suffered at the hands of the Axis powers, and more particularly the conquest of Malaya and Burma by Japan and the consequent threat to India. It fervently hopes that by pooling their resources and co-ordinating their strategy more effectively the United Nations will soon achieve complete victory over the Axis powers, restore peace and establish social justice in the world. The Council has no doubt that the overwhelming majority of Indians are most anxious that India should take her full share in the prosecution of the war and in post-war reconstruction. It strongly feels, however, that the present attitude of Britain towards India has been a bar to India's enthusiastic co-operation in the war effort. The Council reiterates its view that unless the present psychological conditions are radically modified by the establishment of a National Government in India there is no prospect of India putting forth her maximum effort for the prosecution of the war. The Council hopes that notwithstanding the failure of the Mission of Sir Stafford Cripps, the British Government will take steps as early as possible to renew negotiations with Indian leaders to establish a National Government in India and trusts that in the present critical situation, the major political parties will take a more accommodating view of their mutual relations.

Viceroy's Council Expansion

"The Council is of opinion that the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, announced on the 2nd July 1942, lamentably fails to create the psychological conditions necessary to secure India's maximum support in connection with the war. The Council notes that a new portfolio of Defence has been created distinct from that of War and entrusted to an Indian. But the functions assigned to the Indian Defence Member are of secondary importance. The important portfolio of Home and Finance are retained in the hands of British members of the Indian Civil Service. Another important portfolio, namely that of War Transport, has been entrusted to a British non-official in spite of repeated demands in the country for the complete Indianisation of the Executive Council. The transfer of portfolios to non-official Indians in the reconstituted Council falls far short of the proposals which the Liberal Federation has repeatedly urged. It even falls short of the revised proposal which Sir *Stafford Cripps* made in April last. The Council protests against the unsatisfactory character of the steps taken to expand the Executive Council and repeats its view that the Council should consist entirely of non-official Indians, drawn from the public life of India and that it should by convention, function as a Cabinet and the Viceroy should ordinarily accept its decisions.

Unity Of India Must Be Preserved

"The Council is of opinion that the scheme of the partition of India into different sovereignties, is not in the best interests of India as a whole or any section thereof including the Muslims. It is not likely to promote communal harmony or achieve any other desirable purpose. On the other hand, it is bound to create greater communal antagonism and weaken the defence of India and create many other difficulties.

Civil Disobedience

"The Council has taken note of the reports which are current about the launching of the civil disobedience movement in the country and it trusts that

no such movement will be started as it will be prejudicial to the best interests of the country in respect of defence and other matters."

"The Council is deeply pained to learn that in the evacuation of refugees from Malaya and Burma to India and their treatment here, Indians were discriminated against on racial grounds. The Council strongly protests against such discrimination and demands that all traces of discrimination in the rules relating to the reception, accommodation, allowances, etc., of the refugees should be eliminated as early as possible.

PRICE CONTROL

"The Council views with gave concern the continued rise in prices of essential commodities and is of opinion that the price control policy so far followed has proved largely ineffective. It urges the Government to adopt a more vigorous and co-ordinated policy in order to control prices effectively and to persuade the Indian States to co-operate with it in full measure."

Council Meeting—New Delhi—26th. September 1942

Establish National Government

The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India, in a resolution passed at New Delhi on the 26th. September 1942 condemns the disturbances that have taken place in the country, particularly when the enemy is knocking at the doors of India.

It feels, however, that while organised lawlessness and destructions of the means of communication must be suppressed, strong action on the part of the authorities by itself will not succeed in solving the difficult problem facing the Government and the country and in creating a proper atmosphere for full co-operation between the people and the Government in the prosecution of the war.

"Such an atmosphere" the Council states, "can be created only when the Government recognise their own responsibility for the unprecedented situation that exists in the country and win the confidence of the people by taking whole-hearted steps to make them feel that this war is a people's war in which the freedom of India and of the oppressed peoples in other countries is at stake.

"For this purpose, it is necessary that Britain should cease to treat India as a dependency and should establish a National Government in the country which will control all portfolios without prejudice to the position of the Commander-in-Chief and subject to the strategy laid down by the War Cabinet.

"The National Government should be treated as a Cabinet, whose decisions shall be normally accepted by the Governor-General. For the purpose of facilitating the formation of a truly National Government, the British Government should, on their part, declare their willingness to transfer power to it on the lines stated above.

"In order that negotiations may be begun between the principal political parties for the formation of such a Government, it is necessary that the mass movement started by the Congress should be called off and the leaders released.

"The council is of the opinion that statements such as that made by the Prime Minister are not only not helpful but are positively irritating to the country and complicate an already complicated situation."

The Communist Party of India

An appeal to the Government to give up its present repressive policy, to release *Mahatma Gandhi* and the Congress leaders, to lift the ban on the Congress organisations and open negotiations with the Congress and other political parties in India, especially the Muslim League, for the purpose of establishment of a provisional National Government is made in a 2,000-word manifesto issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India which has been meeting in Bombay in the third week of September 1942.

The manifesto emphasises that the provisional National Government should be fully empowered and determined to unite and mobilise the people for the defence and the freedom of the country in close alliance with the United Nations. The Communist Party, which is pledged to forge national unity to solve the present national crisis, appeals to the workers and progressive peoples of Britain to bring pressure upon the British Government to concede the just national demand of the Indian people, thus clearing the way "for our common victory in this war of liberation."

Government's Policy Criticised

The present policy of the British Government in India, the manifesto says, "stabs the cause of the British and American people, of the Soviet and Chinese people in the back. The Communist Party warns the British Government that if it persists in this policy, it will only succeed in creating a common disaster for the British and the Indian people."

Condemning the present policy of repression pursued by the Government of India and supported by the British Government the manifesto says : "The main responsibility for plunging the country into a grave and perilous crisis which not only undermines the cause of freedom of India, but also the cause of the freedom-loving peoples of the United Nations, must be fastened on the shoulders of the British Government. The national leadership had declared its readiness to undertake full responsibility for uniting and organising the people for the armed defence of the country, in alliance with the United Nations and thus to take the full share in the war of world freedom against Fascist aggression, provided Indian independence was recognised and a provisional Government was set up, enjoying the confidence of the people and supported by the major political parties. But the British Government, instead of pursuing the policy of winning the friendship and alliance of the Indian people, have persistently refused to part with power. Taking advantage of our national disunity, of the frustration and desperation of our national leadership, they are provoking a country-wide conflict which is being fully utilised by 'fifth columnists' and Japanese agents."

Acts of Sabotage Condemned

Strongly condemning the acts of sabotage and destruction of communications and machinery of production, the manifesto says : "Those who are responsible for the acts hope by these methods to bring about a fall of the Government and the transfer of power to the people. What they are achieving, however, is exactly the opposite. By giving this pernicious direction to the anger of the people, they are only organising the destruction of the national defence and economy of our own country and are giving free scope to the forces of anarchy. This state of things suits the 'fifth column' elements and the Fascist agents the most. Secondly, as the movement spreads, there is dislocation in national economy and growing anarchy. This hits the people and helps the would-be aggressor."

The manifesto criticises the national leadership for its failure during the early stages of the war to go all out to unite the people with a view to rousing them to do everything in strengthening the country's defence against Fascist aggressors and says that, instead of "forging mass sanction for securing a national Government for national defence, the national leadership chose the opportunist path of inactivity, non-embarrassing non-co-operation with defence measures, hoping thereby to win the national demand as a gift from imperialism. The Communist Party had warned against this policy which amounted to leaving the initiative and the fate of the nation entirely in the hands of imperialism. This only strengthened the obstinate attitude of the bureaucracy to deny power to the Indian people and led to the growing mood of frustration and defeatism among the nationalist masses. Instead of drawing from this the requisite lessons about the urgency of unity, the

national leadership took one more step in the direction of its own opportunist policy. It advanced from non-co-operation and neutrality to a plan of active opposition to measures of national defence in the name of launching a struggle for the national demand. The path along which the present national upsurge is directed is one of national suicide, not of national salvation and freedom."

PARTY TO LAUNCH A UNITY CAMPAIGN

Emphasising the need for unity in the country, particularly unity between the Congress and the Muslim League, the manifesto says that the way out of the national crisis lies neither in the direction of continuing repression to crush the Congress "as imperialists, loyalists and Royists suggest nor in the direction of intensifying the offensive against the apparatus of national defence and production as Forward Blockists, Congress Socialists and Congressmen propose." The only way out, says the manifesto, is the achievement of the broadest possible national unity based on Congress-League unity. The Communist party has, therefore, decided to concentrate on a three-fold plan of firstly, organising a country-wide campaign for national unity, secondly campaign of persistent political explanations among *Kisans*, students and workers showing how the present struggle leads to destruction and anarchy and thirdly, continuous and widespread propaganda among Hindu and Muslim masses for Congress-League unity.

"The main slogan of the unity campaign is 'Release *Mahatma Gandhi* and national leaders, stop repression, check destruction, sabotage and anarchy, lift the ban on the Congress, negotiate for an all-round settlement and set up a provisional National Government for India's defence."

The A. I. Newspaper Editors' Conference

Second Session—Bombay—5th. October 1942

The second session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference was held at Bombay on the 5th. October 1942 under the presidency of Mv. *K. Srinivasan* who reviewed at length the work done by the conference particularly during the year just ending. About a hundred editors from the various provinces attended the conference.

MR. HORNIMAN'S WELCOME ADDRESS

Mr. *B. G. Horniman*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates to the conference, said that while he was opposed to pre-scrutiny of news. the Press Advisory system on the whole had been working satisfactorily. There were, however, some provinces where it had not been functioning properly. It looked as though the Government allowed such arrangements to function only as long as they were convenient to them. Mr. Horniman emphasised that it should be the duty of the Press in the whole country to take proper action against the abrogation of the agreement whenever and wherever it occurred.

Mr. Horniman said that a newspaper too had a measure of power of retaliation and sanctions. Suppression of news was a game that could be played by two parties. "We are capable of effeting a complete black-out of all Government news and propaganda," he said.

Referring to Sir Richard Tottenham's speech in the Council of State, Mr. Horniman said that the attitude of the Government, as expounded by the Home Secretary, was an "absolute and scandalous abnegation of the responsibilities of the Government. The understanding that was arrived at between this conference and the Government had practically been thrown overboard, and it was not being respected by the Government themselves. We know also, it has been flagrantly violated and defied in various provinces."

Mr. Horniman agreed that newspapers recognised the necessity of censorship in regard to such news as was of value to the enemy. But the restrictions which the Government had now imposed were such as those in existence in Nazi Germany. He emphasised that newspapers should not compromise in regard to the restrictions which the Government sought to impose, and they should resist them.

President Speech

The following is the text of Mr. *Srinivasan's* speech :

"The public in general and the editors of newspapers in particular are quite familiar with the circumstances that necessitated the formation of this organisation and its subsequent functioning through its Standing Committee, from time to time during the last two years. We had quite a promising start, though some individuals among us felt that the newspaper Press in India ought never to associate itself in the task of administering the Press Laws with an irresponsible bureaucracy even in the state of emergency.

"You are also quite aware that the consultative system that had emerged as a result of the talk between the representative of the Press and the Government has had varying degrees of success and failure at various stages and that manifestations of extreme forms of intransgience came from some of the Provincial Governments functioning under Section 93 of the Government of India Act and that the Home Department of the Government of India have been unable to remedy the wrongs done in those provinces. In fact, in one of our recent meetings, the Home Member frankly expressed his inability to intervene even in cases of proved hardship. And yet, we were often told by the Government spokesmen that there are present, in our Committee, members who are avowedly against collaboration with the Government and that it is they who are queering the pitch and preventing a smooth working of the system. It is nothing new when Sir Richard Tottenham said in the Council of State that 'the plain fact is that a certain section of the Press in India—and I do not think that is more than a small section—has made up its mind to encourage this movement at all costs.' I have no hesitation in saying that there is no justification for the criticism that the Home Secretary has seen fit to make of members of this conference who normally support the Congress point of view. It is absurd to suggest that they desire to encourage or foment the present disturbances. Sir Richard cannot be unaware of the valuable contribution made by these very persons in the inauguration of this Press Advisory system and the help they have continued to give in successfully working the system so far. It is such unwarranted assumptions that give rise to misunderstandings and lead men in authority to act in an arbitrary manner as, for instance, in the case against the *Hindustan Times* in Delhi. The case of the *National Herald* of Lucknow and the *Sainik* of Agra have been festering sores with us. How unjustly the Press in U. P. have been treated has been amply proved by Mr. H. E. B. Catley, Editor of the *Pioneer*, in one of his articles recently.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS ASSERTED

"I may next explain to you the procedure we generally follow in our discussions in the Standing Committee. Every member is allowed full freedom to express his views as strongly as he can ; but every decision we come to is always agreed to unanimously, and if there is any view that is likely to divide us, we do not press for its adoption. We have observed this practice so far and it has enabled us to tide over many of the obstacles that we have had to encounter. The Standing Committee consists of members holding different views on politics and yet we have always acted as a team in the matter of resisting all attempts to circumscribe the liberty and freedom of the Press.

"During the past few months, the Home Department have been showing signs of panic snd the Standing Committee has had frequently to be summoned to meet and dispel the imaginary fears that possessed them. At these meetings, we always found ourselves confronted with proposals for new restrictions on the Press as a whole, and a good deal of our discussions was taken up with allaying the apprehensions of the Government of India (who though disillusioned, sent us back with the warning to be more careful in future). In spite of such handicaps, I and my colleagues on this Committee may boldly claim to have secured protection against any hasty and ill-considered action by the Executive against members of the Press generally.

"We do not seek to minimise the fact that we have been unable to influence in our favour certain Provincial Governments. I am not concerned to deny it. But, as against this, I may say that, war or no war, we did assert our rights to give expression to our grievances in the political field and have brought the Government to realise the necessity to keep off from interfering with us in that respect. True, there were one or two occasions when the Home Department did attempt to lecture us on the subject of defeatism in war time. But after one of

those frank and free exchanges of views between the Home Member and ourselves, the question was dropped.

GOVERNMENT APPREHENSIONS

"This brings me on to the consideration of the present situation. It is common knowledge that the Government of India have always considered that by far the larger section of the Press in India functions as a permanent opposition to them, avowedly hostile to and always critical of the British administration. In all their campaigns aimed at controlling the popular movement, the Government have always taken power to put restrictions on the Press as one of the first necessities, in order effectively to disarm Indian national organisations by depriving them of the only weapon which Nationalism can freely summon to its aid in times of stress and strain. So, it was not unexpected that when the Congress Working Committee passed its resolution visualising the starting of the Civil Disobedience Movement, the Home Department should begin to think furiously about its own moves to counter the Congress plans. Of course, the first reactions from Government were communicated to us about the middle of July last when Mr. Kirchner had informal conversations with the members of the Standing Committee on this question when we had gathered in Bombay to consider other matters. Mr. Devadas Gandhi was also one of those who were individually consulted and every one of the members, including Mr. Francis Low and Mr. Arthur Moore, came to the conclusion that the formula devised at the first conference in Delhi held good; and according to that every editor who belonged to our Editors' Conference has to apply the only test that has been there provided, namely, whether any item of factual news came under the category of impeding the war effort.

"Accordingly, we intimated to Mr *Kirchner* that the present agreement between the Government of India and the A. I. N. E. C., whereby the news-papers agreed to do nothing to hinder the prosecution of the war, would continue. Newspapers which break the agreement would do so on their own responsibility and at their own peril. If a Civil Disobedience movement starts, newspapers should be allowed as on the previous occasions, to publish factual news, e.g., arrests, etc., but no statement supporting the movement.

"Mr. Kirchner seemed to be satisfied personally, though he could not say anything on behalf of the Government at the time. Later, I had a letter from Sir *Richard Tottenham* after Mr. Kirchner had reported to him. As opinion both within and without India seemed to be practically unanimous on the matter of the threat of civil disobedience, Sir Richard suggested that we might consider passing a formal pronouncement of disapproval which, coming with the weight of the whole Press in India behind it, would, in his opinion, be more effective in averting that threat of civil disobedience and saving the country from an ordeal which no one really seemed to want. I replied that Mr. Kirchner was given a fairly clear idea of the view held by all of us, that there was no need to devise any new formula beyond the Delhi Agreement and that, should need arise, an urgent meeting of the Standing Committee may be summoned as soon as things took definite shape.

STANDING COMMITTEE NOT CONSULTED

"I had also told Mr. *Kirchner* in Bombay that if the Government felt at any time necessary to consult us, I and a few others of the Standing Committee were prepared to go to Delhi and clear up any difficulty that the Government might have. Mr. *Kirchner* undertook to communicate this to Sir Richard and write to me if my presence was required in Delhi. Though I had a letter after my return to Madras, it did not disclose the slightest hint of the restrictions which had been framed and were about to issue. But Sir *Richard* in his letter to me, dated the 27th July, did tell me that if a mass movement was launched, the Government would have no option but to resist it and take action against those sections of the Press which actively supported it. This however, did not lead me to understand that he was going to issue general press instructions in the the form of pré-censorship as I was confident that if any such restrictive orders were in contemplation, I should be consulted beforehand. The Government's failure to consult me in issuing their Press Note of August 8, and the subsequent notifications constitutes a gross breach of the Delhi Agreement. It is contrary to the spirit of the goodwill and understanding that Sir *Richard* says have characterised the Government's dealings with the Standing Committee so fair.

"I have already referred to the comparative freedom allowed to the Indian Press in regard to comments on the political problems that have come up for discussion during the past two years. Sir Richard in his speech in the Council of

State has taken great credit for it. But any feeling of satisfaction that he may derive in this respect must be tempered by the fact that political censorship of a rigid type has been imposed, and is working havoc both among the incoming and outgoing cables. I need only refer you to the representation that the Press Association in Delhi has made to the Viceroy, the text of which has already been published. The bogey of an enemy within has been raised to defend what is indefensible. I can view it only as a desperate attempt to draw a red herring and divide our ranks.

"Representations made thus far that pre-censorship, by whatever name it is called, is fundamentally based on an attitude of distrust and that is not the way to secure the co-operation of the press and ensure the results Government seek, have failed to have any effect.

PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE STARVED OF NEWS

"Under the conditions brought into force, a section of the press felt that it could not carry out its duties and obligations to the public in full or fair measure. It is not for me to question or cavil at those, who, because they cannot render all these service they desire to render, refuse to render such service as still lies in their power to render. Freedom of the Press is part of the larger freedom of the country and until the country is free, the Press has necessarily to work under the limitations arising from factors and forces that are imposed on it. I have no doubt in my mind that the public do require the Press to continue to function, to serve them within the limits of even the diminished opportunities. There is unmistakable evidence that the people do not desire to be starved of news. They want papers to publish and discover ways and means for themselves to serve as best they can.

'LEAVE IT TO THE EDITORS"

"The problem that we are confronted with to-day is to decide what attitude the Indian Press should take in the light of the demands of the Government. There is no question of our willing submission to any proposal which, in our opinion, is derogatary to the dignity of the profession or in any way prevents us from functioning as responsible news papers. My own view is contained in the telegram I sent to Mr. *Kirchner* a few days back. Replying to my invitation to him to attend the meeting of the Standing Committee at Bombay, Mr. Kirchner expressed a desire, on behalf of the Government, to know what actual proposals would come before the conference. I replied that as regards particular proposals, I would help to ease the present tension considerably if the Government dropped pre-censorship. I pointed out that the present system was cumbrous, unsatisfactory and needlessly irritating to newspapers. And, in view of the fact that what Government deprecate is exploitation and overfeaturing of news-items about the present disturbances and that the Government definitely do not contemplate exclusion of correct reports, I suggested that they could safely leave it to the discretion of the editors to conform to guidance notes, once these were drawn up with definiteness and clarity.

"So far, the only response from the Government has been Sir Richard Tottenham's statement in Council that beyond undertaking to sent to the Provincial Governments full reports of the discussions in the Council of State over *Pundit Kunzru's* resolution, asking the Government to withdraw the restrictive orders, he could promise nothing We must express our gratitude to Pandit Kunzru, Mr. *P. N. Sapru* and others who have espoused our cause so very ably, and we are sure they will continue to give their support to our effort to get the restrictions cancelled. I wish the Indian Members of the Viceroy's Council could take more active interest and intervene helpfully before matters deteriorate further. Apart from any help, we, as editors, may or may not get from outside, it is our duty to take counsel together and pursue our efforts to bring about conditions which will enable us to continue to discharge our resposibilities to the public even in the difficult times we are going through."

Proceedings & Resolutions

PRESS RESTRICTIONS MUST GO

After the Presidential Address the main resolution demanding the removal of Press restrictions, was unanimously passed. It was moved by Mr. *S. A. Brelvi* of the *Bombay Chronicle* and seconded by Mr. *Stephens* of *The Statesman*, Calcutta. Mr. *Francis Low* of *The Times of India*, Mr.

Tushar Kanti Ghosh of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and Mr. *Devadas Gandhi* of *The Hindustan Times* suported the resolution.

Mr. *S. A. Brelvi*, commending the resolution to the Conference, appealed for unanimous support to the resolution. He congratulated the members who, in the Standing Committee, had adopted a give and take attitude. Mr. Brelvi assured the Conference that the cause of the newspapers which had suspended publication, was one which prompted the resolution he had just moved and he hoped all suspended newspapers would resume publication once the Government accepted the resolution.

Mr. *Stephens* seconded the resolution and Mr. *Francis Low* supported it. Mr. *Low* thought that the Conference should adopt a resonable attitude, as indeed it had done to-day—to avoid the chance of Government turning round and saying, "It is no use dealing with such people". Mr. Low reminded the Conference that their main task should be to look at things from the point of view of a working journalist and as such they had to present reasonable demands if they were to be accepted by the Government. He was encouraged in this by the thought that the last portions of the resolution were the substance of the understanding already reached between the Bombay Government and the Bombay Provincial Press Advisory Committee. He hoped that the resolution would be accepted by the Government of India also.

Mr. *Devadas Gandhi*, supporting the resolution in the final, amended form, associated himself with the cautious hope Mr. Low had expressed about its being accepted by Government. Even if the resolution was accepted, he, for one, would personally like to wait for a few days and see how the arrangement worked before resuming publication. Mr. Gandhi was sure that many of the newspapers which had suspended publication did not feel like resuming unless better circumstances prevailed and encouraged them to resume their task. They had a duty not only to the Press but also to the country to discharge.

Mr. *Tushar Kanti Ghose*, supporting the resolution, congratulated the Conference on unanimously adopting the resolution, thereby demonstrating the solidarity of the newspaper profession in India, which Government could not but take note of.

Text of the Resolution

The following is the text of the resolution as finally approved by the Standing Committee :

"The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference takes strong exception to the series of restrictions imposed on the Press by the Central, Provincial and local authorities since August 8 last. The Government's failure to utilise the machinery of previous consultation before bringing the new restrictions into operation was a clear violation of the agreement known as the Delhi Agreement arrived at between the Standing Committee of this Conference and the Government of India.

"The number and nature of the restrictions vary from province to province, and there is in consequence a lack of uniformity as regards procedure. In many cases, the restrictions are used not only virtually to stultify the Delhi Agreement but also to deny publicity to statements and reports supporting the Indian demand for freedom and legitimate political activity. The conference has also noted several instances of press advising and censorship of factual news which can only be regarded as perverse. Compulsory press advising and scrutiny give Government officials power to control at every stage not only the publication but even the character of factual news. The Conference affirms its adherence to the terms of the Delhi Agreement and to the procedure and machinery evolved in the course of last two years.

Responsibility of the Press

"The Conference views with dismay the suppression of publication of a number of newspapers as a result of the new restrictions and the manner of their operation. The fact that newspapers find it difficult to perform their duties to the public, increases unrest throughout the country, multiplies the force of rumour and is a direct aid to enemy propaganda, which can point to the disappearance of newspapers as proof of an oppressive regime.

"Even in war time, the Press cannot abdicate its responsibility as the guardian of public interest and of the rights of citizens. At the present juncture when the legislatures are not functioning in most provinces and owing to penal restrictions public opinion cannot express itself fully, an extra responsibility is thrown in the Press.

OPPOSITION TO PRE-CENSORSHIP

"The Conference is of opinion that it would conduce to a removal of bitterness and resentment if the order promulgated by the Government of India on August 8, 1942, which is still in force in some provinces and the orders issued by certain Provincial Governments imposing pre-censorship of news relating to the mass movement or the disturbances and other restrictions are withdrawn and a new rule issued by the Government of India under the Defence of India Rule 41 (1) (a) embodying restrictions on the lines set out in press Notice No. XIX banning the publication, unless released to the Press by Government, of such reports of interruptions to roads and railway communications, acts of sabotage, strikes or interruptions of work in factories chiefly engaged in producing war materials, as are of military value to the enemy.

"The Conference is opposed to any scheme of pre-censorship. Newspapers should be free to publish without previous scrutiny objective accounts of any incidents in connection with the 'mass movement or disturbances'. The Conference, however, considers it necessary that editors should exercise restraint in the publication of such accounts and should avoid the publication of any thing which (a) incites the public to subversive activity : (b) conveys suggestions or instructions for illegal acts ; (c) is an exaggerated report or unfounded allegation regarding excessive use or misuse of their powers by the police, troops and other Government servants, or the treatment and condition of detenus and prisoners and (d) retards the restoration of the public sense of security. Deliberate departure on the part of any newspaper from the general policy laid down in this resolution, may be dealt with by the Provincial Governments in consultation with the Provincial Press Advisory Committees."

CONDOLENCE RESOLUTIONS

The Conference passed three condolence resolutions on the deaths of Mr. *Mahadev Desai*, Mr. *Viswanath Prasad* of the *Leader* and Sir *C. Y. Chintamani*, Editor of the *Leader*. The resolutions state :

The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the death, while in detention of Mr. *Mahadev Desai* who had rendered invaluable service to the profession of journalism to which his premature death is an irreparable loss. The Conference offers its heartfelt sympathy to *Mahatma Gandhi*, Mrs. *Desai* and Mr. *Narayan* on their sad bereavement.

This Conference places on record its sense of great loss at the passing of Sir *C. Y. Chintamani*, Editor of the *Leader*, on July 1, 1941. Sir Chintamani was one of the pioneer of Indian Journalism and throughout his life he maintained the highest standards of the profession and brought honour and credit to his calling. In his death the journalistic profession has lost one of its distinguished members.

This Conference expressed its sense of deep grief at the untimely death of Mr. *Viswanath Prasad* of the *Leader*, who by his quiet dignity and sound practical sense earned the respect and gratitude of the Standing Committee.

Second Day—Bombay—6th. October 1942

STANDING COMMITTEE APPOINTED

The Conference concluded its session on the 6th. October 1942 after adopting the new constitution of the Conference, electing a new Standing Committee and passing a number of resolutions protesting against the way in which censorship worked and the telegraphic delay in the transmission of press messages and the arrest and detention of working journalists.

At the plenary session, after the adoption of the new constitution by the Conference, Mr. *Tushar Kanti Ghosh* (Amrit Bazar Patrika) proposed the following names for the new Standing Committee, which were unanimously agreed to by the Conference :

Messrs. *Devadas Gandhi, J. N. Sahni, Desbandhu Gupta, B. Shiva Rao, Francis Low, S. A. Brelvi, Samaldas Gandhi, K. Srinivasan* (*Free Press*), *J. S. Karandikar, C. R. Srinivasan, Ramnath Goenka, Ian Stephens, Suresh Mazumdar, Tushar Kanti Ghosh, K. Rama Rao, Baldevdas, P. B. Chandra, A. D. Mani, K. Punniah, Moharey and Amritlal D. Seth.*

Under the powers given to the President to nominate seven members to the Committee, the President announced the nomination of the following : Messrs, *H. E. B. Catley* (Pioneer), *F. W. Bustin* (Civil and Military Gazette), *S. Sambu Prasad* (Andhra Patrika), *A. S. Bharatan* (Associated Press of India), *B. Sen Gupta* (United Press of India) and Dr. *Syed Mahmud* (Orient Press of India).

Foreign Messages & Censorship

The Conference then passed three resolutions given notice of by members. The first resolution emphatically protested against the "system of censorship on incoming and outgoing messages being worked in such a manner as to render the presentation of a balanced picture of the situation in India extremely difficult. In the opinion of the Conference, censorship should be limited strictly to news and statements of military value to the enemy."

Delay in Press Messages

The second resolution protested against the inordinate delay in the transmission of press messages and urged the Government of India to take immediate steps to remove congestions on the telegraph lines with a view to expediting transmission and delivery of press messages. The resolution also urged the Government to abolish the surcharges of three and six annas that are now levied on all ordinary and express press telegrams respectively.

The third resolution protested against the arrests and detention, under the Defence of India Rules, of editors and press correspondents, while discharging their duties.

President's Appeal

Winding up the proceedings of the Conference, Mr. *K. Srinivasan*, President, made a fervent appeal to Government and political parties in the country to come to a satisfactory settlement. Referring to the deliberation of the Conference Mr. Srinivasan said that the conference had arrived at unanimous decisions in a harmonious manner. He assured the House that, as in the past, he would, in future, continue to do his best to deserve the confidence reposed in him. Mr. Srinivasan concluded by assuring the conference that in all matters of major decisions he would try his best to get the maximum amount of unanimity and agreement.

Mr. *Ramnath Goenka*, Editor of the *Indian Express*, and Mr. *Samaldas Gandhi*, Editor of the *Vande Mataram* in moving and seconding a vote of thanks to the President, assured the President and the Standing Committee, on their own behalf of those members who were critical of the achievements and work of the Standing Committee and the President in the Subjects Committee meeting yesterday, that they and those whom they represented would extend to the President their full and whole-hearted support and co-operation. They added that whatever action the President took on behalf of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference would have the fullest support of the Press of India as a whole.

Several members who had similarly criticised the Standing Committee and the President the previous day cordially associated themselves with the remarks made by the mover and the seconder.

Mr. *J. N. Sahni* thanked the Members of the Reception Committee and the President and members of the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber for their hospitality.

The Conference also expressed its grateful appreciation and thanks to the President and Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber for placing their hall at the disposal of the Conference.

The Conference was attended by 94 delegates, among whom were a number of editors of suspended newspapers.

After the conclusion of the plenary session, the newly elected Standing Committee met and elected Mr. *J. N. Sahni* and Mr. *K. Srinivasan* of Bombay as Joint Secretaries and Mr. *B. Shiva Rao* as Treasurer.

The United Provinces Press Conference

First Session—Lucknow—31st. July 1942

Presidential Address

A tribute to the work done by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference was paid by Mr. *S. A. Brelvi*, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, presiding over the First United Provinces Press Conference which began its session at Lucknow on the 31st. July 1942. The following is the text of Mr. Brelvi's address :

The All-India Newspsper Editors' Conference, which was held in New Delhi in November, 1940, was a landmark in the history of Indian journalism. It was held at a time when the Indian Press as well as the country faced a great crisis. The Conference, under the able guidance of my friend, Mr. *K. Srinivasan*, the distinguished editor of a distinguished newspaper, met the crisis with great courage and no small success. For the first time in India it organised the entire press, irrespective of political differences, and established the right of this organised Press to be heard with respect and effect whenever Government sought to interfere with the exercise of its functions. It compelled Government to agree to the establishment of a machinery of consultation the working of which has, on the whole, been not unsatisfactory and has enabled the Press, in some parts of the country at any rate, to safeguard, to a considerable extent, what little liberties have been left to it.

The message of that Conference required to be carried to every city and town in the country and the work done by the consultative machinery required to be explained to all who had anything to do with newspapers. You deserve to be congratulated on being the first to take the initiative in this matter and to hold a Conference of the Press of this Province. The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference met at New Delhi at the commencement of great happenings in the country. This Conference is being held on the eve of what is expected to be a great upheaval in the country. Whatever happens, let us trust that the Press in India will do its duty unhampered and that the consultative machinery will survive unscathed all attempts that are being made and that may be made to destroy it.

I am very grateful to you for the honour that you have done me in asking me to preside over this Conference. I do not know why you have selected me for this honour. But I have obeyed your call because it has given me the opportunity of coming into contact with journalists from all parts of the United Provinces.

Restrictions on Press

It is necessary that every journalist in India should make himself acquainted with the work of the Newspaper Editors' Conference ; for on the success of the Conference depends, to a very large extent, the prosperity and efficacy of the Press in India. The Conference was summoned at short notice and was held in New Delhi on November 10, 1940, to consider the grave situation arising from the restrictions on the Press imposed by the Government of India. How Draconian were the restrictions will be evident from the text of the order issued by the Government with the object of suppressing all news about the campaign of individual Satyagraha started by the Indian National Congress, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The following is the text of the Order.

"In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (b) of sub-rule (1) of Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the printing or publishing by any printer, publisher or editor in British India of any matter calculated, directly or indirectly, to foment opposition to the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion or of any matter relating to the holding of meetings or the making of speeches for the purpose, directly or indirectly, of fomenting such opposition as aforesaid :

"Provided that nothing in this order shall be deemed to apply to any matter communicated by the Central Government or a Provincial Government to the Press for publication."

As Mr. *Srinivasan*, President of the Conference, said, the Order, if conformed to, would have reduced the position of an editor to that of an inanimate automaton and the conditions imposed by it were such that no self-respecting editor could submit to them. He made it plain that, while it was far from the intention of the Press to impede Government's war efforts, it could not and would

not be a party to the suppression of all normal political activity in the name of the war. He emphasised that the sole concern of the editors, who, whatever their differences in the political spheres, were united in their determination to preserve the liberties of the Press, was to conduct a newspaper free to express opinions frankly which was only possible through factual representation of events in the widest sense. The united front presented by the Press compelled the Government to retrieve the blunder they had committed. They withdrew the obnoxious order. They also agreed to be advised by Committees of the Press at Delhi and at provincial Headquarters on any matters affecting the Press and in regard to any action Government might take against newspapers. The Conference welcomed the change in the attitude of the Government and pointed out that, even from their own point of view, the results they sought were best achieved by a policy of trust and co-operation instead of minatory directions.

Soon after the Conference, Provincial Advisory Committees were formed in Bombay, Madras, Bengal and Assam, Behar, the Central Provinces, Sind and the United Provinces. These Committees as well as the Central Advisory Committee at New Delhi began to function. But not in all provinces did they function effectively or satisfactorily nor could it be said that the Government of India and all the Provincial Governments whole-heartedly responded to the appeal of the Editors' Conference to follow the policy of trust and co-operation in their relation with the Press. Some of the Provincial Governments, especially the Government of the United Provinces, frankly regarded the machinery of consulation as a nuisance to themselves and, while paying lip sympathy to the object which it was intended to serve, deliberately tried to undermine its utility. Therefore, at its second meeting held in New Delhi, in February 1941, the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference, while noting with satisfaction the working of the Advisory Committee in some of the Provinces appealed to other Provincial Governments and to the Central Government to see that the cosultative machinery was fully utilised both in the Provinces and at the Centre and that the convention set up in Madras and Bombay that ordinarily no action would be taken against any press or newspaper without prior consultation with the Advisory Committee was extended to all Provinces. The appeal has to this day not received the satisfactory response the Standing Committee had expected.

The agreement arrived at between the Government of India and the Editors' Conference in accordance with which the consultative machinery was instituted has been described as a Gentleman's Agreement. The Government of Bombay have from the beginning, except for a solitary aberration when they took unwarranted and drastic action against the *Bombay Sentinel*, acted in the true spirit of such an agreement, Similar good comes from Madras, the Central Provinces and Sind. Complaints have come from other Provinces but in the Punjab and the United Provinces the agreement has not been given a fair trial at all. In fact, the attitude of the Government of the United Provinces towards the Press has been most reactionary and unsatisfactory. Though they are party to the Gentleman's Agreement, the Government of India have not carried out their part of the bargain by securing an improvement in the attitude of recalcitrant Provincial Governments. Nor has the conduct of the Government of India themselves in this matter always been unexceptionable. On several occasions their attitude was such as would have wrecked the Agreement but for the firm and united front presented by the Standing Committee of the Conference.

U. P. Government's Policy Criticised

In this Province, there is a Provincial Advisory Committee, but it is regarded with ill-concealed hostility by the Government as will be apparent to any who knows anything of the relations between that Government and the Press during the the last two years. The Gentleman's Agreement has more often been violated by the Government than respected. The Provincial Committee's recommendations have on many occasions been simply ignored and frequently action has been taken against newspapers and presses without previous consultation with the Committee. Scant respect has been paid by the Government to the frequent appeals from the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference to give a fair trial to the Gentleman's Agreement. The Editors' Conference had asked the U. P. Government to withdraw the drastic orders in force against the *Sainik* of Agra so that the machinery of consultation could have a fair start. The response to his suggestion was the demand of a security of Rs. 6,000 from the *National Herald*. The Standing Com-

mittee of the Conference at its meeting in February, 1941, regretted this and requested the U. P. Government to withdraw the orders against the two papers. When it met in March it found that nothing had been done and it urged that a final and satisfactory decision be taken without further delay. The U. P. Provincial Advisory Committee subsequently, on two occasions, sought to get redress in these two cases. The Government, after considerable delay, relented to the extent of reducing the amount of security demanded from *Sainik* but remained adamant as regards their action against the *National Herald*. The Standing Committee, when it met again in May, 1941, pointed out that there never was any justification for the demand of a security of Rs. 6,000 from *Sainik* which admittedly had not committed any offence that a vital question of principle was involved and that nothing short of the complete cancellation of the original order would meet the requirements of the case. The Committee also drew the attention of the Government of India to the fact that the *Sainik* case had come to be regarded by the public and the Press throughout the country as the measure of effectiveness of the machinery created under the Delhi Agreement and Government's anxiety to ensure that its views were respected. As regards the *National Herald*, the Standing Committee again reiterated its previous resolutions and supported the resolutions of the U. P. Provincial Advisory Committee. It regretted that the U. P. Government had not redeemed their own promise made to the U. P. Press Advisory Committee at its first meeting held in December, 1940, to "write on a clean slate". It again urged the Government of India to use their good offices with the U. P. Government to have its views and those of the U. P. Provincial Advisory Committee respected.

"NATIONAL HERALD" CASE

All its representations having failed to move the U. P. Government, the Standing Committee at its meeting in Bombay in July, 1941, decided to send a Goodwill Mission composed of Messrs. Francis Low and Mr. *C. R. Srinivasan*, to this province to meet the Governor and the members of the Government as well as the local Press Advisory Committee with a view to establish the relations between the two on a proper basis. Even this handsome gesture evoked little response and the members of the Mission left this Province with the impression, that the attitude of U. P. Government towards the Delhi Agreement was one of passive hostility. Thus, when the Standing Committee met in Calcutta in October, 1941, it was compelled to record its regret that the suggestion of the Goodwill Mission to improve the atmosphere for the effective functions of Press Advisory Committee by withdrawing the security orders had not been accepted by the U, P. Government in the case of the *Sainik* and the *National Herald* and it requested the President to take such further action, as he considered necessary. The President's attempts to pursuade the U. P. Government to take a reasonable view of the matter, however, proved unavailing. Even the suggestion to enlarge the Committee was fruitless as the Government did not accept the names of additional members recommended by the President, though in most provinces the members of the Committee are elected representatives of the Press. The Government made matters worse by suppressing the *Sainik* without even consulting the Provincial Committee. The Standing Committee meeting at Delhi in May last again appealed to the Provincial Government as well as the Government of India to give a fair chance to the Provincial Committee.

The Government and the Press

Text of the Correpondence

Mr. *K. Srinivasan*, President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, issued the following statement on the **16th. September 1942** :—

I have seen complaints about the non-publication of the details of the arrangements discussed in Delhi in the last week of August, between the Standing Committee of the A. I. N. E. C. and the Government of India, on the question of the new censorship regulations contained in the Government of India notification, dated 8th. August. There has been some delay in the implementing of the Delhi arrangement by the Provincial Governments. I have now received a telegram from Sir *Richard Tottenham* that the Government of India have reminded the

Provincial Government and are arranging for a Press Note to be issued regarding the arrangements reached in Delhi. The text of the correspondence which I am releasing with this statement gives the whole picture of the Delhi discussions.

Standing Committee's Note to Govt.

An emergency session of the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference was summoned to meet in New Delhi on September 24, 1942, to consider the attitude of the Press in regard to the restrictions imposed on the Press by the Government of India on August 8. The following is the text of the Note, which was sent to the Home Department of the Government of India on the 25th August.

1. The Standing Committee take strong exception to the series of restrictions imposed on the Press by the Central, Provincial and local authorities, during the last two weeks. Government's failure to utilise the machinery of previous consultation before bringing the New restrictions into operation is, in the opinion of the Committee, a clear violation of the Delhi Agreement.

2. The number and nature of restrictions seem to vary from Province to Province, and there is in consequence lack of uniformity as regards procedure. It is not possible within the limits of this not to give a complete list of such restrictions. To mention only a few of these, the Standing Committee regard the registration of correspondents as designed to bring them completely under the control of local officials and close to Editors all avenues of receiving impartial reports of events directly from their correspondents. Compulsory press advising the restrictions placed on the number of messages relating to the disturbances, on headlines and on the space to be devoted to news of these disturbances, can have, in the view of the Standing Committee, but one meaning; namely, that Government seek, in the most comprehensive manner possible, to control at every stage not only the publication but even the character of factual news.

3 The Press can at no time abdicate its function of being the guardian of the public interests and of the rights of the citizen. At the present juncture when the legislatures are under suspension in a majority of the provinces, an extra responsibility is thrown on the Press.

"A Dangerous Tendency"

4. The Standing Committee request Government, if they are serious in their desire to maintain the Delhi Agreement, to withdraw all these restrictions. To the terms of that Agreement and to the procedure and machinery evolved in the course of the last two years, the Committee reaffirm their adherence. But in the restrictions recently brought into force the Committee see not only its virtual scrapping, but a dangerous tendency on the part of Government to deny publicity to statement and reports supporting the Indian demand for freedom and legitimate political activities. There are several instances of press advising and of censorship, which, under no circumstance, can be deemed just and fair. The new restrictions seem designed not so much to prevent information reaching the enemy as to prevent the public in India, Britain and the Allied countries from receiving a correct and objective account of the internal situation in this country.

5. The Standing Committee view with dismay the suspension of publication of a large number of newspapers owing to the stringency of the new restrictions and the manner of their operation. The fact that newspapers find it impossible to perform their duties to the public increases unrest throughout the country, multiplies the force of rumour many times, and is a direct aid to enemy propaganda which can point to the disappearance of newspapers as proof of an oppressive regime.

6. The Standing Committee are of the opinion that the measures recently adopted by the Executive are such as to cause widespread bitterness and resentment, and therefore, bound to prove detrimental both to the efficient prosecution of the war and to the principles of democratic freedom for which the Allied Nations stand. It would, in the opinion of the Committee, conduce to a removal of that bitterness and resentment if these restrictive orders were withdrawn and the prosecutions and penal action taken against newspapers cancelled. Thereafter the situation should be reviewed in consultation with the Committee to see whether any modifications are necessary in existing practice and procedure.

Discussions With The Home Member

After considering the Note, the Government invited a deputation from the Standing Committee to meet the hon'ble the Home Member and discuss the points

arising out of the Note. The deputation, which consisted of the President, Messrs. *S. A. Brelvi*, *Tushar Kanti Ghose*, *K. Punniah*, *B. Shiva Rao*, *J. K. Cowley*, *Amritalal D. Sheth*, *H. K. Moharay*. *A. D. Mani*, *A. S. Iyengar*, *S. Natarajan*, *K. Srinivasan* (Bombay), and *J. N. Sahni* (the Convener), had a two hours' discussion with the Hon'ble Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, with whom were Sir *Richard Tottenham*, Addl. Home Secretary, Sir *Frederick Puckle*, Secretary to the Department of Information and Broadcasting, and Mr. *B. J. Kirchner*, the Chief Press Adviser.

Discussions proceeded on the following points previously noted down by a sub-committee of the Standing Committee for the guidance of the deputation :

I. The Press Note, dated August 10 says *inter alia* that (the Editor) "who opposes the measure taken by Government to avert or suppress that movement, will be guilty of an offence against the law." We feel this is a position which we cannot accept as correct.

2. Regarding factual news there should be no control at the source. Therefore, the system of registration of correspondents should go.

3. No penal action should be taken without previous consultation with the Advisory Committee concerned. In emergency cases however, preventive action as per the Delhi Agreement and subsequent additions thereto may be taken.

4. No suppression of a newspaper without previous warning as per existing understanding.

5. There should be uniformity of procedure.

All restrictions shall be promulgated only after consultation with the Press Advisory Committees.

6. All orders promulgated so far without consultation with the Press Advisory Committees should be withdrawn, including the Delhi Chief Commissioner's order dated 27th August. Any new proposal Government may wish to make should be placed before the local Press Advisory Committee.

7. Where in a particular province, the Provincial Committee is not functioning the Standing Committee should be given a statement as to the reasons why any particular restriction has been imposed.

8. The Government of India should make it clear to local Governments that their orders are distinct from the instructions of the Chief Press adviser.

9. Compulsory press advising and multiple censorship must go. Portions deleted by the S. P. A. or the C. P. A. without consultation with Press Advisory Committees should be circulated to members of those committees without delay.

10. One-sided nature of press advising and censorship has the effect of suppressing political statements.

11. Withdrawal of prosecutions and penal actions taken against newspapers since the recent restrictive orders were brought into force.

12. In cases of non-observance of the Delhi Agreement by provincial Governments what is the machinery for providing relief ?

SIR R. TOTTENHAM'S LETTER

On the next day, the 28th August, Sir *Richard Tottenham* sent the following letter confirming the discussions that had taken place between Sir *Reginald Maxwell* and the delegation on the previous day :

Dear Mr. *Srinivasan*,

At the meeting yesterday between the Home Member and yourself and other members of the A. I N. E C. the reasons which made it necessary for Government to exercise control over the publication of factual news relating to the present disturbances were fully explained and I believe accepted in principle by those present. So long as that control can be effectively secured, it was further explained that the Government of India are not wedded to any particular method of securing it and are fully prepared to revise their orders in such a way as to render them as little irksome as possible to the press. A point which the editors chiefly criticised was that provision of the Government of India's order which affects their relations with their own correspondents and they emphasized that it was for them to decide what use to make of any material supplied to them either by those correspondents or from other sources. If, however, that decision could not be left entirely to the editors themselves they felt that it would be better for Government to achieve their object by arranging for all the material to be submitted for scrutiny by a specified authority before publication, especially if means could be devised whereby responsible representatives of the press could themselves be associated with that scrutiny.

2. The Government of India would for their part, welcome an arrangement of this kind, provided that there were reasonable prospects of its being worked successfully. They would be prepared to cancel their own general order as soon as other orders on the lines suggested had been issued to take their place and in that case, they would hope that the need for certain orders passed by provincial Governments might also cease to exist. At the same time it is on Provincial Governments that the responsibility lies for dealing with the disturbances, and it is therefore for them to decide to what extent the scheme can be adopted in the light of local conditions and circumstances. The Government of India have addressed Provincial Governments accordingly and have asked them, if they are prepared to accept the new arrangements, to put them into force with as little delay as possible.

3. So far as the expression of views is concerned (and in that term the Government of India have always included not only editorial comment, but also the manner in which news is displayed) it was recognized that no statutory restrictions had been imposed by the Government of India. On the other hand, it was represented that, however reasonable it might be to let editors know the general limits beyond which it would not be in their interests to go, there was no sufficient reason to depart from the practice hitherto established by which action against any offending newspaper is not normally taken without previous consultation with the Press Advisory Committee. Subject to the reservation that the normal practice must necessarily bear a somewhat different meaning in the present exceptional circumstances, it was explained that the Government of India had no desire to depart from the spirit of the Delhi Agreement, so long as there was even a section of the responsible press which was prepared to observe its side of the agreement, and they would welcome continued consultation with Advisory Committees wherever such a course is possible and likely to lead to useful results. This point has also been put to Provincial Governments in the communication referred to above.

Yours sincerly.
(Sd.) R. Tottenham.

EDITORS' COMMITTEE PRESIDENT'S REPLY

Sir *Richard Tottenham's* letter, dated the 28th August, was considered at a meeting of the Standing Committee on the 28th and 29th. While noting the replies to certain points, it was felt that further clarification was needed in respect of many other points and accordingly the following letter was sent by the President on behalf of the Standing Committee on the 29th August to Sir Richard Tottenham :

Dear Sir Richard,

Your letter of yesterday's date expressing the views of Government on some of the points raised by the deputation which met the Home Member on 27th August were placed before a full meeting of the Standing Committee of the A. I. N. E. C. I summarise below the views of the Committee as reflected in the discussion :

(1) In para 1 of your letter, there is a reference to "all the material to be submitted for scrutiny by a specified authority." The deputation attached special importance to the definition of classes or categories of factual news concerning the disturbance being drawn up by the Special Press Adviser and the Provincial Press Advisory Committee. The Committee has assumed that the above reference is governed by this understanding. You will recollect that at one stage the Home Member agreed to the Chief Press Adviser and the Central Press Advisory Committee meeting at an early date to draw up such a list of categories of news. The Committee's view is that this list should be sent to all provincial centres as a standard all-India list. In each province, the Special Press Adviser and the Provincial Press Advisory Committee will work on it as a basis, adding further categories if necessary (after taking into account the situation in the province) or relaxing the working of the rule if the situation has shown improvement. Conditions are almost certain to vary from time to time and may not be the same in different parts of the same province. While the provincial list will be applicable throughout the province, the same elasticity should be observed in practice having regard to local conditions. The Committee expects that in the mofussil, District Magistrates will scrupulously adhere to the principle of previous consultation with local editors in all matters in the spirit of the Delhi Agreement.

(2) In the last sentence of para 1 of your letter, the suggestion made is that "responsible representatives of the press could themselves be associated with that scrutiny." The Committee trusts that association means consultation in the fullest sense of the term.

(3) In actual working, so as to minimise the amount of material coming under the categories of news (to be drawn up in the manner referred to above) which must be press-advised the Committee suggests that Government should adhere to the principle enunciated by themselves on a previous occasion ; namely, to leave as large a margin as possible to the discretion of editors in regard to consultation with the Provincial Press Advisory Committee and the Special Press Advisers.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS' POSITION

(4) The Committee regards para 2 of your letter as unsatisfactory. It is the Government of India which, in the first instance, drew up the recent restrictive orders and placed the consequential powers in the hands of Provincial Governments. They can therefore withdraw those powers and give the necessary instructions to Provincial Governments to put into operation the new arrangements without delay. The suggestion that Provincial Governments may decide for themselves the extent to which the scheme can be adopted to suit local conditions may be interpreted, the Committee fears, in a manner not contemplated either by the Government of India or the Committee.

(5) Para 3 of your letter concludes with the observation that Provincial Governments should continue to observe the spirit of the Delhi Agreement in consulting Provincial Press Advisory Committees "wherever such a course is possible and likely to lead to useful results." Emphasis is also laid on 'the normal practice necessarily bearing a somewhat different meaning in the present exceptional circumstances.' The most serious weakness of the system based on the Delhi Agreement has been the obvious unwillingness of more than one Provincial Government to give it a fair trial. The Committee feels very strongly that these observations in your letter may provide such Provincial Governments with a convenient excuse for failure to accept the new arrangements except when they serve their own purposes.

(6) The Committee desires me to invite your attention to some of the twelve points placed by the deputation before the Home Member to which there is no reference in your letter. You might recollect that agreement was reached in respect of these.

(a) the withdrawal of all orders promulgated so far without consultation with the Press Advisory Committees including that of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, dated 17th August ; also, acceptance of the principle of such previous consultation in respect of any new proposal ;

(b) a report to the Standing Committee whenever any new restriction is imposed by a Provincial Government in a province where the Press Advisory Committee is not functioning ;

(c) a communication to Provincial Governments that orders of the Government of India are distinct from instructions of the Chief Adviser ;

(d) withdrawal of prosecutions and penal action taken against editors and newspapers since the recent orders were brought into force.

(7) Finally, the Committee wishes me to emphasise in particular, two points from the note forwarded to you on 20th August ;

(a) the observance of the new arrangements even in regard to the present disturbances should not be of such a character as to prevent the public in India, Britain and the Allied countries from receiving a correct and objective account of the internal situation in this country ;

(b) press-advising and censorship should not in practice imply denial of publicity to statements and reports supporting the Indian demand for freedom and legitimate political activities.

The Committee attaches the greatest importance to these two points and reiterates the suggestion that there should be frequent and periodical reviews by the Chief Press Adviser and the special Press Advisers with their respective Advisory Committees to ensure their proper observance.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) K. Srinivasan

SIR R. TOTTENHAM'S REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT

On the 2nd September, Sir Richard Tottenham replied to the President's letter dated the 29th August in the following terms:

Dear Mr. *Srinivasan*,

Will you please refer to your reply dated August 29th as Chairman of the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference to my letter of August 28th?

So far as paragraphs (1) to (3) of that reply are concerned, I can assure you that our intention is to endeavour to get Provincial Governments to agree, wherever the new order comes into force, to associate with the specified scrutinising authority a member of a panel of editors who will be consulted regarding the admissibility or otherwise of news-matter coming within the scope of the order. Such consultation must necessarily be as brief and businesslike as possible in view of the volume of work to be handled in a limited time. There is no question of excluding certain categories of news from scrutiny, but the general classes of news affected will be broadly defined in the order itself. If any latitude is to be given, it will have to be in the manner in which that news is dealt with by the specified authority and the editor who sits with him. Our intention is to draw up a fairly comprehensive directive to the scrutinising authorities under our direct control in Delhi or other Chief Commissioners' Provinces: to discuss that directive with the Central Press Advisory Committee; and finally to send copies of it to all Provincial Governments in the hope that they will accept the general principles stated therein. It will then, remain, perhaps, for Provincial Governments to consult their Provincial Press Advisory Committees regarding any adjustments that may be necessary to suit local conditions.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS' ORDERS

2. As regards paragraph (4) of your reply, the Hon'ble the Home Member made the position quite clear, I think, at the meeting. If and when the new orders are issued, a certain number of the existing order will automatically become superfluous aud will, therefore, presumably be cancelled (just as we have already cancelled our general order so far as it applied to Delhi on the issue of a new order by the Chief Commissioner). There will remain, perhaps, a certain number of other restrictive orders passed by Provincial Governments, for example those relating to headlines, which do not fall within the definition of 'factual news." It must be for Provincial Governments themselves to decide whether such orders are still necessary, but we have suggested to them that they should endeavour to start the new system, if they agree to it, with as clean sheet as possible.

3. As regards paragraph (5) of your letter, I can only repeat what I told you personally when I saw you just before leaving Delhi. I have never agreed that the most serious weakness of the avisory system has been the obvious unwillingness of certain Provincial Governments to give it a fair trial. I believe that all Provincial Governments have endeavoured to give it a fair trial, but that in certain cases the Provincial Press Advisory Committees have themselves been dominated by individual editors who have been determined to see things only from one point of view. The discussions in your recent meeting at Delhi showed, I think, that there was a certain section of the Press (I am glad to think only a very small section) which is determined to take the extreme point of view in the present situation and with whom, therefore, it has become impossible to do business on a consultative basis. I put it to you that the relations between Provincial Governments and their Advisory Committees would be immensely facilitated if any members of their Committees who belong to that very small section of the Press could be replaced by others who would be more reasonable. I do not think it is fair to expect Provincial Governments to work a system of "give-and-take" with persons of the kind to which I have referred.

4. As regards paragraph (6) of your letter, I think it was agreed that the varlous points in the memorandum which was discussed at the meeting with the Home Member would not require a separate answer in the light of the new agreement reached. I need, I think, refer only to points (b), (c) and (d) in paragraph (6). As regrads (b), since the Standing Committee is not in permanent session, I see little point in reporting to it the restrictions imposed by Provincial Governments in Provinces where Advisory Committees are not functioning, but the point will be considered further. As regards (c) guidance notes from the Chief Press Adviser have always been phrased in such a way as to indicate that

they are not mandatory. We shall see that this practice is continued. There is, of course, no question of the Government of India's issuing *orders* to Provincial Governments in this matter. As regards (d), the Home Member gave, and could give, no assurance that prosecutions instituted under the recent orders would be withdrawn.

5. In conclusion and as regards paragraph (7) of your letter under reply, I can assure you that the Government of India's policy regarding the control of certain classes of news arising out of the present situation does not preclude newspapers from supporting any legitimate political activities. This was made quite clear to the Press at the Press Conference held by Sir *C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar* on August 11th. Finally, I can only say that it is as much in the interests of Government as in the interests of the Press or the people that the public in this country, as well as Britain and Allied countries, should receive a correct and objective account of the internal situation in India.

PRESIDENT'S REPRESENTATION TO GOVERNMENT

As the President felt that there was considerable delay in implementing the Delhi Agreement by Provincial Governments, he sent the following telegram to Sir *Richard Tottenham* on the 9th. September.

"Delay in bringing into force new order in regard to scrutiny of news is causing widespread misapprehension. Please consider immediate issue of Press Note, indicating details of consultative scrutiny of news about present disturbances. Delhi Commissioner's order, dated August 29, in the light of experience of Delhi papers, requires drastic modification, and procedure in Delhi should be made to conform to understanding reached between Government and Standing Committee. Would you agree to release for publication relevant papers and correspondence ?"

SIR R. TOTTENHAM'S REPLY

In his reply telegram dated the 13th. September, received by the President on the night of the 15th. Sir Richard Tottenham stated that the Central Government had reminded the Provincial Governments and were arranging for a Press Note to be issued regarding the arrangements reached in Delhi.

British India and Indian States

Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes

Bombay—3rd. July 1942

Jam Saheb Surveys War Effort

The determination of the Indian Princes to face and to fight the difficulties ahead, with all their resources, for their King-Emperor, for the defence of their Mother-land and for the world cause at stake, was reiterated by His Highness the Jam Saheb, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, in a statement he made at Bombay on the 3rd. July 1942 at the meeting of the Standing Committee of the Chamber.

The Standing Committee of Princes continued its deliberations in the afternoon also, and was attended by His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

Among the items discussed by the Standing Committee included certain important questions affecting the Rulers arising out of the Cripps Mission with particular reference to the position of the States in the future constitution of India. It was decided to refer most of these questions, in the first instance, for examination to the Committee of Ministers, whose recommendations would be considered by the Standing Committee.

Questions concerning internal reforms in the States at the discretion of the individual Rulers of Governments concerned and the definition of "Civil List" and the Privy Purse of Rulers were also taken up for consideration.

A communique issued after the conclusion of the day's meeting said: "Unanimous conclusions were reached which will be circulated to the States.

CHANCELLOR'S STATEMENT

H. H. the Chancellor, referring to the war effort of the States, said:

"It is gratifying to note that the Indian States, big and small, have continued their war effort, in accordance with their best traditions. Simultaneously, everything possible is being done in respect of internal security and civil defence in the States. The figures for the war contributions and investments of the States upto the end of April 1942-43 is as follows:

"The non-recurring contributions offered by Indian States amounted approximately to Rs. 3,10,30,000 and the recurring donations (annual figure) promised stood at about Rs, 36,63,000,

"For the same period, the investments from Indian States were as follows: in Rs. three per cent defence loans Rs. 2,57,99,000; interest free bonds, Rs. 66,97,000; defence saving certificates, Rs. 34,85,000; defence savings bank Rs. 1,00,000.

"In regard to these figures, certain enquiries were made by me from the Political Department and I understand that these do not take into calculation contributions and investments made through the agency of banks, or by banks themselves, which are situated in British India. It will be noted that some of these bank have considerable business also with the States; and various States and their subjects have made substantial contributions to defence loans, etc., through the agency banks in British India. Separate accounts of these contributions have not been kept, otherwise the war contributions of the States would be greatly augmented. Figures of the sale of defence savings cerificates at the British Indian post offices in Indian States, are included in the total published for the nearest British Indian Post Office in the Postal Circle. As such, the contributions under this head shown as exclusively from the States appear comparatively low. The recurring contributions are not included in the total of non-recurring contributions from the States. If all these items are duly taken into account, the war contributions and investments should work up to about double of the figure noted above.

Moreover, it will be appreciated that these cash contributions are in addition to the substantial assistance given by the States in war equipment. A large quantity of war material has been turned out by factories in Indian States. In many cases the productive capacity of these factories has been immensely increased, factories intended to meet ordinary civilian needs have been diverted to the production of war materials, wherever possible, and many new factories have been set up to meet the special requirements of war. Coal, various metals,

agricultural products, timber, mica, shellac and other products are being sent out by the Indian States in very large quantities to meet the calls of war.

"In addition, the forces sent out by the States have acquitted themselves with remarkable credit in the fighting line. We are proud of our units who have rendered meritorious services at Keren, at Amba Alagi, in Abyssinia, in Egypt and in Syria, Iran and elsewhere. Several of their officers and men have distinguished themselves by acts of bravery and courage. Many have laid their lives or have been wounded or taken prisoners, while a large number of trained units have left for active service. Almost in every State concerned there are signs of great recruiting activity and new units are being raised or trained in modern war work. Besides, the military budgets of the States have increased out of all proportions, and in several cases they have multiplied to two to three hundred per cent. These fresh burdens are, however, being proudly and cheerfully met. I need not refer to the Rulers who have volunteered for active service or have visited the various war theatres, and many others who are anxious to follow suit. I shall not, however, omit to mention the sad and untimely demise of the heir-apparent of Sikkim in the course of his duties as an officer of the Indian Air Force. The Indian Princes are ready to face and fight the difficulties ahead with all their resources for their King-Emperor, for the defence of their Motherland and for the world cause at stake."

Protection of Princes' Rights

Jam Saheb's London Address

Addressing the East India Association, London on the 2nd. December, 1942 on the future of India and the Princes, the *Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar* said he did not propose to plunge into the deep waters of political controversy or speculate immediately about the future. Rather was it his purpose by reviewing the past, to emphasise the consistent attitude of the Princely Order towards constitutional change.

"Orderly political and constitutional progress as I see it", the Jam Saheb proceeded, "is ultimately the striking of a balance between the surrender and the maintenance of the existing individual rights by each of the component elements in the political structure. Each must recognise the rights of the other elements and is under obligation to respect them. At the same time there is the inalienable right to hold what we have and demand that other elements should recognise our rights."

"Translated into terms of the Indian sense", the Jam Saheb observed, "the problem can be stated thus. Assuming that an advance must be based on history, and is not to be a complete break from it, assuming also that the Princes still have a contribution to give to India and are worth retaining as an Order—I naturally support that assumption with the whole of my being—what do we as an Order retain and what do we surrender? What do we demand as the basic terms of our continued existence, and what are we prepared to give in order to achieve the object which all sane, patriotic, honest Indians desire—a united India with each of its elements contributing its full and individual share?"

"Basically our demands have always been the same. First, the maintenance of the treaty rights under the aegis of the Crown, and secondly, effective and sufficient safeguards. I shall deal with these in turn and in dealing with them I propose to refer you as far as possible to authoritative records and statements, so that you can judge for yourselves that the Princes have spoken consistently and with one voice."

SACREDNESS OF TREATIES

"There is no need for me to tell you what treaties, sanads and engagements mean to the Princes. They are the *sine qua non* of our existence. We regard the rights, privileges and dignities arising out of them as matters of vital concern. We have stated clearly and unequivocally that, while as an Order we endorse the demands for the constitutional advance of India, any scheme to which the States are expected to be party 'must effectively protect their rights arising from treaties, sands and engagements or otherwise and ensure the future existence, sovereignty and integrity of the States thereunder guaranteed'."

In recalling that the States had been solemnly assured by the highest authorities that their treaties and engagements would be scrupulously respected, His Highness quoted from the Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858, of King George the Fifth in 1921 and also from the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and drew attention

to the recent speech by Lord Halifax in which he stated that "the independence of the Princes is enshrined in solemn treaties with the King Emperor and as such are only alterable by negotiations. To scrap these or any other treaties unilaterally, would be to scrap one of the principles for which we went to war with Germany."

"Suffice it then to say," the Maharaja observed," that in the demand for the maintenance of treaty rights we have the highest authority for our assumption that this demand should be met." After explaining in some detail the political, financial, defence and personal safeguards demanded by the Indian States, His Highness admitted that their range was obviously a matter for considerable argument just as, he pointed out, the range of safeguards for British interests in India were a matter of very considerable argument at the time of the 1935 Act.

Basic Demands of Princes

The basic demands which the Princes made before the Act of 1935 were met in theory under the Act. He would not go too deeply into the technicalities of the Act, and the points on which criticism might be lodged from the States' point of view. But he wished to point out that theory and practice were very far apart and that experience of the inevitable course of events in regard to the Congress agitation in the States in 1939 had led the Princes to reject Federation shortly before the outbreak of the war. The history of that agitation quite clearly proved that where the authority of the Governor-General and the Crown Representative was vested in one and the same person, the maintenance of theoretical safeguards must inevitably give way in the face of practical issues of all-India politics when it was a question of retaining ministries in order to see the Act continue to work. He would say that the States themselves were not satisfied with their position financially under the 1935 Act.

Speaking of the war, the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar reminded his audience that at its outbreak, the Princes offered the services of themselves and their resources unconditionally to the King-Emperor. The loyalty with which they had offered their services to the King-Emperor in the Great War of 1914-1918 was repeated—perhaps even in a greater degree. At the end of September 1942 non-recurring contributions from the States amounted approximately to Rs. 326,67,000 and recurring donations promised stood at about Rs. 37,30,000. "I need not refer you to the squadrons of aircraft bearing the name of many Indian States some of which I have had privilege of visiting since my arrival in this country."

Other gifts in kind have been numerous and always useful. Not less remarkable was the development of the States' forces and their employment overseas and also in British India where they had relieved other units for active service by taking over duties on the North-west Frontier, by providing guards for internment camps and performing other duties. The Princes had never wavered from their resolution to place themselves and their resources unreservedly at the service of the King-Emperor.

The Cripp's Mission

Speaking of Sir *Stafford Cripps'* mission, His Highness said the Princes like everyone else in India realised that this was a momentous occasion on which the best was demanded of every patriotic Indian. The attitude of the States was made completely clear in the resolution passed at the session of the Chamber of Princes in March 1942 as follows: (a) That this Chamber welcomes the announcement made in the House of Commons on March 11, 1942 by the Prime Minister of the forthcoming visit to India of the Lord Privy Seal and the Leader of the Commons and expresses the hope that it may help to unite India to intensify further her war effort and strengthen the measures for the defence of her motherland, (b) That this chamber has repeatedly made it clear that any scheme to be acceptable to the States must effectively protect their rights arising from treaties, engagements and sanads or otherwise and ensure the future existence, sovereignty and autonomy of the States thereunder guaranteed and leave them complete freedom duly to discharge their obligations to the Crown and to their subjects: It therefore notes with particular satisfaction the reference in the announcement of the Prime Minister to the fulfilment of treaty obligations to Indian States.

(c) That this Chamber authorises its representatives to carry on discussions and negotiations for the constitutional advance of India with due regard to the successful prosecution of the war, and the interests of the States and subject to the final confirmation by the Chamber and without prejudice to the right of individual States to be consulted in respect of any proposals affecting their treaty or other inherent rights."

"I shall be quite frank and say that the whole visit was disappointing from the point of view of the Princes", he continued. "A fundamentally important point is the manner in which the Draft Declaration by H. M. Government deals with the Crown's treaty obligations to the States. The only reference to them is as follows : 'Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the constitution it will be necessary to negotiate revision of its treaty arrangements so far as these may be required in the new situation'. I need not explain to you how disturbing this statement was to the Princes who have only too recent memory of the progress of events in 1939. Apart from anything else, we, Princes, feel that our spontaneous and unconditional war effort deserves better than omission from the Draft Declaration of express guarantee of the Crown's obligation to us assured in the declaration of August 1940. Moreover this omission has given a handle to our opponents, such as *Pandit Nehru* and others, to declare publicly that these treaties must be scrapped and in fact Pandit Nehru has recently gone to the extent of declaring that those who talk of treaties with Indian States are 'lunatics, knaves or fools'.

The declaration makes special mention quite rightly of the protection of racial and religious minorities. Surely the States are entitled to claim even more than the minorities that solemn undertakings, with them must be respected. The reference to these solemn engagements which I have quoted has merely created the impression in our minds that it is proposed to have compulsory revision of treaty requirements whether or not the States concerned consent to such revision. In a later elucidation I admit we were told that this provision was intended to apply to economic matters of common concern to British India and the States, but this has not been clearly stated in the Declaration itself.

CRITICISM OF STATES

The Lord Privy Seal is known also to have voiced the commonly made criticism that representative institutions have not been adequately developed in the majority of Indian States. I am conscious that there is widespread criticism of the Princes, not only in India, but outside, on the grounds that we are reactionary, that representative institutions do not exist in adequate numbers or with any vitality in the States, that, in short, unless we put our own house in order we cannot legitimately press demands for our continuous existence alongside the more progressive and vital constitutional forms in British India. As I said in my address at the recent celebration to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the birth of Akbar the Great, I shall be the first to admit that there have been and perhaps still are States in which rulers have not exercised their powers with proper appreciation of the rights of their subjects, and that in consequence the administration has not been as effective and possibly as just as it should be.'

"But, taken by and large, and I believe that this is the real test, the subjects of States are probably more happy than their countrymen in other parts of India. The rulers have, on the whole, maintained a good record of justice, impartiality, interest in the welfare of their subjects and I believe that in the Princes Order to-day there is still a firm intention to improve on the past. In order to show that we, Princes, are not concerned with mere words, I have, as Chancellor, appointed a committee to examine the full implications of the *Cripps* proposals and to report on the points of internal administration and constitutional practice in which the Princes Order as a whole may be said to fall behind practice in British India." His Highness concluded : "Our basic demands are clear but we have shown that we are prepared to move with the times. What of the future ? The war is changing things very fast and it is impossible to prophesy what the next development on the Indian political stage will be, what new realignment of political parties or personalities there may be, (and you will appreciate that in India this is a very vital factor in any discussions regarding constitutional advance), or what the general picture will look like when the constitution-making body finally gets to work. There are so many factors, both inside and outside India, to be reckoned with, but of one thing you can be sure—that the Provinces will continue to maintain the same consistent, loyal and dignified attitude as in the past, conscious of the right of all British India to progress but equally well determined to maintain our own rights. We have at heart that same ideal as other patriotic Indians of an united India but we equally well hold that we, as Princes, have an historical and individual contribution to make to it just as much as the other great elements in the political picture. We demand consideration. We are prepared to give it."

The Associated Chambers of Commerce

Annual Session—Calcutta—17th. December 1942

Mr. Haddow's Presidential Address

"It is the wish of the British Community in India to continue to be of service to the country and to assist in its progress both in regard to Agriculture and Industry," observed Mr. *R. R. Haddow*, presiding at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce held at the Royal Exchange, Calcutta on the 17th. December, 1942.

Thirty-one delegates representing various chambers of commerce, which included the Burma Chamber of Commerce, were present.

Among those present were Mr. *Santosh Kumar Basu* and Mr. *P. N. Banerjee*, Ministers, the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, Mr. *G. L. Mehta*, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, and Mr. *J. R. Blair*, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

"All they ask is," Mr. Haddow added, "that they receive the same treatment in India as Indians receive in Britain. I would remind our Indian friends that these demands are no greater than their own in respect of Ceylon, East and South Africa and Burma when it was a flourishing unit of the British Empire as it will certainly again be." These observations were made by the speaker while criticising the cry raised by certain sections of the Indian community that "we must leave India and that Indians do not wish us to remain in this country."

Referring to the extension of the Viceroy's term of office, Mr. Haddow remarked that they had been fortunate in having Lord *Linlithgow* for so many years at the helm, steering a steady course and avoiding all political currents that might have caused a weaker navigator to deviate. He expressed their appreciation of the excellent example he had given the country as a whole by sacrificing his personal convenience to the major issue of winning the war.

Referring to the recent political disturbances in the country, Mr. Haddow said that it was a matter of great satisfaction to him to read and listen to the view of the various political parties in the Central Legislature during the recent debates on this uprising. All deplored the action of the Congress in playing on the feelings of their illiterate supporters to oppose the United Nations. It may be alleged that the major portion of the damage was caused by goondas, but they were definitely organised by the Congress Party supported by funds provided by certain Indian business magnates.

Defence of British Rule

"Like most other Britons in this country, I would like to be able to carry on our trade and commerce in the confident expectation that we would be given a fair deal and allowed to conduct our business without any fear of discrimination or expropriation, and thereby be freed from the necessity to enter the political arena ; but such, however, is not possible, particularly when we are told, in no unmistakable terms by certain sections of the Indian community, that we must leave India and that Indians do not wish us to remain in this country. I wonder often whether these people ever consider what the British community has done for India. For centuries before the British took over the reins of the Government of India, the country's political history had been a long succession of conquests as wave after wave of new invaders swept over it. Some of these invaders and in fact others who were as late newcomers to India as the British are to-day amongst the foremost in the fight for India's Independence. The British are unique in two respects ; in the mildness and humanity of their rule and in their not becoming absorbed by the climatic and geographical peculiarities of India. I know the term "mildness" may call forth criticism from certain quarters, but if these same critics were to compare the treatment accorded to the leaders of the Congress Party who have done their utmost to stir up rebellion and to hamper the successful prosecution of the war effort by Britain and her Allies, with the fate which would have overtaken these men for similar disloyalty in Germany, Japan or even Russia, they would realise how fortunate they have been in the mildness of their treatment in India.

"Another point that is liable to be overlooked is that there is not the slightest evidence that the British people ever planned the systematic conquest of India

or any part of it. There is, in fact, overwhelming evidence that they were reluctant to extend their Indian commitments and responsibilities. The British assumed responsibility for the governing of India purely because they wished to trade and to secure the conditions of respect for agreed treaty and law and absence from violence, without which trade was impossible."

Regarding the war, Mr. Haddow said that instead of British and her allies having to fight uphill battles against enemies admittedly better trained and more appropriately equipped, the disparity had completely disappeared. "We have not only made up the leeway," he remarked, "but it would appear, by industry and determination, have achieved superiority which, it is hoped, will result in an early victory and consequent termination of the present bloodshed."

CONTROL OF FOOD PRICES

Mr. Haddow referred to one or two of their principal problems—most of them arising out of the war—which confronted Commerce and Industry in this country just now. According to him, perhaps the most important, certainly the most baffling of these problems, had been that of maintaining adequate supplies of staple food-stuffs particularly to the industrial areas, and the closely related question of price control. "My own view is," he pointed out, "that however admirable the general policy of the Government in these matters, its administration has suffered in the past from two main difficulties—firstly lack of central co-ordination or over-provincialisation and secondly inadequate enforcement of price control." He welcomed the setting up of a separate Central Government Department to deal with food production and price control as a step long regarded as necessary, but pleaded for a realistic approach to the dual problem of distribution on the one hand and price control on the other; for closer collaboration between the provincial administrations: and, where possible, for the simplification of the licensing and permit systems which had become so integral a part of the control hitherto exercised. He appealed to all concerned with the production, distribution and merchandising of essential foodstuffs to co-operate loyally in maintaining supplies at reasonable price levels.

Mr. Haddow recorded satisfaction with the satisfactory and prompt way in which the Commerce Department of the Government of India had been able, during the past year to meet their numerous requests for necessary amendments in the war risks, factories and goods insurance schemes.

H. E. The Viceroy's Address

The following is the text of the Viceroy's speech:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen. As you have reminded me, this is the seventh occasion on which I have had the honour of addressing the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India. It is an occasion to which throughout my Viceroyalty I have always looked forward as an opportunity which I deeply value of talking to you, gentlemen, on the great problems of the day. This is the last time that honour will fall to me, for though as your President has so kindly said the King has been pleased to ask me to retain my present office for a further period, by the time that the Associated Chambers next hold their annual meeting I shall no longer be in India. I welcome all the more your kindness to-day in inviting me to be present and thus giving me the opportunity to take fare-well of the Associated Chambers, and to thank them for all the invaluable help and co-operation that they and those for whom they stand in this country have given me through seven long and anxious years.

Before I proceed to the business of my speech, I would like to associate myself most warmly with what you said about His Excellency the Governor, Sir *John Herbert*, whom we are so glad to see here to-day, and about Lady Mary. He has had an anxious and difficult time as the Governor of this great presidency at a time when Bengal, and eastern India as a whole, have been in the front line. We owe him a great debt for his energy, his interest, and his constant anxiety to see that everything possible is done to safeguard his charge, and to protect a vital bastion of India's defence. And we all of us know how constant and how invaluable has been the help lent him by Lady Mary Herbert in all good causes in Bengal.

EXCESS PROFITS TAX

In your speech, Sir, you have touched on a number of matters of great interest and importance. You took occasion, if I may deal with that matter in the first place, to sound a note of warning against the withdrawal of all incentive

from private enterprise and in this connection you cited the policy of his Majesty's Government in regard to a rebate of excess profits tax. As you are aware, the policy of the Government of India in regard to the rates of excess profits tax in this country has been markedly more generous than in some parts of the Empire for in the United Kingdom. For its effect is to leave to an enterprise in this country, subject of course to income-tax and super-tax one-third of the excess profits, in addition to the whole of the profits of the most favourable standard period or in the case of new concerns, a generous percentage on the invested capital. I venture to think that in the conditions created by a total war the incentive thus left to private enterprise is very real. I would claim indeed that it is as great as could reasonably be expected. And you are aware, gentlemen too, that arrangements exist under which a rebate of excess profits tax to be paid after the war can be obtained by depositing twice the amount of the rebate with Government at two per cent interest for the period of the war and one year after it.

Action on these lines would seem to be a wise precaution on the part of industry and as profitable as wise. I trust sincerely therefore that industrialists will utilise the concession which has been offered. For by doing so, not only will they benefit themselves, they will help to achieve the immobilisation for the period of the war of as much as possible of the excess profits earned during the war, and so to reduce the pressure of enhanced purchasing power of the general price level: and they will in that way make a material contribution to the country's interest.

Inflation and Savings

And in that connection, let me refer to the risk of an inflationary rise of prices. That is an issue of vital importance, and one which is continually present to my advisers. It is one in which responsibility lies as heavily on the public as it does on the Government. Few will deny that production must continue at maximum intensity, and must expand wherever possible in the interests of the war effort. But that inevitably means the existence in the country of a great and continually growing volume of purchasing power since payment for everything that is produced must be made in rupees in India, whether the expenditure is incurred on Indian account, or on account of His Majesty's Government, or for the purpose of reciprocal aid to the forces of the United States of America stationed here. The actual allocation of cost has no relevance in this connection and the problem will clearly be with us on a continually growing scale for at least as long as the war lasts.

Negligible Amount Of Saving

"I would like if I may to emphasise again that for a solution of this difficult and important problem the Government must be able to rely on the utmost assistance, co-operation and support from the non-official world. I look to the leaders of commerce and industry, who have given us such invaluable help in the past, to assist in securing an adequate response to the Government of India's defence loans. But above all I am convinced of the necessity for small savings playing their part. During the three and a quarter years since the war started the small savers' contribution to the return, as savings of a portion of the vast volume of purchasing capacity which the war and supply activities of the country are placing in the hands of the people has—and I say it with regret—been of negligible importance. That is far from a healthy state of affairs. I am sure that personal interest, and active propaganda, can do much to better it. I would appeal to all employers of labour to organise, encourage and assist their employees to save, and to conserve their savings through the various avenues which the Government of India have provided for the purpose. I know that it is only by persistent and unremitting effort on the part of all employers of labour that can effectively be done. But if that effort is made and maintained, there will be results of immense benefit to all sections in this country and not least to the poorer classes whom the rise in prices most seriously affects.

"I am sure, gentlemen, that where your great authority and influence are concerned I can with confidence look for the fullest help and co-operation in this matter.

High Food Prices

"I listened with close attention, Sir, to your remarks on the all-important question of food supplies. This is a question constantly present to me, and never more so than during recent months. The creation of the new Department of Food, to which you have referred in such friendly terms, will, I trust, before very long effect

some improvement in the situation. Close study of the cause of the present apparent shortages and the high prices which are evident in many centres suggests that though India has, of course, been deprived of its accustomed rice imports from Burma, the difficulties of the present situation are due less to any real deficiency of supplies than to the mental reactions of great sections of the community to the abnormal times in which we are living. I realise fully that the greatly increased calls made on the transport system of this country for defence purposes, reduce its ability to do all that it did in pre-war days for the movement of civil supplies. But since August last, the railways have allowed priority to the transport of food-grains, and I am assured that in this respect there is now considerably less delay and dislocation than were reported to be prevailing five or six months ago. Nevertheless during recent months the supply situation has grown more acute and prices have risen with increased rapidity.

It is sometimes suggested that our present troubles are due to the policy of price and movement control adopted by the Government of India and by various Provincial and States Governments, and that if trade were left free from restriction the interaction of supply and demand would result in commodities finding their way where they were most needed, and in a price level determined by normal forces. That is a plausible contention, and it merits careful scrutiny. But I am myself, after anxious thought, convinced that it is unsound. The control of supplies and prices has been found necessary by practically every administration in the world to-day. No one is more disinclined to embark upon the perilous and difficult task of control than a Government. For Governments know all too well the troubles and anxieties that control brings with it and, in experience, they have recourse to this policy which, and only when, the operation of uncontrolled economic forces has produced a situation which can no longer be permitted to continue unchecked. And to remove controls is not to my mind the solution of the present difficulties. On the contrary the proper course may probably lie in the direction of an extension of control to a wider range of articles, and of a more direct participation by Government themselves in the actual procurement and distribution of supplies.

I will not take up your time, gentlemen, with any detailed narrative of the steps my Government have taken and are taking.

Difficulties On Control

The Wheat Control Order, the Regional Price and Supply Boards, the Foodgrains Control Order, the Grow More Food Campaign are all evidence of the anxiety of my Government to deal with this most important problem. In the matter of price control, as thorny a question as any, much has been done. More still may have to be attempted. The difficulties of enforcing maximum prices by penal provision are only too familiar to you. And the existence of black markets is well known. But while we may not have had full success in enforcing maximum prices, I am certain that the prescription of such prices had a very real and immediate value, to the extent that it has served to retard the rate of price increase over the whole range of the commodity controlled. And let me say in that connection that I fully agree with what you, Sir, have said about the simplification of the licensing and permit system ; and that it will be the aim of the new Department to simplify control operations as much as possible, in the interests alike of administration and of the general public.

But whatever policy is adopted, or whatever measures are put into force, no lasting success can be hoped for without the wholehearted co-operation of the whole body of the community. If the workers in our transport and communication systems, our war industries, and our essential services cannot be provided with the wherewithal to live at a price within their means, the war effort will be crippled and the country itself exposed to grave dangers.

It is more essential now than ever that every citizen should sink his individual interests in the common cause, and realise that, if he concentrates on serving himself alone, he is endangering not only the stability of the whole community but his personal security as well. I would therefore associate myself, sir, most wholeheartedly with your plea for the co-operation of all the interests involved in solving our present difficulties, which are due not so much to shortage of resources as to disturbances of the normal routine. If we secure that co-operation, the difficulties which are now being experienced throughout India will shrink to less menacing proportions. No effort, let me assure you, will be spared to meet a situation the gravity and importance of which my Government so fully realise.

REQUISITIONING OF PROPERTY

You referred, sir, to the difficult questions that arise in connection with the requisitioning of business and residential property. I need not say that my sympathy is very great indeed for those who, whether in their business arrangements or private lives, have had to suffer the grave and serious inconvenience which requisitioning involves. I note with full attention and appreciation the views that you have expressed on this matter, and I will see that they are brought to the notice of my Government who already have the whole matter under active consideration.

When I had the honour of addressing the Associated Chambers on previous occasions since the outbreak of the war, I dealt with the work of this Supply Department. I trust sincerely that you, gentlemen, who are so closely concerned and so familiar with the operations of that Department are satisfied that we are doing our best. I think you will agree with me that we have achieved immense things in the field of supply. Errors and misunderstandings there must always be. It is impossible to avoid them. But, broadly speaking, we can feel that in the field of supply, India has made a contribution of outstanding importance and value and nothing will be left undone to ensure that during the remainder of the war the upward curve of improvement and of development shall be maintained.

INDIAN SUPPLIES

I do not propose to-day to trouble you with any lengthy details of progress under particular heads. But one or two facts and figures I might quote. For the first six months of the war the value of contracts placed was approximately 29 crores. For the six months from April to October 1942, it was 137 crores. Over the whole period to the end of October 1942 it has been no less than 428 crores. And those figures exclude the value of the work done in the ordnance factories, which is, in itself, very considerable. They include only the contracts actually placed through our purchase branch.

During the last year, progress with the Roger Mission projects has been satisfactory. And I hope that the Roger Mission programme as a whole will be getting into production from the early months of 1943 onwards. The preparatory work in India has been ahead of the receipt of plant and equipment from abroad. The flow of munitions components from trade workshops is maintained. The magnitude of India's effort in receipt of munitions and engineering stores is now shown by the tightness of key materials such as steel, of which very considerable imports are expected from the United States. Further important schemes for the expansion of steel production have been approved.

On the general stores side, our measures to double the production of filature-reeled silk are well in hand, and the production of statichutes on a substantial scale is established. The production of web equipment, which was nil before the war, now stands at about 200,000 sets a month and unless the demand decreases it will be doubled in the course of 1943. The possibility of expanding the chemicals industry is under active consideration. Ship construction has been amalgamated with ship repairs, and a new Director-General established at Bombay to deal with both activities.

The year indeed has in the supply field been one of steady progress. We welcomed during its course the visit of the American Technical Mission, which was a very useful stimulant and most helpful to us in every way. The far reaching scheme of industrial expansion recommended by the Mission would, if accepted in full, have involved the earliest supply to India by the United States of large quantities of materials and equipment, and of large numbers of technical personnel.

ASSISTANCE FROM UNITED STATES

The United States Government have found it impossible to implement this programme in full in the present conditions. But they have generously offered to consider any projects which are essential for the war effort, and to which the Government of India attach particular importance ; and we are already receiving very significant assistance from the United States in the form of materials, machinery and plant.. Let me only add that during the unhappy disturbances of this autumn, labour at most industrial centres remained staunch, and those losses of working time that had to be recorded were due rather to the difficulties to which the workers were subjected than to any desire to go slow on the part of the workers themselves.

I welcome your friendly reference to the work of my Commerce Department. Much of the war work that has fallen to that Department has necessarily involved

interference, often serious interference, with the normal practices of industry and commerce, and it is perhaps natural that its activities, though undertaken for the common benefit, should have been the cause of dissatisfaction to individuals. I appreciate the more your remarks about its attitude in the more directly beneficent field of war risk insurance, and I am emboldened to believe that on a wider and more detached view, its anxiety to mitigate the inevitable unpleasantness attached to measures of control will also receive recognition. Let me assure you, gentlemen, that the Government of India are most appreciative of the invaluable assistance which they have received from the War Risk Insurance Advisory Committee, as well as of the co-operation of the insurance companies, which have consented to work as Government agents in return for out-of-pocket expenses only—a notable voluntary contribution to the war effort.

British Trade Interest in India

I have listened, Sir, with close attention and interest to what you said about British trade and commerce in this country. Your anxiety, in your own words, is that British trade should be given a fair deal, and allowed to conduct its business without discrimination or expropriation ; and you touched in your remarks on the history of Britain's contribution to India, whether in the commercial or in the administrative field. I was glad to hear what you said. For there is too great a tendency, and not merely where India is concerned, for Great Britain and the British people, confident as they are in fact in their own record and in their own capacity, to show that confidence by self-deprecation, a self-deprecation which is unjustified, and which is very apt to be misunderstood. Whether in this war, or in the past, Great Britain can, with all humility, claim that she has achieved great things, and that her contribution to human progress and happiness, and her record, and that of her citizens, at home or abroad, in commerce, in administration or in the fighting services, is one to be proud of.

And there is no part of the Empire in which we can look back on a greater record of achievement than in India. Law and order, the arts of peace, greatly raised standards of wealth and of prosperity, the elimination, for practical purposes, of grave famine, of disease throughout this sub-continent, that security in which India has been able industrially and politically to reach her present high place among the nations of the world—these are great services rendered. Our achievement in India is one that need not fear comparison with any corresponding work in the world. It is indeed to its magnitude that much of the criticism which you mention is due. For it is easy, indeed it is natural, living in the long settled peace for which Great Britain is responsible, under the unity that Great Britain has achieved that the decades of war and internecine strife through which this country had passed before British authority was established on its present basis should be forgotten.

Commercial benefits of World System

In the specifically commercial field to which you have referred India has derived, and derives to-day, great benefit, as you, sir, have reminded us, from the British connection. The immense importance to her of her foreign trade, and of the British trading and business community, the significance to India of the position of the empire capital as the centre of a world-wide system, her ability as a unit of the empire to turn that position to special advantage, were not and could not have been created on the basis of a policy of excluding overseas and foreign interests or personnel. And I cannot believe that the significance of that fact, so well established by general experience elsewhere, will be lost on the India of the future. Whatever mistakes may have been made—and who of us, and what country, is there that has not made mistakes—we can, with all humility claim that Great Britain and her citizens have earned for themselves an honoured place in India by the standards they have set and by the benefits which long years of peace and prosperity have brought to this country. I am confident that the assistance of the British Community, and the benefit of the British connection to the upholding of India's business traditions and the maintenance and development of India's post-war position in international trade, will be as readily afforded in the future as they have been in the past.

The year now drawing to a close has been one of very great importance in every way for India. For all of us on whom rests the burden of conducting the affairs of this great country it has been one at times of deep anxiety, whether in terms of the internal or the external situation. When we last met Japan had just entered the war. The early part of this year was marked by the invasion of

Malaya, the Japanese advance into Burma, the very active threat to the shores of India, Japanese naval activity in the Bay of Bengal and elsewhere, attacks on Vizagapatam and Ceylon, and strong pressure from Japan in NE India. We had reason for anxiety, too, because of the news from other parts of the Fighting Front. In attack and in defence we have worked in those dark times in close association with the gallant forces of China, whose *Generalissimo* and his wife I was so happy to welcome on behalf of India in February ; of the U. S., whose reception from all quarters in India has been so sincere ; and of the warrior Kingdom of Nepal, to which and to whose Prime Minister we are bound by such close ties.

In India itself I cannot speak too highly of the steps taken by all concerned to perfect our preparations against invasion, to sustain morale, to organize to meet any situation that might arise. H.E. the C-in-C and the defence forces in this country—naval, military or air—have spared no effort. Defence arrangements have been developed on a great scale. Recruitment and training of troops has been pressed on with the utmost vigour. There have been immense strides forward in civil defence. The keen and constant interest shown in that vital matter by my own Department of Civil Defence, has been equally marked throughout India, whether in the Provinces or in the Indian States. We find ourselves today in a happier condition so far as civil defence is concerned than at any earlier period in the war, and the necessity for civil defence, and the organization that has been developed in connexion with it has brought home directly to many whom the war might not in the ordinary way have closely touched the essential importance to India of being able to stand on her own feet, and to repel any attack that may be made from outside.

Internal Situation

In the internal field we have, to my keen and deep regret, had to deal since I last addressed you with an uprising, consequent on the programme of the leaders of the Congress Party, of great gravity and great severity. That uprising, which had no support from great sections of the Hindu community, from which the Muslim community and other important parts of the population of India dissociated themselves, which affected only in the smallest degree the Indian States, was perhaps the work of a numerically small but very important section. But that section, carefully organized, and unscrupulous, I am sorry to say it, in the methods it adopted, indifferent to the creed of non-violence to which such prominence has been given, was able to cause immense damage, serious dislocation of communications, much destruction of public and private property, heavy loss to the tax-payer, the deaths of many innocent persons. At a time when the efforts of all of us were directed and necessarily directed to protecting India against Japanese aggression and to building up supplies and stores for our own defence and for the battle against the Axis it resulted in a serious diversion of military forces and an interruption, deeply to be regretted, in the war effort.

To the sorrow of all of us who care for the good name of India, those disturbances were disfigured by very shocking cases of brutality and violence. And a grievous feature of them is the use to which designing men endeavoured to turn, and indeed succeed in many cases in turning, the young enthusiasm, the intelligence and the lack of experience of the student community. Those who diverted those young men, young men of such promise, with their future just opening before them into the dangerous paths of civil tumult and disorder, carry an immense responsibility to India, and to the ardent and generous youth which they have led astray. In restoring order everything possible was done to use the minimum degree of force, and to cause the minimum disturbance. The success of that policy is shown by the very low figures of casualties. The situation is well in hand as I speak to you today, though even now in certain areas it continues to call for the utmost vigilance and care.

I would like to pay a tribute to the admirable work done in restoring order by the services, military and civil alike, and in particular by the police, on whom there fell so heavy a burden. And I would like to say a word of warm and sincere thanks on behalf not only of myself, and of my Government, but on behalf of India, to those solid and sober elements throughout the country who, in times of great difficulty, stood by Government, gave their full co-operation to those whose business it was to maintain law and order, and at great risk to themselves, and sometimes at the cost of grave injury, formed rallying points around which the law-abiding and the loyal citizen could gather, and from which he could get assurance and support.

Since the war began you and I have had heavy anxieties. We have realized how great a burden the war has placed upon the empire and upon India. We have realized, too, as I ventured to say to you in 1939, that the fate of India in the international sphere turns on the success of the Allied arms. We have been heartened and supported in those dark days by India's response, by her generosity in men, money, and materials, by the heroism of her sons, whether from British India or the Indian States. As I speak to you to-day the outlook is bright. We are far still from the end of our troubles. There lie ahead of us before final and decisive victory can be won, much hard fighting, inevitable reverses, possibly even serious disasters. All those things are what war is made of. They must be expected. They must be provided against so far as we can hope to make such provision. If things go badly reverses must be borne with a stout heart, with a resolution to amend what was been faulty, and to go ahead with confidence and courage, and with the certainty that we have right behind us, and that victory is ours in the end. But you and I, whether in our private lives or in public affairs, are all of us conscious today of the improvement that has taken place, of the immense difference made by the brilliant campaigns that have been waged last year and this year by our Russian allies; by the successes of the Allied Arms in Africa, successes in which Indian troops played so distinguished and outstanding a part; and by the great battle that even as I speak the forces of the U. S. and those of the Commonwealth of Australia are fighting in the Far East. It is too early yet for optimism. But we can feel that our earlier confidence in the successful outcome of the struggle, however dark at times things may have seemed, has been justified, and that, while no effort can be relaxed, we can look forward with an easier mind to the concluding stages of the war.

CONSTITUTIONAL FIELD

I listened with deep satisfaction to the remarks which you were kind enough to make about the Governor-general's Executive Council, and the tribute which you were good enough to pay to its work. Since we last met, that Council has undergone a material expansion. Working in the closest of contact with its Members and with the Council as a whole, I can, from my own knowledge and experience, speak of its capacity, its courage, its unity, its devotion to the interests of India. I need not tell you how great is the value to the Governor-General of colleagues such as those with whom it is now my good fortune to work in the Executive Council.

I turn now with your permission to the position in the constitutional field. I came here in 1936 with the hope that before I handed over I might see in full operation the Act of 1935, an Act often criticized, but the result of years of patient work by the best minds of India and Britain. That Act provided, as you will remember, for extensive autonomy in the provincial sphere and for a federation of India at the Centre.

The scheme of provincial autonomy came into being in April 1937, and it has been in operation since that date. The Congress Party who at first were critical of the scheme decided in July 1937, to take advantage of it, and in those provinces in which there was a Congress majority in the legislature Congress Government remained in power till October 1939. They then decided that they could no longer carry the responsibilities which fell upon them, and withdrew from office. In the absence of a majority government, those provinces have since that date been governed under the special provisions of the Act. In the remaining Provinces autonomous governments have throughout (save for a brief period in Assam and in Orissa) been in control of the affairs of their provinces, and are in control today.

In the provincial field let me say at once that I am perfectly satisfied, after the experience of the 6 years since 1937, with the essential soundness of the scheme of provincial autonomy. It has worked with success, in all the Provinces. As I speak, it is working smoothly in Bengal, the Punjab, Assam, Sind and Orissa. It would work equally well in the remaining Provinces, as in fact it did, were those for whom the scheme is designed but ready to work it. That we have had to resort to the emergency provisions of the Act is due to no flaw in the scheme. It is the result of a political decision by the majority party not to carry their responsibilities.

In the Centre the position is different. The Act of 1935 provided for a Federation of India—a federal scheme designed to bring together the Provinces of British India and the Indian States, with a Central Legislature based on a substantial franchise with solid foundation

in the country representative of the Indian States and British India alike. The scheme of the Act would have transferred power to Ministers at the Centre drawing their support from the legislature. It would have brought together British India and the Indian States. It would have produced in the Centre a scheme of government representative of all parties, communities and interests.

When the war broke out, the preparations for bringing the federation into being though far advanced were not yet complete, and, in the immense strain that fell upon us in the opening days of the war, there was nothing for it but to concentrate on the winning of the war and to suspend those preparations. The Government of India continues therefore to be based on the same principles as before the Act of 1935—the Governor-General and his Executive Council responsible to the Secretary of State and to Parliament.

While as I have said, work on federation has been suspended, I have never concealed from you my own sincere and firm belief in the value of the federal scheme, representing as it did the maximum of agreement between the great communities, the political parties, British India and the States, that could be obtained at the time when the Act was framed. The federal scheme has its imperfections. It can be attacked as it was attacked, on various grounds, and with plausibility. But whatever its imperfections, it would have made an immense contribution to Indian political advance. It would have solved the great bulk of the problems in the constitutional field that we have heard so much of over these last few years. It would have welded together with the consent of all concerned in a common partnership, and for comon objects, British India and the Indian States. And it would have provided (and that is what I regard as so very important) a government representative, authoritative, covering the whole, or almost the whole of India composed of persons of the highest standing in this country able to speak with authority, and with general support, on behalf of this sub-continent.

The Executive Council

Since I felt at the time that with the postponement of the federal scheme it was of great importance to broaden the basis, and to introduce certain changes in the character, of the Governor-General's Executive Council, I was anxious to get the support of the great political parties and to produce at the Centre as representative a government as could be found. I will not weary you with the details of the discussions, the negotiations, the public statements, that have been made over the last 3 years. You are familiar with their general outline. Suffice it to say this.

On the one hand during that time my Council has been changed from a body with a European and an official majority and with total strength of 7 in addition to the Governor-General into a body 15, of whom 2 only are officals, and 3 only in addition to the C-in-C and myself, Europeans. The remaining portfolios are held by men of the highest character and distinction in the Indian political field, men with long records of service to India behind them ; many of the men who have held office in provincial Governments in the past.

In a different field I have been at pains to try to associate popular opinion in the provinces with the work which the Centre has been doing, and in particular with the work which it has been doing in connexion with the war. The establishment of a National Defence Couneil, some members of which I am glad to see here today, has resulted in periodic meetings of a very highly qualified body, representative of all the provinces of British India as well as of the Indian States, a body that has been taken into the fullest confidence and from which there are no secrets, a body well able to supplement the changed characters of my Executive Council by firsthand knowledge of provincial feeling and provincial views.

Taking the various stages which I have just mentioned together we can thus claim despite the decision as to the federal scheme, to have made a very material and a very real advance during the last 3 years in the association of non-official Indians with government in this country.

That is something. But it is not all one could have wished for. As you know so well, my efforts have been directed during all this period to getting the parties together, the bringing about with any help that I could give that measure of agreement which is so essential if we are to have a workable scheme. One difficulty after another has been brought forward. One attempt after another has been made by H. M.'s Government, the Secretary of State and myself to deal with such difficulties. My own anxiety to see an end of those difficulties, to see India united

in agreement, has throughhout been as deep and as sincere as it is today. And that is true equally of the Secretary of State and of H. M.'s Government.

I am the more disappointed in those circumstances that none of the efforts so sincerely made should have achieved the object at which we aimed and at which we aim today. Indeed it sometimes seem that our very endeavours to dissipate misconceptions and misunderstandings have tended to widen the gulf between those whom we desire to unite rather than to narrow it. The attitude of H. M's Government, their anxiety to see India self-governing under a scheme devised in full freedom by the principal elements in India's national life, their readiness to leave this matter to a body composed of Indians themselves have been declared in the most emphatic and in the most solemn manner. The mission of Sir *Stafford Cripps* to this county in the spring of this year was but the latest evidence of the sincerity of H. M's Government in this matter. And as you will all of you remember when the proposal carried by Sir Stafford were made public, the verdict of world opinion was that those were reasonable proposals, and proposals the genuineness and the profound importance of which could not be questioned.

But those proposals, too, failed to secure agreement. The reasons for which they proved unacceptable to the various parties were, as has been the case throughout the melancholy history of this question, mutually destructive. And to day I see with deep regret little to encourage me to hope that the conflicting claims (and I do not question for a moment the sincerity with which those claims are advanced and pressed) of the great parties and communities in this county are likely in any degree to be abated. Yet for all that, I would like to feel that the problem is not beyond the genius of Indian leadership, and that it may yet be possible for the various parties to come together and co-operate in forming the executive government of this country.

UNITY OF INDIA

I have spoken often to you in my earlier addresses of the importance of unity in this country. Geographically India, for practical purposes, is one. I would judge it to be as important as it ever was in the past, nay more important, that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the rights and the legitimate claims of the minorities, whether those minorities be great or small. That that would be a desirable aim no one can doubt who tests that proposition in terms of foreign policy, of tariff policy, of defence policy, of industrial development. Can India speak with the authority that she is entitled to claim ? Can she play her part effectively at international discussions, at discussions with the other parts of the Empire, if she is to speak with 2 voices ? Indian unity, subject as I have said to full and sufficient provision for the minorities, accepted as such by those minorities, is of great and real importance if India is to carry the weight which she ought to carry in the counsels of the Empire and of the world.

But there are hard practical issues that have got to be faced before any true solution can be found. Political opinion in all responsible quarters must discover a middle road along which all men of goodwill may march. That indeed is the difficult but essential task which must be performed if India is to achieve the great position we all desire for her. The policy of H.M.'s Government in respect of the future status of India is clear beyond any question. But the achievement of a particular status carries with it heavy obligations. In the modern world, whether we like it or not, a readiness to accept heavy financial burdens, to accept liability for defence on whatever scale one's geographical position demands at whatever cost ; all those are essential. So many today found their hopes and their plans on the confident assurance that the post-war world will be a safe world. I sincerely hope that it will be so. But if that end is to be achieved, and maintained, constant vigilance, constant effort, constant forethought, will be needed. And all that is relevant to what I have just said about the unity of India. A divided people cannot carry the weight that it ought to carry or make its way in the world with the same confident expectation of success.

But equally, mere artifical unity, without genuine agreement between the component parts, may well be a danger rather than an advantage. For fissures that reveal themselves under pressure from outside are more dangerous than fissures the existence of which is well known, and can be provided against. It is only by understanding between party and party, between community and community, understanding that begets trust and confidence, that is based on a liberal acceptance by the parties to it of the historic traditions, the legitimate claims, of the other to a

place in the scheme of things that there comes that truly welded result which is able to stand shocks from whatever corner of the compass. Is not that result worth working for? Is it not worth some sacrifice if some sacrifice must be its price.

Britain's help is always available and has been freely offered. In the time that I have been in this country one proposition after another has been advanced by H.M's Government and by myself in the hope of producing a generally acceptable solution. I can myself claim to have brought together Mr. *Jinnah* and Mr. *Gandhi*, though unhappily without result. I have worked very hard, if unsuccessfully, to bridge the gulf between parties, interests and communities. Let me say one thing only before I pass from this subject. We are familiar with the suggestion that the troubles of India are due to Britain's refusal to part with power. I would say exactly the contrary. Those troubles are due to Britain's expressed readiness to part with power. It is because agreement cannot be reached between the conflicting interests in this country as to who is to take over the responsibilities which Britain is only too ready to transfer to Indian hands, that the deadlock has arisen. It is from no reluctance on our part to transfer them.

The further period for which His Majesty has been pleased to ask me to serve in my present office is a short one now. In 10 months time or so I shall hand over to the new Viceroy. Believe me when I say that if in that time I can help to bridge these gulfs which I have spoken of, I shall leave India a happy man. India, and all of us have had to face grave and exacting problems during this time of war —very great dangers, heavy responsibilities, much waste of life, much pouring out of resources that could have been turned to such advantage in the arts of peace. The end of the war, so eagerly hoped for by all of us, is not the end of our troubles. When the war ends, we shall be faced by problems that will tax our public sprit, our courage, our resources of body and mind to the maximum. The problems of demobilization, of reconstruction, of the resettlement of these great armies of the adjustment of India to post-war world economic conditions, will be immense. In discharge of the commitment of H.M.'s Government it will be for the principal elements in India's national life to devise their own proposals for the future government of this country, and to reach on those proposals that agreement that is, as I have already said, so essential if any workable and permanent scheme is to be devised. That by itself would be a heavy task. But though it may be the most important task, it will be one only of those that will fall to India on the conclusion of the war. If before I leave this country I could see that understanding and agreement between the great Indian parties that is a prerequisite of internal contentment and of progress, I would leave India well satisfied that while progress in these matters, whether in India or elsewhere, must be a business of trial and error, and may be slower than many of us could wish, still that all was set for the consummation of those ideals that have been so close to the heart of those of us who have worked for India's future and for the raising of her stature in the comity of nations.

At the conclusion of his Excellency's speech, Mr. *J. Nuttall* (Madras Chamber of Commerce), proposed a vote of thanks to Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal, who was also present.

Proceedings & Resolutions

Income-Tax by States on Companies

The meeting then took up consideration of business on the agenda and adopted a resolution inviting the attention of the General Board of Revenue to the demands for returns of income made by certain of the Indian States upon companies which established in British India and which did not transact business in these States. It urges the Government of India to take such steps as were possible to induce each of such States to publish, so that exporters to the States would be in a position to know their liabilities, an instruction stating clearly what incomes were liable to be assessed under the sections of each tax act similar to Section 42 of the Indian Act.

Paper Shortage

Mr. *R. W. Mellor* (Bengal Chamber of Commerce) moved a resolution on 'paper shortage' which ran as follows: "In connection with the Defence of India Rules order dated the 5th November, served on paper mills in India by the Controller of Printing and Stationery, India, 'that the total quantity of paper sold,

agreed to be sold or otherwise disposed of to persons other than the Central Government and Provincial Governments or to the Government of an Indian State, during any calendar month (including November 1942) shall not, except with my permission in writing, exceed ten per cent of the total quantity of paper manufactured during the preceding calendar month" this Association draws attention to the disproportionate reservation made for Government purposes and the entirely inadequate provision for civilian consumption, in particular for the essential war requirements of commerce and industry, and urges the Government to allow at least 30 per cent of the mills' total production to be supplied to the general market."

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

IMPORT TRADE CONTROL

The meeting then discussed and adopted the following resolution on "Import Trade Control", which was moved by Mr. *J. Nuttall*. The resolution stated that "while recognising the imperative need for the control of imports into India as a means of conserving shipping space and for other reasons, this Association is of opinion that the present system of control in India, and more particularly its administration, calls for early investigation and overhaul, with a view to the removal of the serious impediments to legitimate and essential business to which the system gives rise."

The mover suggested the following methods for improvement of the present system of working. (1) that Import Trade Controllers be appointed in Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, Cochin and Madras, with authority equivalent to that now exercised by the Chief Controller in Simla ; (2) that each Import Trade Controller be given a quota with which he would be allowed to sanction licences without reference to a central authority and (3) that a local representative of the Steel Controller should work in collaboration with the Import Trade Controller in order that licences could be issued for goods which were at present under the Steel Controller's jurisdiction.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

The Association urged the "Government of India to give early and careful consideration to post-war reconstruction problems and to formulate long term trade and industrial policies to be placed before the Post-War Reconstruction Committee." The Association pointed out that special consideration should be given to the proposals made for the control of international trade in the report of the London Chamber of Commerce provided that any such proposals were not allowed to interfere with the primary task of the Government to prosecute the war.

Moving the resolution, Sir *Tracy Gavin Jones* said that he felt that they in India were not taking this war seriously enough. There was too much of the "business as usual" attitude coupled with the belief that as far as India was concerned things would remain very much as they were before the war. But the war was something more than a series of military operations—it was a social, economic and moral revolution in western civilisation and its outcome would greatly affect India, especially in the general price level after the war, which was so vital to India's export and import trade and the welfare of the agricultural masses. Sir *Tracy* maintained that the Lease-Lend principle would have to be extended indefinitely after the war and that all nations would have to adopt some such principle to facilitate international trade and and avoid mass unemployment.

Mr. *Nuttal* seconded the resolution. The annual meeting then teminated.

Indian Debate in Parliament

House of Commons—London—10th. September 1942

Mr. Churchill's Tirade Against Congress

Mr. *Winston Churchill* made a statement on the **10th. September 1942** in the House of Commons about India. Mr. Churchill added that the Congress Party did not represent all India. It might well be that the recent Congress activities had been aided by Japanese fifth column works on a widely extended scale with special attention to strategic points. Mr. *Gandhi* and his followers would be kept out of harm's way until troubles subsided. Less than 500 people had been killed in the vast territory of India since the disturbances started. Large reinforcements had reached India and the number of soldiers now there was larger than at any time in the British connection.

Mr. Churchill said: "The course of events in India has been improving and is on the whole reassuring. The broad principles of the declaration made by the British Government which formed the basis of the mission of the Lord Privy Seal, Sir Stafford Cripps to India, must be taken as representing the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament. These principles stand in their full scope and integrity. No one can add to them and no one can take anything away.

The good offices of Sir Stafford Cripps were rejected by the Indian Congress Party. This however does not end the matter. The Indian Congress Party does not represent all India (cheers). It does not represent the majority of the people of India (cheers). It does not even represent the Hindu masses (cheers). It is a political organisation built around a party machine and sustained by certain manufacturing and financial interests (cheers and laughter).

"Outside that Party and fundamentally opposed to it are 90 million Muslims in British India (here a member interjected "nonsense" and there were cries of "order") who have their rights of self-expression, 50 million depressed classes or untouchables as they are called because they are supposed to defile their Hindu co-religionists by their presence or by their shadow, and 95 million subjects of the Princes of India with whom we are bound by treaty. In all there are 235 millions in these three large groupings alone out of 390 millions in all-India. This takes no account of the large elements among Hindus, Sikhs and Christians in British India who deplore the present policy of the Congress Party. It is necessary that these main facts should not be overlooked here or abroad because no appreciation of the Indian problem or of the relations between India and Britain is possible without a recognition of these basic data.

"The Congress Party has now abandoned the policy in many respects of non-violence which Gandhi has so long inculcated in theory and has come into the open as a revolutionary movement designed to paralyse communications by rail and telegraph and generally to promote disorder, looting of shops and sporadic attacks upon the Indian police, accompanied from time to time by revolting atrocities—the whole having the intention or at any rate the effect of hampering the defence of India against the Japanese invader who stands on the frontiers of Assam and also upon the estern side of the Bay of Bengal.

Allegations of Fifth Column Aid

"It may well be that these activities by the Congress Party have been aided by Japanese fifth column work on a widely extended scale and with special direction to strategic points. It is noteworthy for instance that communications of the Indian forces defending Bengal on the Assam frontier have been specially attacked. In these circumstances, the Viceroy and the Government of India, with the unanimous support of the Viceroy's Council, the great majority of which are Indians—patriotic and wise men—have felt it necessary to proclaim and suppress the central and provincial organs of this association which has become committed to hostile and criminal courses.

Mr. Gandhi and other principal leaders have been interned under conditions of the highest comfort and consideration and will be kept out of harm's way until the troubles subside.

"It is fortunate, indeed, that the Congress Party has no influence whatever with the martial races on whom the defence of India, apart from the British

forces, largely depends. Many of these races are divided by unbridgeable religious gulfs from the Hindu Congress and would never consent to be ruled by them nor shall they ever be against their will so subjugated" (prolonged cheers). Mr. Churchill resumed: "There is no compulsory service in India but upwards of one million Indians have volunteered to serve the cause of the United Nations in this world struggle. The bravery of Indian troops has been distinguished in many theatres of war and it is satisfactory to note that in these last two months when the Congress has been measuring its strength against the Government of India over 140,000 new volunteers for the army have come forward in loyal allegiance to the King-Emperor thus surpassing all records in order to defend their native land.

CONGRESS AND THE INDIAN ARMY

"So far as matters have gone up to the present, they have revealed the impotence of the Congress Party either to seduce or even sway the Indian army, to draw from their duty the enormous body of Indian officials or, still less, stir the vast Indian masses.

"India is a continent almost as large and actually more populous than Europe and divided by racial and above all by religious differences far deeper than any that have separated the Europeans. The whole administration of the Government of 390 millions who live in India is carried on by Indians, there being under 600 British members of the Indian Civil Service. All public services are working. In five provinces including two of the greatest and comprising 110 million people, provincial Ministers responsible to their legislatures stand at their posts. In many places both in town and country, the population has rallied to the support of the civil power. The Congress conspiracy against communications is breaking down. Acts of pillage and arson are being repressed and punished with an incredibly small loss of life. Less than 500 persons have been killed over this mighty area of territory and population and it has only been necessary to move a few brigades of British troops here and there in support of the civil power. In most cases, rioters have been successfully dealt with by the Indian Police. I am sure the House would wish me to pay a tribute to the loyalty and steadfastness of the brave Indian Police as well as the Indian official class generally, whose behaviour has been deserving of the highest praise.

"To sum up, the outstanding fact which has so far emerged from the violent action of the Congress Party has been its non-representative character and powerlessness to throw into confusion the normal peaceful life of India. It is the intention of Government to give all necessary support to the Viceroy and his executive in the firm but tempered measures by which they are protecting the life of the Indian communities and leaving the British and Indian armies free to defend the soil of India against the Japanese.

BRITISH TROOPS REINFORCED

"I may add that large reinforcements have reached India and that the number of white soldiers now in that country, although very small, compared to its size and population, are larger than at any time in the British connection. I therefore feel entitled to report to the House that the situation in India at this moment gives no occasion for undue despondency or alarm"

Following this, the Prime Minister answered many questions.

Statement in Lords

The under-Secretary of State, the Duke of Devonshire, made a statement on India in the House of Lords on the 10th. September similar to that made by Mr. *Churchill* in the Commons.

House of Commons—London—11th. September 1942

Amery accuses Congress of sabotage

The Leader of the Labour Party and the former War Cabinet Minister, Mr, *Arthur Greenwood* opened the debate on India in the Commons on the 11th. September 1942. Pointing out that Parliament would be going into recess at the conclusion of the present sitting, Mr. *Greenwood* said that it seemed to him puerile for the Commons to let the statement made by Mr. *Churchill* yesterday stand unchallenged for several weeks.

Amid cheers and cries of "No" Mr. *Greenwood* said : Mr. *Churchill's* speech was couched in language not calculated to improve Anglo-Indian relations.

"That is my view. The majority of the members yesterday expressed an entirely different view, but it was at least clear that there was a wide difference of opinion on the Indian situation, which I do not wish to stoke up to-day. I can not think Mr. Churchill's statement will have a good effect in the United States or anything but the most unfortunate effect in India. I would rather ally myself with Untouchables than with the Congress, but although this crisis was created by the Congress, I think it unfortunate that the Prime Minister should have said the things he did yesterday. I should have thought it was an element of statesmanship in such circumstances to try to help and not to embitter existing feelings."

After recalling the Labour Party's earlier declaration on India, Mr. *Greenwood* said : The Government cannot weaken in its detetmination to prevent the spread of disobedience which might cause a rot in India, imperil the war effort in the Middle East apart from disaster which might befall but so long as a chink of light comes through the door, it is a very heavy responsibility for any man to put his foot to the door and bang it. We did not need Mr. *Churchill's* kindergarten lecture yesterday to understand how complicated is the situation in India."

"LEADERS IN LUXURIOUS CONDITIONS"

"There are nations who do not look kindly on our attitude towards subject peoples," added Mr. *Greenwood*. "I feel that Americans do not yet understand the difference between a Dominion and a Colony. There is also the view that we have a somewhat murky past in our relation with the coloured races. It would not be right for us to concede everything that one element of Indian opinion desire but in the last two or three weeks, men of diverse views have expressed a deep desire to find solution and if there is but a single gleam of hope a heavy responsibility rests on Britain for its own standing in the world to keep that gleam alright. It is impossible to resume discussion with leaders now enjoying luxurious conditions—I would not call it prison—but deprived of their liberty. We urge the Government to make it clear that free and friendly discussions will be resumed on the abandonment of civil disobedience. That does not men that Indians are not called upon to do something. There is a duty on their leaders to be somewhat more forthcoming in this desperate situation. There must be co-operation on both sides. Let us while there is the faintest shadow of an understanding, show generosity of mind and spirit and continue our efforts."

Mr. *Scrymgeour-Wedderburn* (Conservative), who will be a member of the forthcoming military mission to Chungking, said he listened yesterday to Mr. *Churchill's* short, concrete statement with great relief. No Government, however democratic, could allow one section of its subjects to engage in activities calculated to open the door to foreing invasion. The Government of India had acted with the greatest patience and extreme forbearance. Those who criticised the Government should consider the consequences in India if any substantial number of people in Britain connived at or excused the civil disobedience campaign, whose only effect could be to the military advantage of the Axis. The forbearance of the Government of India had been far greater than that exercised by the British or any other Government. However foolishly any party may be led it ought to be tolerated but the political tactics of the Congress form the greatest obstacle to the speedy realisation of India's Home Rule. It is time that action should be taken."

"REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN BRITISH POLICY"

Mr. *George Ridley* (Labour) said he wanted to underline Mr. *Greenwood's* appeal with full recognition of the heavy responsibility resting upon the Government at home and the Government in India. "Nobody who takes the trouble to read the white paper can doubt that the right of the Indian peoples to decide their own destiny has now been explicity recognised by the British Government and public.

"If the proposals in the white paper were now accepted by the Indian communities India would have in the postwar world a position of equality with ourselves and the rest of the free Dominions with the right of secession and with the same complete equality. I most earnestly hope that it is clear to Indian opinion and to world opinion as a whole but I strongly doubt whether the world really recognises the importance and magnitude of the step which has been taken in this matter. I ask Mr. *Amery* to tell the House exactly what steps the Government are taking to make Indian opinion, as far as it can be reached, and world opinion, as a whole, understand the size and magnitude of the offer in the white paper. For anybody, who looked back over the developments of British

policy in relation to India in the last 30 years it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that there has been altogether a revolutionnary change. Thirty years ago we dominated India in the old-fashioned imperialist way and desired to continue it, but to-day we no longer desire to continue that domination. On the contrary, we offer India complete freedom and I wish most fervently that they could be even now persuaded to take it. It is our duty to make it plain to the world that the proposals in the White Paper were our proposals and that the responsibility for refusing them is in India and not here. I believe that even now, difficult as the situation is, formal acceptance by the Indian communities of the post-war proposals in the White Paper would, in itself, make a great contribution to easing, if not to the solution of the immediate difficulties."

MR. CHURCHILL'S STATEMENT DISCONCERTING

Mr. Ridley, continuing, said that the Labour Party had declared that mere contemplation of civil disobedience was itself evidence of critical irresponsibility and had further declared, when the arrests had been made, that they were timely and unavoidably precautions. We would not be fair to the men and women on the spot—mainly Indians—carrying the great responsibilities for the maintenance of law and order, if we did not give them all support they have again to expect from us. Leadership in India had not enhanced its prestige in the last few months. There might be millions in India, tired of internal bickering and tired also of the curious mental operations of Mr. *Gandhi* and anxious for a new leadership towards freedom and reality. The Prime Minister's statement yesterday was disconcerting to many members, but, on reflecting, he thought that bluntness was better than evasion. He hoped that the Government would make it clear that the White Paper proposals still stood and could still be discussed and on the withdrawal of the civil disobedience movement, negotiations could be reopened. It should also be made clear that the possibility of implementing these proposals depended entirely on the success of the United Nations.

Mr. *Gerald Palmer*, (Conservative), who was with Sir *Stafford Cripps* in India, said that he was speaking to-day on his own responsibility. "There certainly are responsible elements among leaders of the Congress trying to seek an agreement. The events of the last few months are really nothing more than a determined attempt by Mr. Gandhi to regain his lost power and prestige."

Mr. *Wilfred Roberts* (Liberal), said that the first sentence of Mr. *Churchill's* statement was the most vital thing in it, namely that the proposals recently made by Sir *Stafford Cripps* still stood. He would need much convincing that Mr. *Gandhi* was a pro-Japanese. Mr. Gandhi was merely a pacifist and pacifists often found themselves in difficulties during a war. He thought it a deplorable necessity to imprison leaders like Pandit *Jawaharlal Nehru* and Mr. Gandhi. It was a sad failure of statesmanship that such a situation should have arisen. "While we have bred in India a belief in Western Democracy, the leader of Indian opinion have also looked to America and other countries for inspiration. This conflict, therefore, affects all United Nations. It has been said that the victory of the United Nations is a guarantee of the eventual independence of India. Cannot that guarantee be made more practical by freely admitting that we are not alone in this problem that the representatives of other countries, who stand to be affected just as seriously by the development of this problem, such as the Chinese, the Americans, and the Russians, be brought in? Before the war we used to advocate submission of an international dispute to a third party judgment. This is an occasion, perhaps, when such a policy might bring confidence to the Indians and strenghen our position in the whole world in solving an admittedly most difficult problem.

Major-General Sir *Frederick Sykes* (Conservative), former Governor of Bombay, said that conditions although so difficult in India were, he felt, slowly and steadily improving. "We want to leave the door open for negotiations whenever these are practicable or show the slightest hope of success. We ought also to congratulate the Government of India on the very courageous way in which they have tackled this grave situation. Nothing could have been more deplorable than the use of the difficulties of the Allies as a weapon to throw off all British connection with India. There must be no other reply to such a challenge than the action taken by the Viceroy. Further negotiations at this moment are impossible until the Congress leaders abandon their demand for the withdrawal of the British from India, otherwise there will be civil war. The Indian Government's action in arresting Mr. *Gandhi* and other Congress leaders was neither proposed nor initiated by Mr. *Amery* or by the British Government. It is unfortunate that some countries

among the United Nations still think the Congress represents Indian opinion as a whole. Nothing could be farther from the truth. We want negotiations at the earliest opportunity on reasonable grounds, but the withdrawal of the British and American troops would only lay India open to all horrors experienced in Burma, Malaya and the Philippines and will be a betrayal of our Allies, especially China, whose heroic struggles and sufferings have been the admiration of civilisation. To-day India's troops are largely commanded by Indian officers and recruits are daily pouring in and their deeds on the battle-field have won the unstinted praise of everybody who has seen them. To weaken that war effort would be a betrayal of India and to delay that self-government we all want."

Mr. *James Maxton*, one of the three members constituting the Independent Labour Party, complained that the Government had waited until Parliament went into recess to make a complete change of policy, suddenly adopting the iron hand, swooping on and imprisoning the Congress leaders. He claimed that the Indian electorate, when tested on the widest franchise ever available to them, gave the Congress an overwhelming majority and that mandate was as good as Mr. *Churchill's* or the Conservative party here. We could not establish a full working constitution in the middle of the war but could give India the essence of its constitution working out the details later.

Sir *Stanley Reed*, for many years Editor of *The Times of India*, said that the debate was mistimed and calculated to do more harm than good. Mr. *Maxton* had spoken on the spur of the moment on an immensely complicated subject. For forty years he had been an unrepentant supporter of home rule but the Government must be one assuring the welfare of India. The Provincial Governments in India ceased to function without any consultation with the electorate on the orders of the Congress junta. That was not democracy. "As to Mr. *Maxton's* sinister implications regarding the date on which the Government of India took action, the fact was that the action followed the discovery of evidence on secret documents which have just been seized. There have been more attacks on Indian property and Indian officer than on the British. The Government could not possibly wait while the revolutionary movement gathered force. There was no question of a gleam of light as one member said. The dood is wide open. The moment Indians can make up their minds as to the actual condition, an Indian Government can be set up".

"REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT"

Sir *Stanley Reed* said that it was painfully true that large numbers of the people here and in America did not realise the magnitude of the offer Sir *Stafford Cripps* took to India. It was an offer of complete independence—we hope within the Commonwealth, but outside the Commonwealth, if India preferred it. The British could not dare to agree to the Congress counter-proposition that the entire responsibility should pass to a non-existent Parliament and a non-existent organisation undefined and nebulous. The Government had to deal with immediate facts—an open revolutionary movement led by a man, who said clearly that the moment power was secured he would negotiate with Japan and ask Japan to be kind to the Chinese—kind after five years brutal bloody aggression. "We sometimes speak of defending British interests in India but for every British interest affected in India, one thousand Indian interests are affected. For every British life endangered, one thousand Indian lives are endangered." After a tribute to the calm resolute, courage of the Indian Police to-day, Sir *S. Reed* concluded : "There are hard days for those of us who have lived and worked in India and looked forward confidently to the full independence of India. We see this movement turned back and feel acutely that all we hoped for is in the melting pot, but dare not close our eyes to the fact that there is a revolutionary movement directed against peace and order in India. Those responsible for Government deserve sympathetic support and generous appreciation.

Three Labour members then followed, criticising Mr. *Churchill's* statement. Mr. *Sorensen* said that the statement was provocative while Mr. *Ammon* described it as "truculent. Swashbuckling and damn-your-eyes in tone" and Mr. *S. O. Davies* called it "irresponsible and disastrous." The Independent Mr. *Tom Driberg* suggested that the only way negotiations could be reopened without too much mutual suspicion was by enlisting the advice and co-operation of the United Nations and especially of China and Russia.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S REPLY

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. *Amery*, replying to the debate said: "I

think that we can most of us agree with Ms. *Allen's* remark to the effect that this exploratory debate which we have just been holding has been worth while. If there is one thing, indeed a relatively small matter, which I would have deprecated is the somewhat heavy weather, which both Mr. *Allen* and Mr. *Greenwood* in his most thoughtful and helpful speech indulged in, namely their criticisms of the Prime Minister's statement as being in some sense provocative, truculent, not helpful and shocking to millions, as Mr. *Shinwell* said yesterday. Really let us look at that statement and ask ourselves whether there is any justification for it.

"The statement begun by putting in the very forefront the basic policy upon which the whole of this House is agreed and which has won the approval of the whole world—the policy, if I may quote the Primer Minister, that 'India's destiny is to be determined at the end of hostilities by Indians themselves' and he added 'truly never in human history has such an offer been made'. Mr. *Ridley*, in what struck me as a most statesmanlike speech, laid emphasis on the desirability that that admirable declaration should be made prominent and public as possible. For my part, we have endeavoured in America and here and wherever our voices have reached to emphasise the character of that statement and at any rate, the Prime Minister put it in the forefront of his statement yesterday. What is there provocative in it? The Prime Minister followed with certain figures drawn from that entirely unprovocative source, the Interim Report of 1941 Census for India, to show why the Congress could not claim to command the majority of all India.

Interrupting, Mr. *Davies* (Labour) said: "Who has compiled the reports?"

CENSUS FIGURES OF CONGRESS STRENGTH

"The Census Authorities can certainly not have compiled the report for a provocative purpose and the Prime Minister has used these figures as indicating all broad elements of community in India. It is perfectly true that, at the elections held some six years ago, a considerable number of Muslims voted for the Congress. After the experiences of the Congress Government in the following years, the whole position of the Muslim community has changed entirely (some cries of 'No'). I venture to say that the proportion of Muslims and Depressed Classes who are with the Congress is smaller than the proportion of Hindus who are with the Mahasabha and other parties which are not in support of the Congress or who deplore the course it adopts at present. Those figures gave a broad and true picture which may undoubtedly have come as a shock and surprise to many people not only in this country but in the United States and which were well worth quoting in order to refute the claim, so persistently put forward, that the Congress is India and what the Congress Party now demands is giving to India what she demands. The whole problem is that India contains many elements, among which the Congress has not even a clear majority and which are not agreed as to what India demands. What else was there in the statement ? Was the Prime Minister's statement of what took place in the actual disturbances exaggerated ? I could draw a much more lurid picture. Sir *Stanley Reed*, very rightly from his experience, said something on what a breakdown of law and order in India could mean and what it has been meaning in the last month in India. There is no exaggeration in the Prime Minister's statement about that. Was it provocative to pay a tribute to the Executive Government of India or to the civil service or to that admirable body of brave men—the Indian Police (cheers) or to the valour of Indian troops and their loyalty ?

"I am glad that after some of the speeches, an honourable member, just back from the Middle East, has paid a tribute to the valour of these troops. I am glad to see amongst us as representative of India at the War Cabinet, a distinguished Prince who in his time, served in a regiment—the Rajputana Rifles—which have an unequalled record for gallantry in this war. What else is there to criticise ? I am told : 'It is not the words themselves ; it is the tone that is swashbukling or truculent or provocative.' Well, really does the House expect the Prime Minister at a moment when India—and not India alone but our whole position in the Middle East, our loyal ally, China and the whole of the Allied cause—has been saved from grave peril by the successful and firm attitude of the Government of India, to exchange those ringing confident notes which have so often sustained this House of Commons in dark hours—exchange them for a muffled apology in a minor key ? I venture to say that even Mr. *Shinwell* if he had been through what his Majesty's Government and the Government of India have been through these last few weeks and emerged successfully, might have allowed some degree of tempered satisfaction to penetrate the querulous gloom that usually hangs over his speeches (laughter),

But let me turn from his minor storm which has blown up over the alleged tone of the Prime Minister to the real storm which is blowing in the world to-day."

WAR CABINET AND PREMIER'S STATEMENT

Mr. *Shinwell* (Labour) interjecting: "Mr. *Amery* has attacked me quite unnecessarily and I am an unoffending victim of his attack and since he is now defending the tone apart from the substance of the Prime Minister's statement, may I ask whether the tone and substance of the statement were approved by every member of the War Cabinet?"

Mr. *Amery*: (smiling), "You cannot prejudge the tone (laughter). I was contrasting the natural tone with which the Prime Minister so often sustains this House in the somewhat different tone in which the honourable member so often indulges."

Mr. *Shinwell*, interjecting: "Mr. Amery is not answering my question."

Mr. *Amery*: "The question was answered directly by the Prime Minister yesterday. He answered the same challenge."

Mr. *Shinwell*: "It was not approved and you know it was not approved."

ATTACK ON GANDHI

Mr. *Amery*: "The Prime Minister has answered that himself. Let us now turn to the real storm in the world to-day to the danger through which India is passing and through which the whole cause of human freedom is passing. I suggest to the House that we must judge of the action of the Congress and of the action of the Government of India in the light of that situation and primarily in the light of that. I may have to say something in a moment about political motives underlying the actions of the Congress. But putting that question entirely on one side and judging simply by the issue of our existence in this war, let us ask what was the duty of the Government of India when it was confronted by the situation which did confront it during the summer months of this year. Very soon after Sir *Stafford Cripps* left India, it became clear that under Mr. *Gandhi's* inspiration, the Congress was steadily swinging towards a policy of direct defiance aimed at paralysing the existing Government of India. We have had an experience of some of the movements before, but Mr. Ghndhi made it clear that this was going to be something more serious than any of his previous movements. 'This,' Mr. Gandhi said in July, 'will be the bitterest struggle of my life.' He spoke of it as a struggle to be made as short and swift as possible. He was reported by his Secretary, Mr. *Desai*, in June as saying 'My attitude has undergone a change. I cannot afford to wait. I must even at obvious risks ask the people to resist slavery'. And again in this decisive struggle, Mr. Gandhi declared that for national independence they might have to face bombs, bullets and shells. Does this look like a purely non-violent movement? Indeed when on July 10, the Congress Working Committee issued the resolution urging the people of India to resist ordinary requisition—compensated requisition of boats, vehicles or land—Mr. Gandhi added, as to the method of resistance, 'No doubt the non-violent way is the best, but where that does not come naturally'—it does not always come naturally to most people—'violent way is both necessary and honourable and inaction here is rank cowardice and unmanly'. Increasing information was coming in all the time as to the strength of the movement."

Mr. *Maxton* (Independent Labour), interjecting, "Was that said by Mr. *Gandhi*?"

Mr. *Amery*: "It was written by Mr. *Gandhi* in his journal. The resolution by the Working Committee of the Congress on July 10 would have been ample justification for interning the members of the Congress Party, in the course of July, among much other evidence not suitable for publication, the Government of Madras came across instructions which were being issued by the Provincial Committee in that Province. I need not read the whole of these instructions. They urge Government officers to resign their jobs and arrange labour strikes, picketing of shops, stopping of trains by pulling chains, travelling without tickets, cutting telegraph and telephone wires. They say that rails should not be moved and that there should be no danger to life. That certainly has not been followed since.'

Mr. *Davies* (Labour) asked, "Was the Congress responsible for issuing these instructions?"

Mr. *Amery*: "The Provincial Committee of the Madras province. There was quite enough evidence confronting the Government of India to make action highly necessary at an early time. The Government of India showed remarkable patience

all through July. It took no action as long as there was a possibility of the All-India Congress Committee not endorsing the sinister designs of the Working Committee, influenced by Mr. *Gandhi*. On August 8, the All-India Working Committee, by an overwhelming majority, endorsed these designs and thereupon the Government of India, upon its own initiative without reference to this country and by the unanimous decision of that body, consisting of 11 Indians and one European, took the only action which a self-respecting Government could take in that situation and there is no ground for the suggestion that this action was deliberately postponed until the House of Commons went into recess." It was entirely determined by the action of the All-India Congress Committee and the Government of India."

Mr. *Maxton*, interjecting: "Did Mr. Amery have no previous warning that this action was in contemplation and did it come as a surprise to him as it came to me ?"

Mr, *Amery* : "I did not say that. Naturally the Government of India and His Majest'y Government are in communication on the general situation, but in a matter, directly affecting the primary responsibility of the government of India for peace and order within its broad confines, the Government of India take immediate action without waiting or asking the permission of the Government of this country. I would add to the tribute which the Prime Minister paid—(at this moment Mr. Maxton rose again and for some time Mr. Amery refused to give way, but finally did so).

"A REVERSAL OF THE PREVIOUS POLICY"

Mr. *Maxton* : "I went to press Mr. Amery on this point. It is a most extraordinary state of affairs that the Indian Government on their own, without consultation with the Home Government, should take an action which is not merely a local demonstration, but a reversal of the previous policy."

Mr. *Amery* : "The Government of India knew quite well that in maintaining the peace of India, it could reckon confidently on the support of His Majesty's Government in a matter which required instant action to prevent the policy of sabotage decided upon being carried out. The Government of India rightly did its duty by acting immediately. That dispenses with the suggestion that the action of the Government of India was carefully tuned for a time when the House of Commons would not be sitting.

Quoting the Labour Party resolution, "That the action taken was a timely and unavoidable precaution", Mr. Amery said, "It might be put more simply in the language of Mr. Jinnah that "The Government instead of waiting to be hit, hit first.' By doing so, I venture to say, it preserved India from a grave disaster."

Mr. Amery emphasised this sentence by repeating it. "I was delighted with Mr. *Churchill's* statement which set the problem out for all the world to see exactly what it consisted of. I hope that the Congress will play some part in the future shaping of India's destiny but, if that is to be the case, a change of heart must take place amongst the leaders of the Congress themselves."

The proposals made by Sir *Stafford Cripps* were rejected mainly and indeed almost solely because of the uncompromising desire of the Congress leaders for unlimited power. It was in fact the real obstacle. Even then it was not possible to get the leaders of the different parties to meet one another. "We must be ready to welcome any signs of genuine change of heart. Meanwhile, in the last few days, we have welcomed the safe arrival of the Indian representatives of the War Cabinet and the Pacific Council (Cheers). All members extend to them the very best wishes for the part they will undoubtedly play in helping to organise victory which alone will secure India's future freedom."

"CAREFULLY PLANNED ATTACK"

Continuing, Mr. Amery said, "The rapid reaction to the news of the arrest was undoubtedly a series of noisy hooligan demonstrations of a very widespread character. These were very rapidly disposed of. What was very much more serious was the concentration of effort on sabotage in certain directions and in certain parts of India—concentration of attacks on the whole system of communications, postal and telegraph services and railway communications by their interruption and destruction of stations and rollingstock and attacks upon aerodromes. Attention was specially paid to the destruction of signalling and control instruments and damage to bridges and roads, indicating a carefully planned scheme of attack not only upon the daily life but indeed on the safety of India. It mainly concentrated on the vital strategic area lying between Eastern India now exposed to Japanese

attack and the main body of India as well as the area which would most prejudice the carrying of coal from the mines to the munition factories of India."

VIOLENCE IN BIHAR

Mr. *Cove* (Labour) interjected : "If the charge was so vital why have you simply locked them up in a concentration camp ?"

"Mr. *Amery* : "The charges are that this attack was specifically planned and in accordance with general directives given by the Congress and in accordance with the directives of a particular provincial committee. Something like 300 railway stations were attacked and at least 24 cases of derailment were reported. The disturbance was particularly violent in Bihar, a vitally strategic area. In that province something like 65 police stations were attacked and 40 destroyed. At another place in the Central Provinces, a magistrate and police officer were done to death after refusing the offer of their lives if they resigned from Government and joined the Congress party.

"INSPIRED BY CONGRESS LEADERS"

At another place, two officers were burnt alive in kerosene, while another officer suffered a similar fate elsewhere. "It is perfectly clear that we were confronted with a movement that was something a good deal more than ordinary student and hooligan rioting. We were confronted with something very serious and if the organisation of that movement had been allowed to develop for several weeks while a smokescreen of discussion as to whether the British would leave India was going on, the result might have been disastrous. This action alone would have provoked a situation which would have paralysed the Indian war effort. It would have made it impossible to defend India or relieve China by the reoccupation of Burma and it is impossible to resist the conclusion that this movement was in its main outline deliberately organised and intended by those who unfortunately succeed in establishing control over the Congress movement. All the evidence that is coming to us makes it clear that this whole campaign of disorder and revolt is the outcome of the application by local leaders of the general guidance which the Congress leaders inspired.

WHIPPING

There are one or two questions raised by Mr. *Sorensen*. He raised the question of whipping. The cane is a light rattan cane half an inch in diameter and employed in this country for crimes of brutal violence and I gave him a full answer yesterday or the day before. He also raised the question of prison riots at Dacca and Bhagalpur. In each case there was a prison mutiny, no doubt stimulated by the atmosphere outside. Dacca was entirely within the authority of the Bengal Ministry, while the prison at Bhagalpur was entirely confined to habitual convicts not concerned with the position except in so far as the generally disturbed state might have caused these effects. Broadly speaking, we can say with the Prime Minister that we have emerged from a situation of grave danger and one on which we can look with a reasonable mark of confidence. At the same time the disturbances are by no means wholly over and we should be well not to suggest that we are out of the wood yet.

I should like to turn to the political issues that underlie this problem. We are in this matter confronted by fundamental divergences of policy and outlook. The whole policy of the Congress might have grown up naturally over years. The policy of the inner body which dominates the Congress is based on the assumption that the Congress is entitled to step into the shoes of the British Government and take over the control of the whole of India.

This is the fundamental assumption on which all their policy is based. The policy of His Majesty's Government as set forth first of all in August 1940 and again far more frankly and clearly by Sir *Stafford Cripps* on his mission to India is that they intend with the minimum delay after the war to extend to India the same freedom as enjoyed by the great dominions or for that matter enjoyed by ourselves, the same freedom to control her own destiny among the nations of the Commonwealth and the world on the basis of a constitution arrived at by agreement and co-operation between the different elements within India. On no other basis is constitutional settlement possible.

I should like to turn to the political issues that underlie this problem. We are in this matter confronted by fundamental divergences of policy and outlook. The whole policy of the Congress might have grown up naturally over years. The

policy of the inner body which dominates the Congress is based on the assumption that the Congress is entitled to step into the shoes of the British Government and take over the control of the whole of India.

This is the fundamental assumption on which all their policy is based. The policy of His Majesty's Government as set forth first of all in August 1940 and again far more frankly and clearly by Sir *Stafford Cripps* on his mission to India is that they intend with the minimum delay after the war to extend to India the same freedom as enjoyed by the great Dominions or for that matter enjoyed by ourselves, the same freedom to control her own destiny among the nations of the Commonwealth and the world on the basis of a constitution arrived at by agreement and co-operation between the different elements within India. On no other basis is constitutional settlement possible.

It is not possible in any other federation whether the United States, the British Dominions or other countries, for a composite structure to exist which embraces many divergencies—and no-where are fundamental divergences greater than in India—unless the constitution effects in substantial measure a wide agreement based on discussion and compromise between elements that have got to live together within a single political framework. That condition inevitably led to another. It was an inevitable consequence of the conclusion that India's future could only be settled by Indians by agreement among themselves. But you cannot do anything to-day which would prejudge that issue which would throw the control of the future into the hands of dozen or so irresponsible people. On purely military considerations, there is an immensely powerful case, while the war is on, for retaining the ultimate control of Indian policy in the hands of His Majesty's Government. For there is the fact that the defence of India, Ceylon, the Middle East and Burma are all inseparably connected and every Department in the Government of India depends upon that. But quite apart from that consideration there is the constitutional consideration, that you cannot, in complete absence of agreement, hand over unqualified and unlimited power to any particular group of individuals. (Cheers.)

The Government were prepared to deal through Sir *Stafford Cripps* who as was said by Mr Palmer, interpreted the policy of His Majesty's Government, with the utmost patience and ability but also in the very widest and most generous spirit. All this was subject to that one consideration, that the measure of power we give now to the Government of Indian political leaders must be subject in the last resource to ultimate control by this Parliament. We know how very real is the power enjoyed by the Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive. Sir *Firoz Khan Noon*, in a speech the other day, drew attention to the fact that, for the eleven months when he had been a member of the Viceroy's Council, he did not know of one case where the Viceroy had not given way to the wishes of the Executive Council. The demand which the Congress put forward at the last moment meant that the Viceroy's ultimate power should be abolished and that the whole power given to a self-constituted group of individuals. Such a course would at once have precipitated chaos and confusion in India and would not have been accepted by His Majesty's Government and would not have been accepted by India as a whole.

CRIPPS MISSION

In this connection, I should like to take the opportunity of dealing with rumour which has had widespread currency in this country and I believe even more in the United States that Sir Stafford Cripps, in the course of his mission, could have gone beyond the definite instructions of the Cabinet in this matter—because they were not only instructions, they were an inherent part of our policy—and having so, he was suddenly called back and prevented from making a settlement by most immediate instructions from the War Cabinet or the Prime Minister. I venture to give a categorical denial to each and every form of rumour which was put forward. Sir Stafford Cripps safely carried out his mission, interpreting in the most generous sense the instructions he was given and in no respect departing from the essentials of that policy.

Mr. *Davies* (Labour) interjecting: "Can we at long last get the inner history to which Mr. *Amery* is referring? What was then responsible for the unexpected and totally unlooked for collapse in these instructions about July 8 (?) and can we get the true tale?"

Sir *Stafford Cripps*: "Perhaps I may answer. The change which occurred took place on the intervention of Mr. *Gandhi*. The Congress Working Committee

had passed a resolution accepting the proposals. Mr. Gandhi intervened and subsequently the resolution was reversed."

Mr. *Davies*: "Was that resolution passed by the Congress on April 2 which was not divulged until April 10?"

Sir *Stafford Cripps*: "The Honourable Member was not there. I was. He is asking me what happened. I am not suggesting that the first resolution was published or bound the Congress or anything else. It constantly happens in the course of negotiations you get a resolution and after further consideration, it is reversed and there is a narrow majority one way or the other."

Mr. *Davies*: "The leader of the Congress, Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru, stated in public on April 10 when that resolution was made public, the position about the resolution, but nothing has been known until now that Mr. *Gandhi* intervened and in some way or other that altered the resolution. Extraordinary !!"

MR. AMERY'S VERSION OF THE BREAKDOWN

Mr. *Amery*: "Sir *Stafford Cripps* has thrown light from his direct knowledge on the history of this matter. I think it will be clear, whatever the inner history, that from the fact that the Congress put up a demand which was fundamentally inconsistent with the whole principle of the efforts made by His Majesty's Government, namely a demand without qualification or limitation that the whole Government of India should be put into their hands, that is really the reason why the mission broke down. Having broken down, there was not only grave disappointment among the members of the Congress Working Committee but among all thoughtful people in India and it lies with Mr. *Gandhi* and the Congress Party for the line they have taken. In these circumstances, Mr. *Gandhi* and the Congress majority that then went with him determined upon the policy of mass disobedience. In circumstances of difficulty, the people naturally revert to the technique with which they have been most familiar and in Mr. Gandhi's case, it was the technique of mass disobedience, only to be used on this occasion by Mr. *Gandhi's* influence for a deliberate trial of strength. I have heard it said that all constructive proposals with regard to this Indian problem in recent years have come from here and action on the part of Mr. Gandhi in this particular connection has been wrecking and deliberately coercive. They were encouraged by the mildness of the Government of India in the face of much provocation and thought that, within a week or so of the campaign, the Government of India would give way. It did not! That was the real decision and that was the response to Sir *Stafford Cripps* !"

Mr. *Amery* then quoted extracts from Mr. *Gandhi's* writings in the *Harijan* regarding the coming into existence of a provisional Government.

"At one moment he says that the British rule must come to an end at once, that the army must be disbanded, and India left to anarchy and that the first step probably would be to start negotiations with Japan against whom India felt no ill-will at all. When it was suggested that was not good propaganda in this country or in the United States, Mr. *Gandhi* cheerfully turned it round and said that the object was not anarchy but an ordered stable provisional Government and the maximum of assistance to the Allied cause. Well really, I think, we can be quite clear on this issue—that these resolutions mean nothing in themselves and that any conversations that Mr. Gandhi might have wanted to indulge in if the resolutions were sanctioned by the All-India Working Committee were merely meant to gain time for the pefection of the organisation to sabotage the independence and freedom of India.

"I think I can very well sum up that situation by quoting the words of a member, Sir *Firoz Khan Noon*, to whom I referred just now, when he said : "This lawlessness will soon subside and the Congress policy of force fail. Thank God and the police and the army for that. Thereafter we have only a second alternative left to us for winning our freedom— compromise and unity.' That is the only alternative by which India can have freedom and will win her feedom. As to the immediate future, we have to deal with the position as it stands. I entirely agree with those who say that a problem like the political problem in India cannot be settled merely by staying out and enforcing law and order.

"But there are also moments—not the least in the middle of a struggle for existence and not the least when there is no beginning of a sign of the really powerful organisations coming together—at a moment like that, there can be no alternative for the time to enforcing ordinary law and order and good government. Negotiation is always desirable. At the same time, there can be no bigger mistake -and

everyone recognises that in international affairs—than negotiations when there is not the slightest chance of success or negotiations with those who are not in a position to deliver the goods. As I said in answer to a question earlier to-day, His Majesty's Government welcome every effort made by statesmen of goodwill in India to bring the different elements together. But goodwill on the part of statesmen who cannot control their organisations, though desirable in itself, is not sufficient. You have got to bring the men together or rather they have got to come together and show at any rate sufficient willingness to come together to enable something to be done. My Right Honourable Lord *Privy Seal* went out in the faith and hope that there was a possibility of the men coming together. I am sorry to say that, while he travelled many thousands of miles to meet them, the different parties in India were not prepared to cross a street to meet each other or discuss among themselves or with him a further settlement of the Indian constitution."

Mr. *Shinwell*: "That is not a true statement of the position."

Mr. *Amery*: Therefore we have got to wait so far at any rate as Congress leaders are concerned for a change of front. Meanwhile, we naturally welcome every proposal which, within the broad general framework of our considered policy, is possible. As I pointed out, it was not a bargaining policy which he took with him. It is a considered policy which is the only policy—and I am talking of broad outline and not of details—under which the final solution and a pemanent solution of the Indian problem can be achieved. Within the broad framework we are only too glad to welcome any practical proposals that are brought forward with any reasonable hope of agreement among the main parties in India itself.

Meanwhile the Government of India to-day is in the hands of an executive consisting of members, who are not only men of high ability and just as good Indian nationalists as the leaders of the great organised parties but who also by experience are as receptive as any body of men you could get together in India to-day. It is to them, with the courage they have shown in this difficult situation that we and the Indians must look in the main for immediate control of India's problems and for her conduct of war. Meanwhile, there is nothing in the world to prevent men of goodwill in India coming together and hastening on the future, provided some agreement could be found on the nature of the future constitution and on the methods by which it was going to be arrived at. All that is and has been throughout perfectly open and whatever is done in that line will certainly meet with the wholehearted approval of His Majesty's Government.

"SITUATION IN INDIA IMMENSELY COMPLICATED"

I want to close on a note of optimism. The situation in India is immensely complicated and difficult. It has elements in it which, in some respects, are more difficult than those in Europe, Ireland or Palestine. On the other hand, there are elements of unity. There is not only unity of administration, of law, of trade, that Britain had created during the last 200 years—a system of unity of which we have every reason to be proud. It and the long peace which India has enjoyed and the interlocking of interests throughout India from end to end still bind the Indians not only the Congress Party, but Moslems and Princes, who must not only by virtue of treaty obligation but by their geographical position, play an immensely important part in the future. In this country, we want India to be free. We want India to take her place as a freely associating member of the wonderful partnership of nations which we call the British Commonwealth—a partnership which, I believe, is destined to play an even greater part in future years than in the past. It is the policy to which we are committed in this House, to which the Prime Minister committed himself in the opening and vital sentence of his statement yesterday, a policy which all patriotic Indians equally believe in. With that subtratum of unity, I think it is not beyond reason to hope that under some constitutional form or other, at some time or other, and I hope at a not too distant time, Indians may be able to agree on the constitution under which they can not only attain political freedom but develop to the full the wonderful natural resources of India and the greatest gifts of her people. (Cheers.)

House of Commons—London—8th. October 1942

Amery Repeats old charges

Mr. *Amery*, moving for the second reading of the India and Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous Bill, in the House of Commons on the 8th. October 1942, said—

"The first main clause of the Bill to which I invite second reading raises the whole issue of our policy in India. At the same time, the Bill contains certain

other clauses added to it for the sake of convenience which can more conveniently be discussed in committee later. But the House may wish me just to indicate what the purpose of those other clauses is.

"The second section deals with emergency courts which Provincial Governments have been empowered to set up in the event of invasion or imminent invasion in order to deal with looting, sabotage or other fifth column activity. The sentences of these emergency courts will be subject to review by a judge of the High Court. In the case of death sentences, petitions on grounds of mercy will, as hitherto, continue to go to the Viceroy and what the clause does is to suspend the right exercised in cases in the ordinary courts and which will still continue to be exercised to petition the Privy Council for leave for special appeal against a sentence.

"These petitions are in practice never granted and it is very undesirable for simply postponing a decision. That kind of postponement is obviously most undesirable in the case of an emergency situation and the clause deals with that point. Clause three covers the omission arising from the fact that the Central Legislature under the Act of 1935 has not yet come into operation."

"In that Act, both the Central and Provincial Legislatures were empowered to declare that holding of office under the Crown did not necessarily invalidate a member's seat. That is in effect in the case of Provincial legislatures, and in the case of the Central Legislature it has not come into effect and the provisions of the older statute still apply, debarring the holding of such offices of profit.

"Under war conditions, it is found that this directly embarrasses the war effort by making it impossible for, say, reserve officers to take up their commissions or army recruiting officers to function and the clause disposes of that. Section four is a purely defining clause giving more careful definition to provisions which protect peasants in provinces like Punjab or aboriginal tribes in provinces like the Central Provinces from alienating their land to moneylenders and to prevent these provisions being in fact nullified by fictitious transactions.

"Clause five arises from the fact that there is at the moment the Burma Government functioning on the soil of India engaged in the reorganisation of the Burma Army and there are also certain number of cases pending before the Burma Court which it is desirable to have settled. The clause provides for these duties of the Burma Government to be exercised on the Indian soil and for these special cases already before courts to be concluded before Indian courts.

PLEDGE OF FREEDOM

"I now turn to the main clause of the Bill which raises directly the whole issue of the present political deadlock in India. The origin, its provisions and necessity for its continuance are indeed only intelligible in the light of the fundamental difference between the Congress Party on the one hand and the rest of India and His Majesty's Government on the other, as to the method by which India's freedom is to be attainted. It is, I repeat a difference—divergence as to the methods to be pursued and not as to the aim in view. Indian nationalism's desire to see India's destiny directed by Indian hands, free of external control, is not confined to any one party in India. It is shared by all. To that aim, we, in this country, have solemnly pledged ourselves before India and before the world. In the name of His Majesty's Government, the aim is one which enlists our spontaneous and wholehearted sympathy. It does so for the sufficient reason that its fulfilment represents the natural and rightful crown and consummation of our past achievement in India. We should be the last people in the world to belittle or apologise for that achievement (cheers). I say with confidence that never in human history has external influence contributed to the welfare and happiness of so vast a volume of humanity.

"NOT QUITTING INDIA UNDER ANYONE'S ORDERS"

"We have never regarded our contribution to India as a claim to permanent domination. On the contrary, our highest claims in our eyes and in those of history will be to have given India a sound foundation on which she can build by herself and for herself a stable and prosperous future. The policy to which we are committed is not one of reluctant retreat but of willing advance, not one of enforced abdication but free and proper partnership in freedom. We are not quitting India under anyone's orders (cheers). It is we, who wish India to go forward with our goodwill to build her future under her own leadership."

Mr. *Silverman*, interjecting: Is that the Prime Minister's view?

Mr. *Amery*, continuing, said: "To go forward not to fly apart, to build, not to

break up. It is to that end that our policy has been consistenly directed. Our conviction is that India can only be truly free, truly secure against external aggression and truly prosperous, if she is at peace within her own borders and she can only enjoy that peace under a constitution which gives due regard to the profound differences of religion and culture, in history and tradition and local history and sentiments which make up the complex life of that vast country—I would rather say vast continent.

MUSLIMS, PRINCES AND DEPRESSED CLASSES

"You cannot dispose of the great Moslem community of 95 millions—(Cheers), with its passionate sense of duty, its distinctiveness in spiritually alien world and with its memories of past domination as a mere numerical minority. You cannot dispose of the Princes of India, rulers of nearly half of India and over nearly a quarter of her population bound to the Crown by mutual loyalty based on treaties faithfully observed on both sides, as negligible excrescences of British India.

"You cannot ignore 30 millions of Depressed Classes outside the pale of the Hindu caste, not to speak of other lesser but still important elements. No simple arithmetical formula of unitary constitutions can ever reconcile the natural claims of these various elements to be free to express each its own character and defend its own particular ways and interests. Only a constitution based on balance and compromise can harmonise these claims. Such a constitution this House attempted to devise for India in the Act of 1935. We have since come to the conclusion that no constitution imposed from without, can meet the case. It is for those who have to live under the constitution to find a compromise and concession which will enable it to work. It is for those who frame the constitution to secure goodwill, without which it can never succeed. It is on that principle that His Majesty's Government based the broad declaration of policy which Sir *Stafford* took to India to discuss with Indian political leaders. The declaration offered India complete and unqualified freedom, the very freedom enjoyed by the Dominions or for that matter by ourselves—the same control over her destinies within the partnership of the British Commonwealth or without the partnership, if she preferred to forgo this partnership, at the earliest possible moment after the war, under a constitution arrived at through agreement and subject to a treaty relating to our honourable obligations.

LIMITATIONS ON INTERIM GOVT. DUE TO WAR

"What more could have been offered? That offer stands. What more can we offer to-day? What better plan has any-one suggested? In the meantime, we have invited the Indian political leaders to share responsibility during the war to the fullest extent compatible with the existing constitution. That is to say, subject to the ultimate responsibility through the Viceroy to Parliament here. These were and are two inter-connected and inseparable parts of the same policy. The limitation on any interim Government to the framework of the existing constitution was in any case a necessity so long as the final responsibility for waging war rested with His Majesty's Government For it is upon the whole machinery of the Government and not merely upon the Commander-in-Chief's Department that India's war effort depends. But there is more to it than that. Unqualified abdication of all that responsibility before an agreed constitution has been arrived at, would have meant the abandonment, to a wholly irresponsible body, of power to decide whether there would have been an agreed constitution. It would have meant for the minorities a sacrifice of guarantees for their future rights to have an effective say in deciding the form of government under which they were to live and work.

CONGRESS "WRECKED" CRIPPS NEGOTIATIONS

"For their representatives to enter the interim Government on such a footing was, as Mr. *Jinnah* shrewdly remarked, to invite the fly to walk into the spider's parlour. But it is not Sir S. Cripps' rejection of the demand for unqualified and unlimited power that wrecked a settlement, for if he had accepted the demand, its acceptance would equally have wrecked a settlement, for it would have immediately been repudiated by Moslem India. It was the demand and not his rejection of it that wrecked the negotiations. To understand why the Congress Party executive under Mr. *Gandhi's* influence—

Mr. *Maxton* (I. L. P.): May I interrupt? The Minister said not only 'wreck negotiations' but that they 'meant to wreck them'. Will the Minister tell me how he asserts?"

GANDHIJI—A REVOLUTIONARY

Mr. *Amery*, continuing, said: "I was just preparing to give my reasons to form that conclusion. To understand why the Congress Party, under Mr. *Gandhi's* influence, was determined to wreck any settlement, however generous to India, I must ask the House to go back for the moment to the whole course of the Congress policy in recent years. Originally a constitutional party, with the programme of evolution towards complete self-government, the Congress has in the last generation and, especially since it came under Mr. *Gandhi's* autocratic influence, became a party of revolution. That Mr. Gandhi has always conceived that revolution as non-violent does not alter its essential character. His consistent aim and that of his followers has been, not progressive transformation of British rule in India to Indian rule, but its direct supersession at some given moment by the Congress as a result of some upheaval, to which the existing Government of India and the Parliament here, should surrender. To that end the organisation of the Congress has been steadily strengthened and evermore rigidly centralised. There is no more interesting or more dangerous modern political symptom than that of a revolutionary leader, who by his direct personal appeal to masses, is not only able to control an immensely powerful political organisation, but can make impossible all resistance to his arbitary wishes on the part of his associates. The appeal may be to the German passion for brute force, or it may be to the Hindu mysticism and reverence for an ascetic, but the same type of dictatorship emerges. In the case of India, it has been steadily used to build up power for an eventual trial of strength, while rejecting all compromise, either with the British Government or other elements in India. When the Congress High Command allowed the Congress Ministers to take office in the Provinces where its organisation secured majorities, it did so avowedly to wreck the constitution at its chosen moment and meanwhile to increase its hold on the whole machinery of the provincial administration."

CONGRESS RULE IN PROVINCES

Mr. *S. O. Davies* (Lab.), interrupting, said: "On that very important point, did India itself or this Government at any time criticise the administration and the Congress Ministers in the Provinces at the time they were there in existance? Is it not a fact that by representatives of this Government they were complimented over and over again. I can quote for that. Is it not a fact also that it was not until the Congress Ministries had been compelled to give up their work that criticism started by this Government?"

Mr. *Amery* said : "I am not concerned to criticise the Congress Government's administration, but the policy the Congress High Command, which at the end of 1939, ordered out its Ministries and stopped the good work they were doing and compelled the Provincial Governors to take over that direct control under Section 93, of the India Act for whose continuance provision is made in the present Act. It did so under the mistaken impression that the Government would be seriously embarrassed. What it overlooked was the general antagonism which it created by its autocratic methods, above all among the Moslem community. For the Moslems, the Congress rule, and even more perhaps, the manner of its termination was a revelation of what they might expect from Congress rule in the Centre. It made Mr. *Jinnah* for the first time the undoubted leader of the Moslem masses. At the 1937 elections, the Moslem League was only one of a number of Moslem parties. Since January, 1938, the League or the coalition supported by it, have won 46 out of 56 by-elections in the Moslem constituencies, while the Congress has only won three.

"But so far from realising the strength of resistance which it had created for itself, the Congress Executive only became more firmly set in its claims that it was entitled to regard itself as the one and only legitimate mouth-piece of Indian nationalism and the natural heir to the existing Government of India.

WHY CONGRESS REJECTED CRIPPS PROPOSALS

"The proposals brought to India by Sir *Stafford Cripps* placed the Working Committee in a real quandary. Some of its members realised the difficulty in rejecting so general an offer. But the majority swayed by Mr. *Gandhi* must have seen in the acceptance, not only the abandonment of non-violence in the face of what they thought might well be a coming Axis victory, but ever worse, the abandonment of the whole Congress claim to settle the destiny of India. So they decided on rejection and put up the demand for immediate and unqualified power, which they knew could not be granted. What I want to make

clear to the House is that the movement to counteract the effect of the rejection upon public opinion in India and abroad and to rally the Congress on to the emotional plane as the champions of India against British tyranny and repression, that this rebellion, to use Mr. Gandhi's own words, that criminal plan to paralyse ordinary life in India and sabotage India's capacity for defence, was deliberately resolved upon in order to defeat the generous policy put forward by His Majesty's Government. The various series of resolutions, whether based on the assumption of negotiations with Japan or professing to advocate maximum help to the Allied cause, were a mere smokescreen to cover a pre-determined policy."

Mr. *Haden Guest* (Labour), intervening said: "This is a very vital question."

The Speaker: "It would be more convenient if the Minister could make his statement."

Mr. *Haden Guest* repeated "this is a vital question" and asked, "On what evidence the minister was making the charges. On what did he base his statement on the Congress policy and did he propose to publish documents in support of that statement, because they were certainly unknown to the House."

Mr. *Amery*: "I was only expressing conclusions I have arrived at after such study as I have been able to give to the situation, both now and in recent years and the impression I have arrived at. I will justify to such extent as the limits of the present debate allow. I venture to suggest that the House will allow me to continue. I am endeavouring to present my reasoned conclusions and I hope to be able to be allowed to develop them."

Mr. *Silverman* (Labour): "This is a very important part of his speech. Did the *Lord Privy Seal*, when he came back from India, share the view Mr. Amery is now expressing, that in putting forward this demand the Indian National Congress intended to wreck the negotiations, and if he did share that view, what did he mean by saying that the negotiations had been extremely useful and had cleared the air and paved the way for further understanding?"

As other members showed a disposition to ask questions too at this point, Sir *Stanley Reed* (Conservative) rose and said: "There are many of us who are anxious to hear the Secretary of State." But the remainder of his statement was drowned in interruption,

ARREST OF LEADERS JUSTIFIED

Mr. *Amery* continued: "In answer to that question Sir *Stafford Cripps* expressed his view very clearly by his intervention during the last debate. What I want to say is that it is idle to suggest that anything could possibly result from negotiations with Mr. *Gandhi* after the passing of the All-India Congress Committee's resolution except more complete organisation of plans for dislocating communications and making the rebellion effective. The Government of India, unless it wished to shirk the first duty of any Government, had no option except to take action. Prompt and firm action might well have saved India and, indeed, the Allied cause from grave disaster. (Cheers). I need not repeat to-day the account I gave in the last debate of the actual course of the outbreak which followed. Enough to say that the firmness of Government, loyally supported by the civil services, police and, whenever it became necessary, the Army, has broken the back of the movement, which even if it was prevented from perfecting its preparations, was still very formidable—a movement which for a while seriously interrupted communications in what is strategically the most vital area in India and caused widespread destruction of property and deplorable loss of life. It would be rash to say that we are yet out of the wood. Sporadic disturbances are still reported daily. The forces of law and order will, for months to come, have to be unceasingly vigilant and will need all the support that the Government of India and this House can give them. (Cheers.)

"But those forces have at any rate won the first, and we can only hope, a decisive round. For all this tragic business the responsibility, and the whole responsibility, must rest with Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders. The precise extent to which on any one occasion or at any particular place other elements ranging from mere hooliganism to more sinister revolutionary and fifth column activities may have co-operated may perhaps never be determined. Nor will it ever be easy to trace all the channels by which the general directive for revolutionary action and in particular systematic and obviously planned dislocations of communications were distributed, whether in actual printed instructions such as those of the Andhra Provincial Committee, which I quoted in the last debate or in shorter leaflets or conveyed verbally by subordinate Congress leaders or by students who played so large a part in this business, I do not know. In any case

you cannot preach the overthrow of Government, you cannot avow you are in open rebellion, declare your willingness to risk the anarchy that may follow an appeal to the masses to resist slavery and then disclaim responsibility for the consequences.

"It is significant that the Congress is essentially a Hindu organisation, though by no means only a Hindu organisation. And more particularly in view of Mr. Gandhi's influence over uneducated Hindu masses, the Muslim population in the towns and villages, as well as Muslim students at the universities, have kept resolutely aloof from the disturbances and have given help and support to the authorities. On this issue, they received a straightforward lead from Mr. *Jinnah* who has left no doubt as to his opinion of the Congress attack, professedly aimed against British rule, as being in fact a direct attack on the rest of India and upon Muslim India in particular.

"Large elements of the Hindu population have also made clear repudiation of the outbreak and in many cases co-operated loyally with the authorities.

No "Appeasement" of Congress

"So much for the past. The House will naturally wish to know what is the policy of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India in relation to the present position and immediate future. As far as the Congress is concerned its leaders by their own actions have put themselves out of court. There can be no question of the Government of India entering upon negotiations or allowing others to do so, so long as there is any danger of the recrudescence of the trouble for which they have been responsible or until they have had made it clear to the authorities that they have abandoned the whole policy of securing control of India by illegal and revolutionary methods and are prepared to come to an agreed settlement with the rest of their fellow-countrymen. There is no hope of improving the situation or easing the present deadlock by attempting an appeasement of the Congress in its present mood and outlook. To do so would only create even greater difficulties with the Muslims and the other parties. Above all, it would be regarded as a direct betrayal by the Army, police and the civil services who have played so steadfast a part in these troubles and upon whom the whole safety of India and fate of the Allied cause so largely depends (cheers).

No Complete Transfer of Power

"The question is whether any immediate interim solution can be found apart from Congress. The door remains open, and it has been repeatedly made clear, for the favourable consideration of any proposals agreed to by the leaders of the other main parties within the framework of our declaration, in other words, subject to the retention of the ultimate responsibility of the Viceroy and Parliament pending the framing of an agreed constitution.

"That, as I have already explained, is inevitable not only because of our responsibility for seeing the war to a successful conclusion but also because it is the only guarantee to those concerned that the constitutional future will not be prejudged to their detriment.

Prospects of Agreement

"What prospect is there to such an agreement be prejudged to their detriment. There is—and we should welcome the fact—much wider recognition of the need for an agreement. I fear it would be premature to suggest that so far that recognition has involved any great readiness to compromise in order to secure it. The Muslim League is prepared to enter a National Government provided always that the rights of the Muslims to an entirely separate national existence, is guaranteed beforehand. The Mahasabha—the leading Hindu party outside the Congress—are equally prepared, but only on the basis of an United India in which the Hindus will dominate in virtue of their numerical preponderance. In those conditions, agreement on the desirability of a National Government brings us no nearer to a solution. One obvious method of getting nearer an agreement is a serious discussion of the actual problem of finding a constitution under which the interests of the different elements can be reconciled. That line of progress need not wait for the setting up of any formal constitutional convention. It has been opened ever since we announced it two years ago, that India should be free to frame her own constitution. It is open to-day. Is it too much to hope that, failing an agreement upon any immediate solution, Indian statesmen and students of affairs might still come together with mutual goodwill to deal with that problem? For, it is only in the light of the future constitutional settlement that any real progress can be made towards the solution of the present deadlock

which, it cannot be said too often, is a deadlock not between the Indians and the British Government but indeed a deadlock only Indians can solve. The goodwill and the good offices of the Viceroy are always available and has been continuously available. In situations like these, as in international relations outside intervention can only help when there is readiness to respond.

WAR EFFORT VERSUS PEOPLE'S SUPPORT

"Meanwhile, let us consider where we stand. The Government of India is to-day in the hands of an executive of whose fifteen members apart from the Viceroy, eleven are Indians. Indian members do not include representatives of the two opposed major political organisations. But in every other respect they are as representative of India's diverse elements and as able a body of administrators as can be found in India (cheers) They are men who put India first, who are there to serve their country and help to win the war. It is the collective opinion of these Indian members, together with their tried and experienced European colleagues that decides the normal course of the Government of India and the ultimate responsibility of His Majesty's Government here. The Council has dealt firmly and effectively with the recent revolutionary outbreak. In closest co-operation with the Commander-in-Chief, its War Resources Committee, it is concerned with mobilising Indian resources behind the Allied war effort. What is there so amiss until the political deadlock within India shows some signs of clearing, in continuing to rely upon the instrument of Government which has already proved and is proving itself?

"Behind that Government and in loyal support of it stands India's whole present war effort. I would bid the House and the outside world to reflect what that war effort means to-day and may mean to-morrow to the whole Allied cause, the fortune of war in the Middle East and to the China. That Army, every man of which is a volunteer is gowing at the rate of some 70,000 recruits a month. It is backed by the splendid help which the Indian Princes have given in the shape of their own State forces as well as by over 100,000 recruits from State subjects who have joined the Indian Army. In that Army there are no communal or party divisions. Let us be very careful lest by attempting to appease the unappeasable opponents of any agreed constitutional progress, provoke a grave communal conflict, that we break that Army in pieces. Let those whose interests are no less than ours in the success of India's war effort beware of the illusion that the Allied cause can be helped by substituting for India's trained and equipped forces, a somewhat hypothetical enthusiasm of unorganised untrained and unequipped millions or the far more probable alternative of chaos and paralysis in the place of ordered effort.

"SOCIAL SERVICES" IN THE PROVINCES

"From the Central Government, let me turn to the Government of India's great provinces, where Governments also making their great contribution to the war effort but primarily concerned with the wide field of social services. Five of these provinces with a population of some 110 million, Ministerial Government responsible to elected legislatures, has continued unbroken. In the remaining six, of those with effective Congress majorities, Ministerial Government was deliberately suspended by the Congress High Command three years ago.

"As a result Section 93 of the Government of India providing for resumption of direct control by the Governor in the event of a breakdown of parliamentary government, has been enforced ever since. The Bill now before the House provides for its further continuance, subject to annual confirmation by Parliament, for a period not exceeding twelve months after the end of the war period. This does not, of course, prevent a resumption of Ministerial Government at any time if a Ministry can be found which is in a position to secure sufficient parliamentary support and is ready to support the war effort. Such a resumption has in fact taken place in Orissa and more recently, after a short interval of suspension, in Assam. That door is always open.

ADVISER REGIMES PRAISED

"There is one point in connection with the continuance of direct government on which I wish to reassure the House. One of the main objects of the extension of provincial autonomy under 1935 Act was to secure popular support for a more rapid progress in the development of social services. That expectation was undoubtedly fulfilled. In all provinces there was great activity, both legislative and administrative, and this has continued increasingly in spite of war conditions

in those provinces which have remained continuously under ministerial control. But the House will be glad to know there has been no standing still, no more 'care and maintenance' policy in the provinces where Congress Government have been succeeded by direct control. A few broad figures will illustrate my point. Expenditure on education, medical services and public health, agriculture and industry in budget estimates for 1942-1943 has risen above those for 1936-1937 by seventeen per cent in Madras, forty-six per cent in Bombay, forty-one per cent in the United Provinces, twenty-two per cent in Bihar, twelve per cent in Central Provinces and twenty-one per cent in the North-Western Frontier Province.

"In almost all these cases, the greater part of this increase has been during the period of direct Government. In Madras, forty-two acts covering such matters, as industrial conciliation, inspection of factories, and control of money-lending were passed in 1940 and 1941, while there has been a great increase of expenditure on educational, agricultural and veterinary services and research on electrical development. In Bombay, nearly 92 million has been allotted in the last three years to the special development fund, mainly for rural purpose, while special attention has been devoted to demonstration farms, village water-supply and government schemes for dealing with epidemics.

"LET US HOLD ON TO OUR COURSE"

"That is a picture of India I have to give the House. It is a picture dark and confused in parts but over most of the canvas shaping itself not unhopefully. The problem of India is full of difficulties. They are there to be overcome and they will be overcome. We have only to hold on to the coure we have set ourselves with steadfast patience and persistence, with goodwill towards India's national aspirations, with faith in our Indian fellow citizens and above all with faith in ourselves. We have carried out the great work in India in former years. Why should we hold ourselves incapable or unworthy of bringing that work to its true conclusion? What need is there in India or anywhere in the wide-world to be ashamed of our past or fear our future?"

THE DEBATE

The debate which followed Mr. *Amery's* statement, was opened by the Conservative Flight Lieutenant *Henry Raikes*. "If civil disobedience were called off, I am certain Government would welcome the co-operation of any Congressmen who were out to stand against aggression, but, I fear, those men would be a minority of the Congress Party. Apart from the Muslim League, there are many Indians in all classes of society who are standing up against sabotage of the present Congress movement—Indians who are dying day after day for the India they believed in and for the India we mean them to have."

I. L. P. AMENDMENT

Mr. *James Maxton*, one of the three members who constitute the Independent Labour Party, moved an amendment that the House decline to give second reading to the Bill 'which deals only with provincial and secondary aspects of the Indian problem without attempting to solve the main difficulties of the Central Government which are the cause of the deadlock in the provinces."

Mr. Maxton said he had made a mistake in the the previous debate when he accused Mr. *Amery* of opposing the Indian Act of 1935. Mr. Amery had consistenly supported that Act and "resisted the small noisy rebel party." "I understand Government's essential policy stands, but Mr. Amery, in his statement, seemed to me to make Government's intentions more distinct, clear and precise than ever before. The Indians were promised complete independence even to breaking with Dominion association, if they so desired. It would have been a good thing to have inserted Mr. Amery's statement in this Bill. Up to the present there is no statutory authority to say that India is going to have complete independence. We have only the word of the various Ministers. Conservative members seem to want to give India a settled constitution but our own constitution had grown up in a most haphazard manner. We could not get the Indian people to fight if they did not want to, any more than we could get the Malayas or the Burmese to fight. All we could do is to say to the people of India: 'Here is your freedom."

"APPOINT MR. GANDHI AS VICEROY"

Independent Labourite Mr. *Campbell Stephen*, seconding Mr. Maxton's amendment, described the Indian situation as gloomy. He was apprehensive because Government appeared to be trusting the Muslims as against the overwhelming majority

of the people in India. The Government should call a conference of all parties forthwith and let the Congress leaders out of jail at once. Government should appoint Mr. *Gandhi* as Viceroy, Mr. *Stephen* declared.

"INDEPENDENCE WOULD MEAN ISOLATION"

The former War Minister, Mr. *Oliver Stanley*, said all parties in India demanded independence but only on their own terms and those terms were mutually inconsistent. Was it not a fact that Mr. *Gandhi* would not even speak to Mr. *Jinnah* and Mr. Jinnah would not be in the same room as Mr. Gandhi, while neither would meet the leader of the Depressed Classes, Doctor Ambedkar. "Indian leaders did not refuse the Cripps Offer because we did not give them enough, but because we were not prepared to give them something at the expense of someone else. If the British cleared out of India, the communal differences would become at least temporarily more acute. We cannot condemn the millions in India to an interminable civil war."

Mr. *Stanley* said if the British cleared out of India, and Japan conquered that country whom would America and Russia blame—not Mr. *Gandhi* or *Pundit Nehru* but the British Government. Independence for India now could only mean isolation for India now. If the British walked out the Japanese would walk in. "Sir *Stafford Cripps* went out to India not to bargain but to give," Mr. Stanley said amid cheers.

Mr. *Stanley* said Sir *Stafford Cripps* had put all the cards on the table and we could not pull out of the bag some great concession without reducing that great mission to a humbug. However spiritual the intentions of the Congress leaders might have been, the results had been disastrously mundane. Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operations had always led to violence. No Government could give way to murder. That was not the sort of stuff wherewith a new life could be built. Britain has made a tremendous advance. Have leaders of Indian opinion made a similar advance? "Dark as the outlook is, I refuse to surrender hope. I believe India will produce men more realistic and long-sighted than their present leaders, not tied to past disputes. I believe this will come sooner than we expect. Meanwhile, our offer stands and we must go forward with our primary task of defending India."

AN INDIAN WAR COUNCIL SUGGESTED

Mr. *Graham White* (Liberal) said the developments had left the Government no choice but to preserve order on which the defence of India rested. It was impossible to establish a Government which could only split India into sections. Nine-tenths of the existing trouble arose because Indians doubted British sincerity. Indian leaders should surely concede to the British the same standard of honour they claimed for themselves. He did not believe Mr. *Gandhi* was a Quisling or in touch with the Japanese. But Mr. Gandhi knew all his previous civil disobedience campaigns had been accompanied by horrible atrocities. He knew that when he launched his latest campaign. Masterly inactivity would not do, however difficult negotiations might be; for then the situation would get worse. Already somewhat acid criticism had been voiced in America. He asked if it was possible to establish a war Council consisting solely of Indians which might also regroup provincial territorial units on religious, racial and linguistic basis. The Viceroy had borne a crushing burden and they were all grateful for the great service he had rendered, but without disrespect, he felt it was time a new mind should be brought to bear on the Indian problem.

"CONSERVATIVES LOSING THE EMPIRE"

Mr. *William Cove* (Labour) considered that Mr. *Amery* had done nothing to sweeten the existing atmosphere. What the people wanted to know was what the Government were going to do about the existing deadlock. The Conservative Party under M. *Churchill* were losing the British Empire. The Moslem leader, Mr. *Jinnah* had done nothing to co-operate in the war or secure recruits. It was not true, he maintained, that the Congress would knuckle down to the Japanese. The Government must release Congress leaders, recognise an Indian National Government and pass authority over to them including control over the army. With the grant of independence, the character of the Congress would change.

Sir *Ralph Glyn* (Con.) complained that nothing had been said thus far regarding the magnificent service of the Indian army in the Middle East, the expansion of the Indian navy twentyfold and the fact that they were helping to protect British food supplies across the Atlantic. India did not consist solely of

Congress politicians. Millions of Indians trusted the British Raj. He reminded the Opposition that Britain could not dishonour her treaties with the Indian Princes. General Wavell had a tremendous task in India and should be given full support. The order to detain Mr. *Gandhi* was given by Indians—that showed courage. The House of Commons should be equally courageous.

PASSIVITY SHOULD END

The former War Cabinet Minister, Mr. *Arthur Greenwood*, said the Labour movement supported the Government policy, but felt it was time that a further constructive attempt should be made. It was true we could not put forward fresh terms or tolerate civil disobedience, but Mr. *Churchill's* recent speech had been received with consternation in America and India. The attitude of passivity could not continue. "It would be a blot on our signature of the Atlantic Charter if we left unturned any stone which might help this grave, tragic, deepeningly difficult situation. No future British Government will ever attempt to escape from the pledges given. I do not believe that there will be any attempt to wriggle out of the undertakings sincerely given. But we must convince Indians of that. There are people in India ready for a conference and those who are not ready. We must keep the friendship of those who are."

Mr. *Maclaren* (Labour) appealed to the Government to invite leaders of Indian thought to come to another conference in London.

MR. ATTLEE'S REPLY TO DEBATE

Mr. *Attlee*, Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary for Dominions, replying in the debate, said: "I gladly respond to the note struck by Mr. *Greenwood*. I want to get a settlement of the Indian question but one must face this problem in a spirit of realism and understanding. It is very easy to get knowledge of only one facet of the Indian problem and then to make a speech characterised with great emotion, great fervour and great sincerity and yet ignore the fact that India—this Kohinoor diamond—has a great many facets. I have taken part in inquiries into the Indian situation from 1927 onwards and I do not claim in the least to know India. I realise how little I know and how great are the difficulties. In those enquiries I have had great affection for India and the friendship of many Indians, some of whom are under detention to-day.

"We do not approach this matter as some abstract problem but a problem of how we are to get in this world the best conditions of freedom and life for the people with whom we have worked over a great series of years and the people who to-day in this war are doing a wonderful service to the Allied cause. I doubt if it is realised in this country how much India has done—the good fight that has been put up by Indians in the Army, in the Navy and in the workshops—and I suggest that some people in their enthusiasm for what they think in the Indian attitude have done less than justice to the Indian people. It is a false assumption to think that all the people of India are sitting down thinking of of political problems. There are vast numbers in India devoting themselves to the service of the war.

"PROGRESS" SINCE CRIPPS' VISIT

"I am sorry that Mr. Campbell Stephens repeated the slander against the people of Burma. It is not true that the people of Burma all yielded to the Japanese. The responsible Government of Burma stuck this thing out right through. The great majority of the people stuck it out at the risk of their lives and it is wrong for anyone to make a statement like that against a brave people and very charming people and people who I am quite sure will regain their country and their full freedom.

"I think that Mr. *Campbell Stephens* should show a little more restrain and sense of proportion than talking about conditions in India being like conditions in Norway. He knows that is nonsense. But it may be read by people who will not know that it is nonsense. The fact is that in a large number of provinces to-day, Indian Governments are functioning, that at any moment Indian politicians choose they can have complete control in Provincial Governments and thus deal with 95 per cent of all subjects in which the ordinary man is interested. They have already to-day 11 members out of 15 in the Viceroy's Council and that is no fixed proportion. That is carried on because you have to have people of experience carrying on in war. There is no question of colour in this matter. You want the best man for the position and those who say nothing

has been done since Sir *Stafford Cripps'* visit, forget that immediately afterwards there was a big enlargement of the Viceroy's Council.

"PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES"

"I do not quite understand the suggestion by Mr. *Graham White* of the formation of some kind of War Council, but a War Council which was to go in for re-dividing the provinces. That does not seem the function of a War Council. You have an advisory council on which Indians serve. Any easier way of throwing the apple of discord among the Indian people than that of diving up boundaries would be hard to find."

Mr. *Graham White* interjected: "I must have expressed myself ill. With regard to division of Provinces, that was a matter which I forecast as something which might be related to the future constitution of India and for which purpose a body of the kind I was endeavouring to suggest to the House might be considered the best to undertake the task."

Mr. *Attlee* : "I was trying to take up constructive suggestions and I must say that was the most destructive suggestion I have heard."

Mr. *Attlee*, continuing said, "Quite apart from the ordinary difficulty of dealing with boundaries, Mr. *Graham White* knows that the difficulties in this question is the difference of opinion among Indians as to what should constitute India. You have Indians who demand that part of India should be taken away from India and made into Pakistan. Then you get those who wish to see India kept together. In that suggestion are seen the difficulties that face us in this question. While almost everyone in the debate had asked that something be done, there had been very few practical suggestions. The essential difficulty of the question—and it is no good to conceal it by the use of ambiguous words—is that it is no good talking about the people of India and thinking thereby you would settle the problem of Indian unity.

"They might just as well say let Europe be governed by the people of Europe or hand the Balkans to the Balkan people. Or even hand Palestine to the peoples of Palestine. Members of the House have probably more political experience than any other House and they know perfectly well that it is one of the difficult problems of the world when you have two separate communities inhabiting one particular tract of territory. Mr. *Maxton* has told us a lot of historical precedents going right back to King John but he has neglected some that lay quite close to his hands. He had intense scorn of the idea that it is possible to settle difficulties by anything like a constitution but I happen to be Dominions Secretary and I have been looking at the history of the Dominion of Canada where there was difficulty between two communities which might have led to civil war and this was precisely how it was settled by a constitution.

PRAISE FOR MUSLIMS

"There was some remark made the other day about democracy. Democracy did not mean dominance of the whole people by one section. It meant you got substantial agreement among all people. And the demand of India to-day was not just to be governed by Indians. They wanted the democratic government of India. Presumably, we could, if we wished, settle the India question by handing it over to some Indians or one Indian. Indians admire the British constitution. They want a democratic constitution like ours. But our constitution depends not on the form of democracy but because we are used to practising democracy. The fundamental difficulty we have come up against in all this Indian question is that you cannot get communities to trust each other. It is no good burking the question. It is no good making unpleasant remarks about the leaders of the Muslims. It is no good trying to belittle the great Muslim community. And when the people ask what the Muslim people have done, I say that the Muslim people have provided a very large part of the fighting forces. When trouble was raised, the Muslim people did not raise trouble in India.

MINORITIES AND DEMOCRACY

"I have never said that the Congress Party is not a great party with great leaders. I am sure Mr. *Maxton* would be the last to suggest that it is only the big parties that counted."

Mr. *Maxton*, interrupting, "Only when they are effective and that is very seldom."

Mr. *Attlee* : I don't know whether that is a declaration of confidence or a self-denying ordinance, but I can assure him there are a number of extremely effective

minorities who must be considered. There are the Sikhs, Parsees, Princes and the population of the Indian States. There are the Muslims and Depressed Classes or the Scheduled Class. It is no use suggesting that these people do not count. It is equally wrong to suggest that there are not great social disparities in India. It has been noted in India there is every range of civilisation from a Rolls Royce to a bullock cart and that does not make it easy to frame a constitution for the Indian people. And therefore it is not a thing which can be settled by the nice catch phrase, 'Give India to the Indian people.' I quite agree that running through all political life in India there is the desire for self-government. It is a perfectly right desire and a desire we ought to sympathise with. The trouble is that they do not all desire to be governed by the same people and that is so strong that some refuse to be governed anyway."

The Labourite Mr. *S. O. Davies*, "It is true everywhere."

Mr. *Attlee* : "No, it is not. Mr. Davies is a good democrat. However much he dislikes the Government, he continues to be a good citizen and he does his duty. If he finds himself in the minority, he continues to work the constitution because he is a good democrat. There are many countries where the minorities refuse to have anything to do with the Government. Sometimes they go into rebellion. Sometimes they are exterminated. One of the things we are fighting this war for is the right of minorities to live."

Mr. *Maxton* : "Majorities."

Mr. *Attlee* : Mr. *Maxton* and I both agree. We must live and let live, although we do not agree. This is the point we have got to try to settle. It was suggested that Government did something rather dreadful in proposing a solution. They have been asking over and over again that Indian leaders should come together and agree. It is not a thing that has happened just this year or last year, this obstacle of trouble between communities. It has been going on ever since the beginning of Indian self-government. At every turn I have met it. I met it on the Commission, at the Round Table Conference and on the Joint Select Committee. It has always been an obstacle that stood in the way. An Indian said, 'We cannot settle this. It is unfair to try and make us settle this. You must produce a solution.'

Fair Offer

"We produced a method whereby we hoped this might be resolved. Do not let us forget when we hear violent speeches made that almost anybody whether British, Indian or those of any country who looks at these proposals, would say they were fair proposals, just proposals and sound proposals. Indeed the method in which we proposed was one which I remember being suggested to me by one of the leaders of the Congress Party only a few years ago as the best way of dealing with the matter. That has been thrown back on us. We all deeply regret that. But we did try to make the very fullest and fairest offer we could. There were things we could not do. What we endeavoured to do in setting up this convention was to get a settlement of the communal problem. What we are now asked to do is to anticipate that settlement. That in fact is to beg the whole question which can only be settled by Indians themselves. That is the difficulty. You may add this man or that man or anyman or anything eles you like to the Central Government of India, as long as it still remains under the present constitution. But if you are going to depart from that and turn the Viceroy into a constitutional monarch and give all power to an irresponsible body, you are at once begging the whole question as to who shall govern. I think it is recognised you cannot go far in that direction. So we have said that our offer remains open. Remember it was not rigid.

Philosophy of Law and Order

"The particular method suggested was in default of Indians agreeing to their own method. Our offer was not only thrown back on us, but thereupon the Congress Party departed altogether from methods of democracy and tried the method of coercion. It is anti-democratic to act by coercion, whether that method be done by non-violence or violence, but experience has shown over and over again—and nobody knows that better than Gandhi—that in Indian conditions, Civil Disbedience leads to violence. It has happened before. Terrible things have happened Gandhi himself expressed his repentence. I think it is a most regrettable thing that at the end of his life he should have again taken action that has resulted in the death of people."

"Government had to meet that situation and they had to meet it, not in the

piping times of peace, but with the enemy at the gates. In the interests of prevention of further disturbances and the loss of life, Government were bound to act and I think the majority of the people in this country and in this House think they were right in so acting. They were right to act in the interests of Indian statesmen themselves. If you talk to Indians, whatever the views they take, and even to extremists. they will all say that the one essential thing in India is to have a Government prepared to govern. Indians also have their historic memories and they remember the years of anarchy in India and we have only to look a little further east to see the years of anarchy in China. I am sure that members will agree that in conditions of anarchy and violence it is the poorest people who suffer most. Above all, therefore, we must have law and order. It is a most distasteful task. It is a task we have had to undertake and which responsible Indian statesmen have had to undertake."

Mr. *Maxton* : "Was not violence subsequent to the imprisonments ?"

Mr. *Attlee* : "Violence was planned and orders were issued for Civil Disobedience. Anyone who knows history, knows that whenever a Civil Disobedience is started, it always leads to violence.

Mr. *Silverman* (Labour) said that may be true but that is not the question which Mr. *Maxton* asked and which Mr. *Attlee* has not answered. The question Mr. *Maxton* asked was whether actual acts of violence were not subsequent to imprisonments."

Mr. *Attlee* : "I answered him that orders have been issued for Civil Disobedience ; that Civil Disobedience had always led to violence and that, therefore, it is the right of Government to act at once in order to stop violence. I was saying that this is no less in the interests of the Indian Government itself. There could not be worse thing, particularly for Hindus—the majority that has always depended on numbers and brain power rather than fighting forces—to have a precedent set of a Government which yielded to violence by the minority.

"Again, I tell Mr. *Maxton* with his own historical memories, which he knows perfectly well, to remember instances in which Governments set up by revolver and bomb have found it difficult ever to get rid of revolver and bomb and in a great sub-continent like India, with a people very close to the soil, it is a very dangerous thing to let rioting start, and whatever the colour of the Government may be, the Government is bound to take action—and still more when it is not only a matter of civil security at home but when there is the enemy at the gate. One must look at this, as I know wiser heads in India, including members of the Congress Party, have looked at it in its larger aspects.

Responsibilities to the Allies

"I have talked with them and I know perfectly well that they realise if the Fascist States conquered the world there would be precious little chance for Indian self-government. We have our responsibility to the Indian people to prevent them falling under Japan. We have responsibility to our Allies—our Allies who have put up such a wonderful fight in China. It is through India we shall be able to help China. To allow India to fall out would be to betary the people who have been fighting in China and not only them but the people of Russia as well.

"It would be a good stroke of business for the Axis Powers if Japan and Germany could join hands. India is the bulwark to the south of Russia and therefore we have that responsibility in the interests of all Allied nations and to the people of India to stand firm. The only people who can defend India at the present moment are the people of the Allied nations and the people of India themselves. You cannot break up an organisation in the middle and throw it over to somebody else.

A Breeze

"Therefore, there are these issues and I am asked what can you do now. I say that if you suggest that you can enter into negotiations with people who are running a campaign of this sort you are betraying the future of Indian democracy. We stand firmly by the whole of our offer. I am sorry that it has been questioned and I know one inspiration came from a little pamphlet."

At this point there was a commotion among members under the press gallery and Mr. *Cove* began pushing his way along the bench of members, Mr. *Cove* said, "It is an offensive remark that I had it from a little pamphlet."

Mr. *Attlee* : "I will certainly withdraw the remark. I had certainly seen a pamphlet."

Mr. *Cove* : "I will certainly withdraw my remark."

DOOR NOT CLOSED

Mr. *Attlee* : "This is the first time it has been suggested that the offer made by this Government was not a genuine offer. It is unfortunate that anybody should suggest this offer is not perfectly genuine and sincere. It was accepted as being so at the time by the people of this country, by the people of the United States, the Dominions and India and it stands to-day. Mr. *Amery* has said the door is still open. We are willing to talk with anybody. But the suggestion sometimes is made that you can run round with new offers. I think everybody realizes that if you have got to the utmost as we did and make the very fullest proposals we can make, no one can suggest that you should run round with offers.

"I suggest, therefore, that it cannot be said that Government has stood pat. There is no closing of the door. We are prepared to go in at any time into the fullest question of this Indian problem on the principles of our suggested proposals, which, everybody I believe agrees, were generous, wise and just proposals. I hope that Indian statesmen will think again, will look not just for some immediate question of service, but will look at the long trend of Indian history and see what great role India has played in the battle for democracy. I have always hoped that India, drawing her experience from here, will set a lead in Asia for democracy. Democratic forms are useless without the democratic spirit. Unless you can get tolerance in life and a let-live principle amongst all communites you can not get the successful working of democracy. Looking at the world devastated by hate, intolerance and dominance, I had hoped that one section of the Indian people and leaders should have seen that is the way of death and not the way of life. I ask them to think again in order that they may join in our effort to defeat tyranny and thereby hasten the time when the Indian peoples may themselves decide on their own free Government for the future."

House of Lords—London—20th. October 1942

Devonshire Reiterates Cripps offer

The Under-Secretary of State for India, the *Duke of Devonshire*, opened the debate on the situation in India in the House of Lords on the 20th. October 1942. He began by giving an outline of the India Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous) Bill. He then went on to make a statement on the "unhappy" condition of affairs in India which made the introduction of the Bill necessary.

The Duke of Devonshire proceeded : We last debated this subject some six months ago shortly after the return of Sir *Stafford Cripps*. The position then was that our move, the last of our sustained and continuous efforts, to endow India with full Self-Government, had broken down and struck upon the sandbanks of the Congress Party's unwillingness to come to any compromise with the Indian parties or with the Government.

The obstacle to an agreement being reached was the absolute nature of the Congress Party's claims that the Indian government should be the sole mouthpiece of Indian nationalism and itself the only representative of Indian opinion. That is very far from being the case. The Congress Party is the largest political Party in India but there are other vast elements in India which it is quite impossible to ignore.

To have handed over to the Congress the Government of India without having balanced and harmonised the claims of these various elements, in aggregate greatly outnumbering the Congress Party, and still more vastly exceeding that Party in their contribution to India's war effort, would have and could have led to nothing but chaos.

But even that solution seems to be ruled out by the mutually incompatible demands of the Mahasabha, the second largest Hindu Party after the Congress and of the Muslim League. Hence the deadlock for which the British Government is most unreasonably being blamed. Since the breakdown, which the Congress Party deliberately brought about, the Government of India had been confronted with a formidable conspiracy designed to paralyse the Government of India.

Mr. *Gandhi* has chosen to call this a non-violent campaign but phrases do not alter the facts and the campaign could in fact scarcely have had a less non-violent character. Sixty Government servants, the vast majority of them Indians, have lost their lives and some 650 have been wounded. I should like to pay a tribute to the steadfast courage and resolution with which the vast majority of the Indian police and civil servants have faced this time of trial.

I don't want to indicate that the Government of India is out of the wood

yet. The position in some parts of India is still serious and it is a sinister and significant fact that disorders, which have been principally directed against communications such as railways, buses and telegraphs, have been most serious in those parts of India where any interruption of communications would have been most paralysing in the event of a Japanese invasion.

No Direct Evidence of Enemy Influence

There is no direct evidence, none whatever, that any enemy influences have been at work in India. But there is evidence, strong evidence, that the Congress Party has so directed its campaign as to do maximum damage to India's war effort and render India vulnerable in the most dangerous quarter. The position is still serious and sporadic outrages still occur daily. But there are clear indications that the vast majority of the people of India are heartily tired of the Congress Party's campaign and very many of Congress Party's own supporters are themselves weary of it. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that the Government of India's troubles were not diminished by political agitation and exhortation from outside India. The Government here and the Government of India have for some months been subjected to persistent barracking to make some spectacular move. I want your lordships to think the effect not only on India, but Russia, the United States the Dominions and here of the never ending rain or hail of speeches and articles demanding that we shall do something never specified, but do it forthwith. The effect on the Congress Party is undoubtedly very bad.

There is evidence that the so-called non-violent campaign, which has in fact proved to be a campaign of violence, punctuated by occasional incidents of abominable atrocity, is on the wane. But while we are being pressed from the left, right and centre to make some further spectacular move, it is hardly reasonable to hope that this campaign will be called off.

The infinitesimally small minority of the Indian people carrying on this campaign are showing signs of weariness but it is hardly reasonable to hope that they will finally lose heart, while they continue to receive as much encouragement as they are receiving from here. So long as articles appear and speeches are made, whether by prelates or politicians, putting the blame for the present deadlock in India upon the Government and urging that the next move lies with them, so long will the organisers of disorder believe that they have only a few more telegraph wires to cut, railway signals to interrupt, only few more bus or tram depots to attack to enforce a largescale retreat upon Government and impose their will upon the peoples of India.

I should deplore and fight any restrictions on free expression of opinion, whether by Pressmen, politicians or prelates.

The *Archbishop of York* (interrupting), "The noble Lord looks at me on each occasion. May I ask him to be plainer and say what he means by prelates? The only time I have spoken has been in support of Government on this matter".

Scope Of India's War Effort

The *Duke of Devonshire* continued: I intended to cast no reflection, whatever, on the prelates. I was only looking to see that the prelates were there. I think it is reasonable to ask that the Press and the prelates should exercise due responsibility for what they say. I have been nettled by expressions of opinion in what is, for want of better description, I may describe, as the Leftist Press expressions of such opinions as that we cannot undertake offensive operations against the Japanese in Burma with "a hostile India" behind us. Whoever expressed that opinion was grossly wrong. India is not hostile to our cause. India has made, and is making a really magnificent and constantly growing contribution to the Empire's war effort. Indian soldiers in this war have fought as well as any soldiers in the world's history (Loud cheers) and they have fought out of loyalty to the King Emperor—that is their governing motive.

The Times, a few days ago, published a leading article in which it was stated that as a matter fact, India's war effort could be multiplied ten times if the political difficulties could be removed. The article indicated that the difficulties were the difficulties which it lay within the power of Government to remove. "This statement of fact" is demonstrably ludicrously false. It cannot seriously be maintained that the Government of India could raise, train and equip seven hundred thousand recruits monthly and maintain in the field an army of ten millions and supply 200 per cent personnel to the Mercantile Marine.

The limiting factor in the expansion of India's war effort is not the lack of willing recruits or workers, but equipment and officers and technicians to train and lead. These are limitations imposed, not by political considerations but our want of pre-war preparations. How can it seriously be maintained that a political settlement, however satisfactory, can remedy this? India's war effort is capable of expansion, it is also capable of diminution. Concessions such as we are asked to make, it would be a great deal easier to halve or quarter India's war effort by some unwise step than increase it. What is it that is proposed we should do next? The Lord Privy Seal went to India with the full and comprehensive offer of Self-Government for India. He made a great and sustained effort to get the offer accepted. He overstayed his original time-table by a long time, but it was not accepted, not because it was not sufficiently comprehensive.

NEXT STEP MUST COME FROM INDIA

We offered India all that we had to offer but we were not prepared to offer what was not ours. Now it is suggested that we should do something more and that, in some way, some further advance should be initiated from here. I believe the next move must come from India When that fact is realised, the next move may come. but until it is realised, the deadlock will continue. Self-Government may be offered or seized: you may endow a country with self-governing institutions: but you most certainly cannot impose them. In the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for India said a few days ago that our policy in India was not one of reluctant retreat but willing advance: not one of enforced abdication, but freely proffered partnership in freedom. That is a fact.

Self-Government for India was the ultimate goal of British statesmanship long before there was any conscious demand for it from India: long before there was such a thing as the Congress party. "I most emphatically affirm that for us to preside over this transition from the fifth European century in some parts in slow stages up to the twentieth and be the guide of people in that condition is, if conducted with humanity and sympathy, with wisdom and political courage, not only a human duty and great national honour, but what was called the other day, one of the most glorious tasks ever confided to my country." These words were spoken by a Lord in this House of Lords in 1908. In the years which have intervened, greater progress has been made than in the same number of years, at any time, in any country. It is true that India has not yet achieved full self-government, but she has made great strides towards it and the fact she has not yet attained it, is not due to our faiure to proffer the prize but to the failure of some, not all, Indian hands to grasp it when proffered. In surveying a picture of such vastness and complexity as presented by the sub-continent of India, it is surely a mistake to take a short view. Six months is a long time in the eyes of a politician whose horizon is the next general election. Six months or a year is not such a very long time in the eyes of a historian. The period of delay which has been imposed upon Indian progress by the recalcitrance of the Congress Party, will probably be longer than six months.

Let no friend of progress lose heart. We should not be deterred from our high purpose by the delay of six months.

THE DEBATE

Lord Addison, Leader of the Labour Peers, said the Bill was necessary, but the *Duke of Devonshire* had not been helpful. Government must find an alternative offer. Congress conception of democracy was domination of the majority by one section, but while Mr. *Gandhi* shirked the responsibility, there was a very large number of responsible Indian leaders seeking a way out of the difficulties and Government must provide something more helpful than the speech of the *Duke of Devonshire* just delivered.

The *Marquis of Crewe* said many people wanted the Government to adopt an attitude which they described as conciliation when they approved of it and appeasemnt when they disliked it. He thought it would be wrong and futile to attempt appeasement of the Congress. The extreme Congress leaders were not so much anti-British as anti-European and it was not impossible that they would be more than willing to bargain with Japan even at the cost of an inferior position in Asia if it would mean complete severance with all European ties.

CALL FOR A GESTURE FROM GOVERNMENT

The *Marquis of Salisbury* urged the Government for a further gesture. Nobody desired to India, but we sould forswear for ever the policy of appeasement.

He opposed American or any foreign arbitration, but Washington should have official representatives in India. We had nothing to be ashamed of. He had great confidence that if the American knew what we had done for India, they would realise how greatly British Government's present efforts ought to be supported.

The *Archbishop of York* said that Government could not have possibly given way to the Congress demands. It would have been a betrayal of the Muslims and other minorities. Until they reached an agreement, it was impossible for Government to go forward.

RELEASE OF CONGRESS LEADERS URGED

The *Earl of Huntingdon* (Labour) said that India was the key to Allied victory and the touchstone on which Britain's real motives were being tested. American opinion was profoundly disturbed. They could not understand Britain fighting a war of freedom while violently repressing the Indian national movement. The Chinese were also disturbed and we could not ignore the feeling among our Allies. It had been asserted that a vast constitutional change could not take place in war-time, yet Mr. Churchill, in a time of acute crisis, proposed amalgamation of France with Britain. Congress leaders should be free unconditionally and asked to form a provisional Government. If they failed to form a National Government the responsibility would be theirs and the sympathy of the democratic people would be on our side.

Viscount Samuel (Liberal) said it was Government's duty to suppress outrage, arson and murder, but they did not solve the political problem. The parrot-like cry that the principal Indian Parties must agree first before any step forward, was futile. At the same time the proposal that the British Government should pledge effective independence of India at a given date after the war would be dangerous because, when the time came both sides in India might be arming against each other and Government would be compelled to repudiate such a pledge. The phrase "Dominion Status" was meaningless and should be dropped in favour of such a term as "National Status". He suggested that the key to solution rested in the constitutional position of the Viceroy who had the dual role of acting in place of the Sovereign and as his own Prime Minister. When a new Viceroy is appointed this should be changed. Acting solely for the Sovereign, the new Viceroy's first task should be to select some statesman as Prime Minister to instruct him to form the Government as was done here and in the Dominions.

Lord Samuel continued, able statesmen among Indian leaders would, despite Party and political difficulties, furnish ample material for such a Government. It was urgently necessary that steps should be taken during the war to solve the present impasse. Lord Samuel recalled the success of granting immediate self-government to the Transvaal following the South African war and asked if the same course might not be pursued now in India.

SUGGESTION FOR AN INDIAN VICEROY

Lord *Strabolgi* (Labour) recommended the appointment of a distinguished Indian as the next Viceroy and an invitation to the principal Allies to mediate.

Lord *Winster* emphasised the effect of the Indian problem on the United States. In America, he said, British stock was now very low. The Government had not to convince the American Government of our good intentions, but the American man-in-the-street. The Americans were not impressed by the assertion that we were willing to grant everything India wanted the moment the Indian parties agreed among themselves.

LORD CHANCELLOR'S REPLY TO DEBATE

After various other speeches, *Lord Chancellor Lord Simon*, replying for the Government said: "It is absolutely impossible in the limited number of minutes at my disposal to do more than make one or two statements. It is quite impossible really to give what is called a reply on India in the short space of time. This has been an interesting debate. I should like first of all to make perfectly clear in my statement as to what is the aim of the Government in this matter.

"I entirely agree with what has been said by Lord *Winster* that, if we could make statements on this subject, we would be more likely to get a reasonable hearing from our friends in America. I claim to say on behalf of the Government that the aim of the Government's policy is that Indians should themselves mould the destiny of India, free from external dictation and control. I do not know any other method by which you can get a great development of constitutional Government

EXAMPLE OF THE DOMINIONS

"I am rather inclined to agree with Lord Samuel when he deprecated the use of the word Dominion in this matter. If anybody read throughout the Simon Report, they will not find anything about Dominion Status from the beginning to the end. I quite realise that the conception is misunderstood. Consider what did happen in regard to the undoubted Dominions. The Constitution of Canada was created as the result of a number of leading Canadian citizens—not by any means all of the same political party—meeting together and thrashing out resolutions upon which the constitution was made. The Constitution of Australia was brought about by Australians meeting together from different provinces and different political attachments again thrashing it out and ultimately producing the Constitution of Australia. The Constitution of South Africa which, I quite agree, did receive a most important urge from the boldness of the Campbell-Bannerman Government was still the work of South Africans in South Africa."

"I really do not know any other method whereby in the proper sense democratic government can be created. It cannot be imposed here, that is not democratic government at all. It is not government given by one body to another body. It is a thing which emerges out of the toil, devotion, patriotism and idealism of the people who are going to live under it.

FREEDOM MUST COME FROM WITHIN

"I do not say that with any desire to cold shoulder Indian aspirations, but it is fundamentally a great mistake, in reference to Indian development, to suppose that the matter rests in British hands. It does not. It essentially rests in Indian hands. Observe this historical development in reference to India itself. Tremendous proposals were advanced by the late Mr. *Edwin Montague* in the time of the Viceroyalty of Lord Chelmsford.

"I am not at all sure that everybody who followed what is now recognised as Liberalism in this country was at that time convinced that it was the right line. The next series of great efforts which were made in India including the great efforts made by Lord Stansgate (Lord Stansgate was formerly Mr. *Wedgwood Benn*, former Secretary of State for India). Efforts in that period ultimately resulted in the Government of India Act of 1935 which was again an effort to devise and impose a Constitution.

"I hope it will be acknowledged as a small merit that the Simon Commission as it has come to be known, as soon as it was formed, began to examine how to secure that there should be a Government which consisted of Indian politicians and Indian patriots who would be ready to co operate with us. Although we did not get all the help we might have wished from India, we did get statesmanlike men who greatly assisted. The great fact about the Cripps proposal is that it recognises the fact that a great patriotic development in a great country must come from within.

It may be assisted and helped as surely it ought to be, but it is a fundamental error—I do not care whether you are American, Englishman or anybody else—to suppose that somewhere concealed there is a thing called Indian self-government which can be presented to the Indian Continent. It cannot. Self-government and democracy are things which are within you. They are not thing which can be given by somebody else. If anybody will look at the proposals taken by Sir *S. Cripps*, less than seven months ago, they will realise that this really was their essential virtue—that we were saying: "We want you and the American Government and the people to know that we are prepared to accept and implement and indeed accept without question the form of democratic development which you are able to devise in India and in unity among the Indian parties."

"That does not mean you need parrot-like identity, for every healthy country has very considerable differences of opinion. At the same time, the reason why there must be some reconciliation in India is plain to anyone who will study the subject sufficiently and look it squarely and fairly in the face. The difference of outlook of the Congress and the Muslim League—and it is no good limiting it to that for there are other parties, there are forty or fifty million untouchables and other people in India—is something which has no sort of parallel in this country or in any country in Europe at all.

QUESTION OF FORMING PROVISIONAL GOVT.

"Lord *Huntingdon* made a suggestion which amounted to this—let the Congress leaders out of prison and then invite the Congress leaders to form a Provisional

National Government. If India contained no one but members of the Congress Party or people prepared to acquiesce in the leadership of Congress, that would indeed be an effective line to take. But only the other day, Mr. *Jinnah*, who after all speaks for an extremely powerful and important body of opinion, said: "We do not want under the stress of war emergency to be stampeded into forming a Provisional Government which would be of such a character and composition as would prejudge or militate against the Muslim demand for Pakistan."

Lord *Huntingdon* intervened: "What I wanted to propose was that the Congress leaders should be asked to form a Provisional Government, but that it should be expressly laid down that minority rights or demands should not be in any way affected by the formation of a Government and that they could be completely discussed in the Assembly afterwards."

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S ATTITUDE

Lord *Simon* continued, "The last thing I want to do is to be unduly critical. I am pointing out the difficulties. You may take it that the Muslim League and Mr. *Jinnah* would be by no means content with an assurance that minority rights would be respected. They do not believe a Congress Government would protect their rights. That is one of the reasons why the Muslim League has grown in strength in recent years. Muslims have had experience in province after province of a Congress Ministry and are not too pleased with their experience.

"I feel convinced you will never get the Muslims of India to come into a system now for a Provisional Government formed of members of the Congress Party who would promise that the minorities would have all their rights respected. The point I am making is that however attractive that proposal might be, if you were dealing with a country inhabited by Congressmen or the supporters of Congress, that is not the continent of India at all. The essence of the difficulty is that communal tension is so great that I am afraid it is not practical to form a Provisional Government by nominating Congressmen. I do not agree with the description of the present Indian Council as not representing anyone of importance. I might mention Dr. *Ambeakar* who happens to represent forty or fifty million untouchables. The truth is that the Congress Party and the Muslim Party would wish to contribute and as I warned the House on the previous occasion, if you get to the point where you are going to build up a Government of India by the process of selecting leaders from different parties, you will find that as soon as it is purely Indian, the Muslim leaders will claim half representation because they will not consider that they are safe otherwise."

"The difficulties arising from communal tension are something that can hardly be exaggerated. It is notable in the history of India that this strain between communities does not show itself to some degree in the great Indian States as in British India. I am sure the explanation is that at present the position in most Indian States does not make either community feel that it is close to Government in control while in British India, as you move nearer to full responsibility, you will find besides those who want to move in that way, this rivalry grows keener and nothing will alter it but appealing in every possible way to the Indian people as a whole to try to find a way of reconciling their differences.

"I think that the main leaders of Indian political opinion do increasingly recognise this need for unity. The efforts made quite recently by some Indian parties to try to get a conference started with other leaders is an indication of that and we ought to do everything in our power to encourage that. But it is a monstrous falsehood to say that the British Government has tried to exploit these differences.

"But it is a rock on which this whole thing may split and we should acknowledge openly that more and more of the principal political elements in India recognise that they must get together. It may be said, "Why don't you give India freedom"? But you do not give people freedom. They get their freedom because it is in themselves to develop and I know that some Indians are particularly well-fitted to working out the details of a constitution, if they would devote themselves to it.

"CABINET WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY"

"Lord *Samuel* made another suggestion. I think it is much more difficult than he represented. The Government of India Act is a portentous document. The Viceroy under the Act has all sorts of responsibilities, duties and powers. You may say the time has come to get rid of that. But you cannot do that with-

out an elaborate statutory rearrangement. At the present time, if we did attempt to do that, I think we should find there were large bodies of opinion in India that would be extremely anxious. After all, what are you going to put into its place at this stage? Lord *Strabolgi* has made a suggestion but if there were a cabinet in India without any Viceroy at the head of them, to whom is that Cabinet to be responsible? There could be nothing worse than to get a number of people, put them in office and say 'you are responsible to nobody.' In the Provinces, there are Provincial Governments and the Ministers are responsible to their legislatures and are liable to be turned out by them.

"Nothing of the sort exists at the Centre. The Government of India Act contains no provision of the kind and the present Government is essentially a Government of the Viceroy with his Advisers and the Viceroy is answerable to the Secretary of State and the Government here."

Lord *Strabolgi*, intervening, said: "The Lord *Chancellor* is now arguing that a Cabinet must depend on a regular Parliament. There are a number of Cabinets in the world which do not. It is not necessary for a Cabinet to depend on a Parliament."

Lord *Simon* replied: "What I am saying is that a Council or Cabinet would be responsible to nobody. There would be no legislature to which it would be responsible. It would be completely an irresponsible Cabinet. That is the reason time is being taken. You cannot make these great constitutional changes during war. The best future for India is a future arrived at in India by Indians, negotiating and agreeing among themselves. These fissuses in Indian life are so deep that until a method is found of bridging them, it is quite impossible to suppose you can create out of goodwill an elaborate administration and government which does not carry the support and good sense of India. I wish the situation had really improved. Nobody wishes it more sincerely than I do. I admit with great regret that I don't think the situation has improved. There have been two things at least which have been the reverse of hopeful. It is quite plainly revealed that the Congress Party has been engaged, though it said that it is supporting a policy of non-violence, in some of the most shocking violence and has committed some of the most frightful crimes.

"It is a very serious thing that there should be these developments in wartime in India of so horrible a kind and I am glad to think that there has not been a single speech in this House that does not recognise that there is only one way to deal with the situation of the moment and that is to master it, even though it involves force.

Conflicting Objection to Cripps Plan

"The other thing which is most distressing to me is that it is not merely that parties have not agreed about the *Cripps* Plan. They have objected for completely opposite reasons. It would not matter if the people took a series of objections along the same lines but that is not so. The Congress Party objected to the Cripps Plan because they say it contemplates the division of India. They will not have anything to do with the conception of Pakistan. I believe that to be a very sincere conviction. I think the conception of India as a whole is one they treasure. I should like them to admit that that is the conception created for them by the British Government. On the other hand, the Muslim League say they will not agree to the Cripps Plan because they do not feel sufficiently sure that Pakistan will come. Therefore you have two of the most important parties in India objecting to the plan, unhappily for opposite reasons. If you try to alter the plan to please one of them you make it worse for the other. I confess frankly that I think this is a most unhappy development. If I thought that the adopting of one or other of these suggestions was really going to strike at the root of this trouble nobody would be more willing to consider it.

"But the thing that has to be dealt with is much more fundamental than that. It is only when the people of India find a way of working together that they would create a situation which would be able to produce a constitution in future. We are bound to take the line that during the war it is impossible to make any fundamental constitutional change. Immediately the war is over, we wish to have the fullest contribution from Indians themselves. All we stipulate is that they really should come together. It is not we who are going to bring them together. They are much more likely to come together by themselves. One thing the Indian suspects now is that he is being manoeuvred into something by the British Government. We do not want that. Devise the best scheme you can and if that

scheme satisfies the necessary condition that it is fair to the minorities, we will take it and make it the future constitution of India. I believe that if the matter is put in that way, argument is really irresistible. Our American friends are critical—it is unfortunate—but they naturally have not full opportunity of understanding the complexity. But this offer which is being made by the British Government is a real offer in the direction of liberty. It is ridiculously untrue to speak of the British Government as if it were now holding India under.

NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE OFFER

"It is entirely wrong in my judgment, because there has been this unhappy breakdown about the Cripps proposal, to assume that there are lots of more proposals in the locker and that you have only to go on dealing them out one after the other, as though you were dealing a pack of cards. Ours is not the method of the Oriental bazaar. Ours is the method called putting your cards on the table. We have devoted ourselves with single-minded energy to put forward the most complete scheme we possibly could in order to help India attain her ambition. Six months ago, it was being lauded all over the world and our friends in America were prepared to say that nothing fairer could possibly be produced. If it were true then, it is true now.

"While I would not stand on any small matter and say "It is your turn to do something next', I do think it essential that these great Indian parties, through their leaders, should make an effort which some of them are making to come together and produce a scheme or help produce a scheme which may be an improvement on the one we have made. In the meantime our own proposal is not cancelled. In its general lines it is there to be worked out and, it may be, improved."

The debate then terminated. The Bill was read a second time and the House adjourned.

Amery's Caxton Hall Speech

On the Future of India

Caxton Hall—London—29th September 1942

The following is the text of the address delivered by Mr. *Amery*, Secretary of State for India, at the Caxton Hall in London on September 29 :—

Mr. *Amery* said : "The subject on which I am to address you is India's future. I do not, therefore, propose to do more than touch in the briefest outline upon India's past or upon her much debated present. As regards the past, there is really only one point that I wish to emphasise. The British Indian Empire is not something that has recently been imposed on India from without as a result of the conquest of India by this country. On the contrary it is a system of Government over 200 years old in parts of India and nowhere less than a century old, which has spread over India from within.

"I need not go into the amazing story of how in the sheer anarchy of the eighteenth century in India at times under the menace of French aggression the local agents of a British trading concern found themselves compelled progressively to take over an ever-widening field of authority. In the end, when that authority had covered the whole of the vast Indian sub-continent and in fact became an empire, Parliament here found itself obliged to assume ultimate responsibility for its security and good government and exercise a limited, regulating and controlling influence.

"Nevertheless, what is called British rule in India is essentially an institution native to the soil of India. It has been created by British leadership, profoundly influenced by British conceptions or standards, above all by the conception of the reign of law which is the foundation of our liberties. But at every stage in building up the vast structure, Indians have played their part, and in the last generation an ever-increasing part, both in civil administration and the fighting forces.

"At this moment eleven out of fifteen members of the Governor-General's Executive are Indians. Ministries which control administration in five great provinces

with a population of some 110 millions are Indians responsible to elected Indian Legislatures. The same was the case, and would be the case to-day in the other six provinces, but for the decision of Mr. *Gandhi* and the so-called High Command of the Congress Party, which forced the Congress Ministries of those provinces to go on strike in order to embarrass the Central Government.

"PRINCES AN INDISPENSABLE ELEMENT"

"Fully half the senior administration services and an overwhelming majority of subordinate services are Indian. The Indianisation of the officer ranks of the Indian Army, a more recent development, is proceeding steadily and has already justified it in action. Nor should we ever lose out of sight the fact that the Government of a quarter of the population and nearly half the area of India has throughout remained entirely in the hands of Indian rulers, who are protected by treaties, loyally observed on both sides, are an essential part of the fabric of the Indian Empire of to day, and an indispensable element in the entirely self-governing India of to-morrow.

"Out of past, which I have thus briefly sketched, has grown the India of the present in all its manifold aspects. I will touch upon two of these. One is the India which is playing so great a part in the present war. It is the India of a great fighting tradition, which raised more than a million volunteers to join the army, in which British and Indian elements have co-operated in splendid mutual loyalty and affection, an army that has covered itself with glory in many a hard fought field in this war.

"It is the India of important industries which is contributing a steadily increasing share of munitions equipment of its own and other empire armies. It is the India of immense agricultural and mineral resources which its highly developed transport and irrigation systems has made available for the common cause. It is the India which has played and is destined increasingly to play a major part in the war whether in the field or as arsenal aud base of operations.

WE WISH TO SEE INDIA FREE"

"Side by side this India that is waging war, there is an India which concerned with the political issue and India's future Government, both in its internal structure and in its relation to this country and to the British Commonwealth as a whole. On the latter issue, there is no divergence of aim, among Indian themselves. We, in this country, are at one in wishing to see India administering her own affairs, free to control her own destiny, remaining of her own free choice a member of that free partnership of nations which is known as the British Commonwealth. That this should come about is in our eyes the crowning consummation of our past work in India.

"Indians of all communities and classes and Princes, no less than party leaders in British India, are equally anxious that India should govern herself free from all external control. The difficulty lies in finding a system of Government under which the various complex and profoundly divergent elements of India's national life can both govern themselves in such a fashion that no one element should be in a position to oppress another and yet retain substantially that unity of administration and law which has been built up in the past. For without that India can neither be prosperous and at peace within her own borders nor secure against aggression from without. The problem is one of immense difficulty. But it can and I believe will be solved. In the main, it must be solved by Indians for themselves, who have agreed to compromises and concessions upon which it must inevitably be based, who will be eager to make the working of that constitution a success. That is why the American constitution works, our British constitution works and that is why the Dominion constitutions work. No imposed constitution, least of all one imposed by one element of party in India upon the rest of India, can live.

CONGRESS PLAN "MASS SABOTAGE"

"Yet that is in essence the aim of Mr *Gandhi* and a handful of his associates who control the Congress Party machine. To enfore that aim they decided to launch a campaign of mass sabotage, intended by its paralysing effect upon the internal administration and upon the defence of India, to bring the Government to its knees. To yield to that demand would spell a disaster, not only to India's immediate war effort but to all hope of any agreed foundation for India's future freedom and unity. The defeat of the present attempt at control of India in the interests of party dictatorship is an essential condition of any real constitu-

tional solution. That a solution will be found. I have no doubt and it is upon that assumption that I shall now invite you to consider problems that will face the Indian Government enjoying unfettered control of India's destiny at home in relation to the outside world.

"The first problem will be that of India's defence. Whatever arguments the United Nations may agree upon after the war in order to prevent an early revival of aggressive ambitions on the part of our defeated enemies, none of us now cherish the illusion that world peace can be preserved on the cheap by merely setting up some scheme of inter-national machinery. The spirit of aggression and organised power behind it may revive in many forms and the desire of peace-loving nations to maintain common peace will be of little avail without the backing of effective armed preparation. The preparation moreover must be on a scale of character to meet the conditions of future warfare. It will be essentially mechanical, whether in the air, on land or at sea. It must consequently be based on highly developed mechanical industries with all the mechanical skill which they create. It will be an immensely costly demand as its foundation is great economic resources and large revenues. The present war has shown the helplessness of small poor countries in the face of the bombers, tanks or fleets of Great Powers and the folly of thinking that they can rely on well-meaning neutrality. It is only as members of some definitely associated league or group that they can assure their safety in future.

"How will India stand in that respect ? Her latent resources, material and human are such that given the domestic peace and wise leadership nothing should prevent her from attaining a position in which she could create and afford without undue sacrifice all the defensive equipment of a Great Power. She is far from being in that position to-day. To construct, man and pay for vast fleets of warships, aeroplanes and tanks required for the single-handed defence of her territory and her trade will for a very considerable period, be beyond her capacity. For that period at least, if she is to develop in peace and safety she will have to look to some stable alliance or association with others whose interests coincide with hers. In the interval, she will be concerned to build up her industries and create skilled organisers and technicians essential to lead and man her industries and fighting services. Even a more important fundamental will be the task of raising the standard of living and education of her vast agricultural population in order to create that surplus output of ability above the needs of mere existence, which is the true measure of a nation's strength. Here, too, India has within her borders most, though not all, of the resources on which, in course of time, she could build up her economic strength in isolation.

"But the process would be painfully slow as compared with that which she might achieve by wise development of her external trade and by judicious encouragement of foreign capital investment. What her policy should be in that respect must depend largely upon the general course of economic policy in the world outside. There are those who I know believe that after the war we shall somehow succeed in reviving the economic individualist internationalism of the last century, in which trade investment were supposed to be matters of purely private concern and entirely divorced from questions, whether of domestic social policy or of defence. I cannot see that coming about. The whole trend of the world towards a more organised and planned scheme of life in the interests not only of defence but even more of social welfare and stability is bound to involve a greater measure of national direction of trade. This does not mean that there will not be an ever-increasing volume of international trade investment. But whether actually carried on by individuals for private profit or by state agencies, it will be largely governed by national considerations.

"International economic co-operation will, in fact, be essentially co-operation between nations as such for their mutual benefit, rather than co-operation between individuals, governed exclusively by considerations of private gain. It will be co-operation in which the general policy and not the least the defence policy will necessarily play its part. It is difficult to imagine nations in future remaining serenely indifferent to their citizens supplying probably, almost certain, enemies with materials essential for war up to the very outbreak of hostilities, as we did with Germany or Americans with Japan.

"If I am right, then there will almost inevitably be a tendency for nations, which look to mutual co-operation in defence, also to look to economic co-operation for their common welfare in peace and for their common strength in the hour of danger. A tendency to group will grow and those who stand out by isolation

and neutrality may well find themselves at a disadvantage in peace as well as in time of war. For some considerable time, at any rate, it seems to me that Indian statesmanship, guided solely by the practical consideration of India's interest, will naturally wish to secure or retain for India the defensive and economic advantages of some suitable external association.

"Where can they best find it? To answer the question, we must consider not only the geographical conditions affecting India's defence and trade but also such more intimate factors as racial and cultural traditions and historical associations. Geographically, the Indian subcontinent is the southern projection of the vast continental block of which the western projection is called Europe. But it is also—and this is even more important for India—the central feature of a great semicircle or countries which lie round the Indian Ocean. Her back is turned towards Asia and her face towards the Southern Sea. Ever since the opening up of the high seas, her contacts with Asia, whether for trade or for defence, have mattered far less to her than her contacts overseas. Her mountain frontiers are a serious obstacle alike to trade and invasion. Her long coastline is a standing invitation to both. From the view-point of the defence of both her territory and trade the most important issue is the friendship of whoever commands the Indian Ocean itself and its gateways at Capetown, Suez, Singapore and Darwin. Both for trade and for defence, the Indian Ocean may well become what the Mediterranean was to the ancient world, a natural link between all countries surrounding it and in that development, India might well aspire to a dominant position and the meeting in Delhi during this war of the Eastern Group Conference and co-operation in the production of munitions might well prove to have been the fore-runner of greater things to come.

Ah, but it will be said, "What has India to do with Europe and South Africa and Australia and New Zealand? She is part of Asia and a natural development of the future is Asia for the Asiatics and that it is, towards China or Japan that India's natural affinities will lead her." I believe that will be a profound mistake. There is no such thing really as an Asiatic and of the great racial and cultural divisions of the old world, India's racial origins and historical and political associations and traditions have linked her from the days of Alexander the Great through the long centuries of Muslim infiltration, and the subsequent two centuries of British influence, far more closely with the world of Europe and the Middle East than with the fundamentally different history and outlook of the Mongolian Far East.

Above all, British influence on India's legal and political thought, not to speak of the use of the English language as a common medium of intercourse between Indians of different home languages, all make association with countries of British tradition easier and more natural for Indians. Add to that the sheer practical difficulties of immediate disentanglement from the existing connection in defence and administration and it would seem as a mere matter of practical convenience and advantage, that by far the best policy for India during the period before she can afford to stand alone is to retain her association with the free partnership of the British Commonwealth. There is no political partnership in the world exacting so little from members, which I believe in the long run, can give so much in return. I have been talking on the purely material and practical plane, looking at the future exclusively from the view-point of India's interests. You may well ask the question: "What about Britain's interests?"

"Looking at the matter from the narrower view-point of this island alone, it would, I admit, be difficult to argue that the moral obligation to help India in time of danger is not likely to involve a far greater strain upon our whole defensive organisation and our foreign policy, than would be compensated for by Indians' military help or by the additional trade we might possibly get from such preferential advantages as India might concede our trade. From that narrower standpoint the association with India might well be more of a burden than an asset and we might have a good practical reason for telling that we wished to be quit of her.

"On the other hand, if we look at the matter from a broader view-point of the Commonwealth as a whole, taking into account the interests of other British territories in the southern hemisphere as well as interests in the middle East there is a much stronger case for arguing that India as member of the Commonwealth partnership would probably be on balance and in the long run, if not firstly, will contribute as much as she would receive.

"If, therefore, we believe on practical grounds that the British Commonwealth as a whole is worth keeping together, we might also conclude that it will be as

much to the Commonwealth's advantage to continue association with India as in India's interest to remain associated with the Commonwealth. That brings me to a much more fundamental question. Is the continuance and development of the British Commonwealth something really worthwhile, either from our own view-point or from that of the world at large? Is it merely a system of mutual co-operation and insurance between a particular group of nations concerned only with the self-regarding interest of its members? Or is it not something far more significant and hopeful for mankind? Is it not a unique experiment in the direction of securing unity of political action in essentials between free nations without the sacrifice of their several national identities or their control of every aspect of their national life? Such unity, not based on the domination of a Master State, not even on the rigid structure and sacrifice of individual nationality involved in a federation, but on common ideals and mutual loyalties, is surely something well worth trying out, both for ourselves and as an example to others—in a work in which the need for larger unities for getting away from the present political and economic anarchy is becoming increasingly urgent.

"Is it not in this direction, in the direction of leagues of like-minded free nations, that a true 'New order' of the world's immediate future is to be sought? And if such a league can successfully include in equal freedom and responsibility not only nations of kindred origin, but nations so far apart as the peoples of India, and those of this island and the Dominions of European stock, cutting across all divisions of colour, race and creed, shall we not have advanced an immense step towards the evolution of that future free league of mankind which is the ultimate hope of the world but which is unlikely to be reached by any more mechanical scheme for an immediate millennium?

"If so then the case for India's remaining in partnership with the British Commonwealth, not only for the period of transition but permanently, and for our desiring her to remain therein, is based on grounds even stronger than that of the aeroplanes we can furnish to each other in war, or the trade which we can offer each other in peace. It is based on beliefs and hopes which go to the very foundation of the spiritual nature of our peoples. Even more than on the practical commonsense of both sides, it is on the deeper idealism, both of Indian and British peoples, that must depend the future relation of free India to the Commonwealth in which and through the influence of whose ideals, she will have found both her unity and her freedom.

Sir George Schusters' Call to Britain

On the Need for Positive Line of Action

The following is the text of a letter from Sir *George Schuster* appearing in *The Times* of the 14th. October on the India debate :

"You rightly characterised last week's Parliamentary discussion on India as a 'negative debate', and I believe that there will be many who share you own uncomfortable feeling about the way the British case has been put—both by the defenders and attackers—together with my still deeper feeling that British expression, both in words and deeds, is failing to rise to the needs of the occasion. The Government's case for strong measures to stop the Congress rebellion is unanswerable. Why then should Mr. *Amery* get involved in arguments about whether Mr. *Gandhi* 'meant' from the outset to wreck the *Cripps* Negotiations? Why do not we have evidence of what the Congress planned and prepared, objectively presented in a White Paper, so as to make it impossible for critics to continue their suggestions that we have trumped up the charge in order to provide an excuse for the strong hand?

"Again, *Colonel Stanley*, in his brilliant speech, did us less than justice when he referred to the 'generosity' of the British offer, measuring generosity in terms of willingness to forego commercial advantage—with special reference to Lancashire's cotton trade. Trade figures prove unanswerably with what disregard of British interests, Indian opinion has been allowed to dictate fiscal policy in the last twenty-five years. (India's pre-1914 imports of over 3,000 million yards of cotton piecegoods, almost all British, dropped before this war to 800 million yards, more than half from Japan—a change which has brought widespread ruin and unemployment in Lancashire.) It is unfortunate to suggest that

a desire for the advantage of British industry may still be influencing British policy. Indeed, if, unhampered by any fiduciary relationship with India, we could bargain freely on a basis of reciprocal commercial advantage, we could in this material field, do much better ourselves.

"Then again, there were the usual reference to American press comment as something which should influence our policy. That puts the position wrongly. We must be guided by what we believe right and not by what the American newspapers are saying of us. That does not mean that outside opinion does not matter. Having settled a course, we should see that it is properly understood in other countries ; and in the matter, indeed, there is immense room for improvement. I would go further than this. I do not share the view that the United Nations are not concerned with what is happening in India or that we should say 'Hands off'. This is our business.' If they desire a conference on the matter, we welcome it. It will help in many ways if only to spread a true understanding of the position. But in the end, it will be recognised that past history has placed the responsibility on British shoulders which cannot be loaded off on to others or abandoned by betraying moral obligations.

"But the worst weakness in the recent Parliamentary discussions, has been failure to give adequate attention to what we ought to do now. We cannot allow the rightness of the present course to rest on our own record of past centuries or in the wrongness of our political opponents. We need a positive line of action now and for the future. We claim—unanswerably I believe—that we cannot, without a betrayal of right principles or the risk of chaos hand over full constitutional responsibility to Indian Ministers except on the foundation of a balanced constitution agreed upon between the main elements in India. We say that, pending this, we want a genuine Indian Government, retaining only the ultimate constitutional responsibility and leadership in war effort. Can we be satisfied with the way in which we have fulfilled the purposes ? Have we gone as far as we could, to set up and strengthen a genuine Indian Government ? Have we given a right and inspiring leadership in the war ? In the Viceroy's Council, the two key portfolios (Home and Finance) are still held by British officials. Need this continue ?

"What of our leadership ? Let us, if we will, excuse the loss of Malaya and Singapore by the disaster of Pearl Harbour, which knocked the foundation out of the whole plan. But, if war preparation in India had been tackled with the right vision and urgency from 1939, could not Indian divisions have been sent to Burma sufficiently trained and equipped to resist the invader ? Indian war production was not tackled with vision and drive from the beginning. Colonel Johnson, the United States Representative reviewing the position last April said, 'India has done a fairly good job of war production, but it is a peace-time job'. That is not good enough. Let us be frank. It has been a record of failure to give inspiring leadership or rise to the needs of the occasion. British leaders connected with this failure cannot now create the atmosphere which is needed. The right men must be found. British leadership must be conceived in a new way

"The old ritual of stiff-necked officialism is out of date. In the live field of politics, it is Indian Ministers that should hold the platform. Our endeavour must be to strengthen them to do this. And they must have a vigorous and inspiring policy not merely in war production, but in the field of social measures, for which the full pulse of war economy offers so many opportunities.

"I am not so optimistic as to imagine that action on these lines will bring any quick alleviation of the ill-feeling into which we have so unfortunately drifted in India, but it will, nonetheless, be the right action and worthy of our past record and present responsibility. Also, if steadily pursued, it will help us to retain the prestige and initiative, without which we cannot play the part we need to play in achieving our final purpose—helping the Indian parties to find an agreement among themselves and thus make possible the establishment of real Self-Government of India."

India's Fight for Liberty

Mr. Lin Yutang's Warning

"Mr. *Lin Yutang*, the well-known Chinese author, in a message to *Free World*, a new monthly magazine, representing a movement which had already secured influential support in the New World, argued the case for immediate grant of freedom to India. English, Chinese, Spanish and French editions of *Free World* began to appear and arrangements were made to bring out an Indian edition in the near future.

Mr. *Lin Yutang*, in the course of his message to the magazine, observed :— "Momentous events are happening in Asia affecting not only the 390 million people of India, but also the future progress and essential character of the war the United Nations are fighting. As a Chinese, I know China would be the first to be directly affected by it. It is imperative that we examine the events in India not as idle critics, but as responsible participants in a conflict between our two Allies, England and India. By our applause given to one or the other or by our very tolerance of the conflict, we prolong or shorten the conflict. The United Nations have a moral duty. I therefore, plead for a stern sense of realities of the Indian situation.

"We have been feeding ourselves on anti-Hindu propaganda. We might accept, for our own peace of mind, the fiction that Congress is not representative of India, the lie that it does not include Muslims, that Mr. *Jinnah* is very important, that the English are loved in India and every thing is very pretty. We acquire a sense of moral triumph by accepting the version that it is not we who do not want to give India freedom, but it is India who is not united in wanting it. By the acceptance of that fiction and our passive inaction in the months following the *Cripps* Mission, we have our-selves precipitated this inevitable conflict.

"The time for delusions is past and we must now pay for it. But our own fate is involved in it. We must break through the pall of abuse, misrepresentation and calumny against India that is being spread in America. Intelligent citizens know that India's case has never been represented to Americans except through the eyes of British censors at Calcutta and New Delhi, that the news about India is incorrect and inaccurate and very often distorted. It is a law of human nature that we must abuse those whom we injure, to prove that we are injuring them for their own good. It is a law of human nature that should and must go on ; Gandhi is an appeaser, Gandhi is a wily aud crooked politician. *Gandhi* has no sense of reality. Gandhi wants only the ruin of the British.

"The question is, Why is *Gandhi* such a fool ? Why are men like *Nehru* and the leaders of the Congress such fools ? Why are Indians such fools as to be misled by them ? There is something terribly incomprehensible to many American critics and editors about the Hindus. *Gandhi* is a fool, because he is fighting for what George Washington was fighting—for his country's freedom and independence from England. *Nehru* is such a fool, because he feels as keenly about the little word 'Liberty' as Washington or Thomas Paine ever felt. The whole Indian nation is feeling exactly as keenly as the thirteen colonies about their country's freedom. Gandhi and Nehru are as stubborn as Washington was and De Valera is to-day. The injustices in India are exactly like the injustices in the American colonies and in Ireland of the past. Now that Americans have liberty, they forget what that little word means when a people have lost it. That is what is so incomprehensible about India.

"That is the terrible force which *Gandhi* and *Nehru* have unleashed to-day, which the spirit of Washington, whom both admire, helped to unleash, the great cry of a great people for national freedom during our war for national freedoms. Recently, Secretary Hull was urging the nations to fight for liberty and Indians are obeying him. Hull cannot turn round and tell Indians, 'You must not fight for liberty.' We are anxious for the freedom of Greece, Yugoslavia or Occupied France, but we shut our eyes to the greatest single national movement for freedom in the world in India.

"India wants her freedom. Cripps denied it. They want to fight as a free nation alongside the United Nations. The Congress resolution clearly showed that they wanted Allied soldiers to remain in India and help defend their country if they were given the status of a free and equal nation. India is united in deman-

ding freedom immediately. Her splendid leaders, who qualified her for it, are pledged to use that freedom not for a decrease, but an increase, in her share of responsibility to fight the Axis Powers. I warn that India will not give up the fight for liberty until she gets it.

"Against these obvious truths, the refusal to return what we stole from her is based on sectional and national politics. Those who are clever at playing politics will, by their indecision and narrow vision, help defeat of the common war effort. We cannot win this war with nineteeth century psychology and imperialistic politics. The war has gone ahead of us, let us catch up with it.

America's Anxiety About India

Negotiations with Congress urged

Ernest Lindley, one of America's leading journalists, with a reputation for being the unofficial spokesman of the White House, expressed America's anxiety about India in the course of an article in a recent issue of *The Washington Post*.

He observed, "Little news is coming from India by normal channels. But the paucity of published matter does not mean that the Indian situation had markedly improved; it signifies rather severe censorship. Actually information reaching Washington from entirely reliable sources is causing anxiety."

"There is no sign of any further efforts to compose the internal political difficulty. The British now appear to be relying entirely on repression and British authorities in India express full confidence in their ability to smash Mr. *Gandhi's* campaign of civil disobedience. This campaign according to informed sources has not yet really begun, but it is supposed to be springing soon in the leading cities of India Spokesmen for the All-India Congress group boast that they will paralyse British authority within two months. Their ability to make good this boast is seriously doubted by independent observers But as things are going now, relations between the Congress Party group and the British authorities are becoming even more embittered.

"The problem is a delicate one for American Government. After the rejection of the Cripps proposal American opinion, official and private alike swung against the Congress Party. It swung even more sharply with the revelation that Mr. *Gandhi* was against armed resistance to the Japanese and proposed to negotiate with them—although this was probably not Quislingism as it is understood in the West but rather an expression of a religious and fanatic faith in the ability of nonviolent resistance to deprive the armed invader of the fruits of conquest.

'The attitude of the Congress Party leaders has continued to be thoroughly exasperating and dangerous to the security of the United Nations as a whole as well as India itself. But it has not altered the American policy of favouring self-government for all peoples who are able to exercise it—a policy to which Britain also is committed by the Atlantic Charter and the declaration of the United Nations no matter what exceptions or mental reservation one may have noted in individual British statesmen.

"If repression were now the only recourse there would be no disposition to question the present British policy, regrettable as the necessity for it would be. But informed observers report that there is still a chance of composing the Indian political difficulties by negotiation. They doubt if negotiations could be carried through by the British and Congress Party leaders alone because distrust of each for the other is now too deep. Friendly intercession probably would be necessary by the United States and China.

"It is believed that a number of most influential Congress Party members would now accept less than their previous demands. Reaction against them in the American press came as an unpleasant surprise. There was danger that the effect would be to turn the Congress Party leaders quite as bitterly against the United States as against Britain and in the hands of persistent propagandists to create an impression that the white peoples of the United Nations were joining hands in a policy of repression. This danger was alleviated by the President's announcement that American troops in India were there only to fight the Axis and instructions had been given to them to hold aloof from internal affairs. But the danger has not entirely removed and perhaps can be eradicated only if another effort is made to settle the Indian internal political difficulties by negotiation.

Educational Progress in India

JULY—DECEMBER 1942

The Convocation of the following Universities were not held in the year 1942 :—

(1) The Lucknow University
(2) The Allahabad University
(3) The Mysore University

All India Educational Conference

Annual Session—Indore—27th December 1942

Presidential Address

The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. *M. R. Jayakar* in his presidential address to the All-India Educational Conference held at **Indore** on the **27th December 1942** said :—

I am thankful to you for the honour you have done me in offering the presidentship of this important conference, where educationists all over India meet once a year. My active connection with education, as a teacher and professor, ceased many years ago but amidst all the diversions, which a busy life entails, I have maintained my connection with educational thought and activities in the country. The problems in my time, when I was a teacher, were different. They were (1) how far were schools to be permitted to give religious instruction to the pupils. An overzealous educational official in those days smelt sedition in the teachings of the Bhagvat Gita and we had to carry on a strenuous fight on behalf of a school, which a few friends of mine established in Bombay. (2) The next question in those days was how far the independence of schools and colleges could be maintained consistently with the acceptance of Government grants. Nearly the whole time that I was a teacher these questions occupied public attention.

Before I proceed further, I have to offer you my congratulations on the fact that your conference represents all the several communities and people of India including the officials and residents of the Indian States. I am glad to note that the communal virus has not over-spread your activities as is indicated in the resolution which you passed in 1940-41 in your session at Kashmir.

The war, as we all deplore, has led to a considerable curtailment by the Government of their support and help to education. Grants have been cut down, useful institutions have been commandeered (witness the case of the Benares Hindu University) and lastly students guilty of emotional excesses, as they always are in different parts of the world, have been treated as incipient criminals and punished in a way which is bound to harden them. This stinting is unfortunate. In other countries the war has not interfered with educational reforms. To mention only the last war, in England, which fought it so strenuously, a large advance was made in spite of it. During the present war, you are all aware, Mr. R. A. Butler, presiding over the Board of Education, has made an insistent demand for increased grants based upon a reconstruction of educational ideals and methods. You are aware of his activities in endeavouring to enlarge the basis of British education, especially in the universities so as to afford its benefits to people who owing to its expensive character, have been hitherto unable to participate in its benefits. The plans of the Board of Education after the war are we are told ready, and when the war is over, they will be placed before the public to be carried into effect. In a place like China, supposed to be educationally backward, there is no tendency to starve education in spite of the war going on for the last several years. China is diverting all its resources to the development of its educational system. To quote only one instance, Article 157 of its draft constitution provides that educational appropriations should constitute not less than 15 per cent of the total Central Budget and 30 per cent of the budgets of the provinces, districts and municipalities.

Ill-placed economy in education is particularly undesirable in India, where educational grants have always formed a drop in the ocean. I am one of those who hold that war is the best time for pushing onward educational schemes, for the simple reason, among others, that the conscience of mankind is stirred during the war against ancient wrongs and injustices. We must, therefore, start planning our educational programme now, for, when the war is over, we may have no time and we shall be found unprepared to prosecute them. We shall have to devise a more soundly and widely devised system of public education, with the ultimate goal of creating a living faith in freedom, truth and beauty and establishing national unity and peace. I am not using the expression national education to signify such a system for it is doubtful how far pure nationalism can affect the spirit of education. Secondly, because the present war exposes the dangers of economic and politica

nationalism of an extreme kind. But a system which has the following chief features may be described as national in its scope and objective, though not in its spirit. First, it will be national, because it is based on the actual needs of the entire nation in all its stages so as to provide an opportunity for every man, woman and child to develop personality to the utmost extent and to live a full life. Secondly, it will be national, because its objectives, methods and standards of performance will have relation to the facts of the economic, social and cultural life of the people of all classes of whom it is composed. Thirdly, it will be national, because it will be based on a new conception of citizenship, the requirements of which will have to be carefully planned by the State co-operating with the people. Before we do this last service, we shall have to decide what kind of society we wish to create, what social ideologies to promulgate, whether the present acquisitive and competitive system is to be replaced by a co-operative one, securing the common good of the various classes supplementing one another, whether we shall think in terms of individual or class profit in the place of the common good. This is not a job for the politician, but for the thinkers and educationists and the danger is if you leave it to the politician, then he will create citizens in the sense of "good haters and lusty flag wavers" as somebody said recently.

There are fundamental principles, however, on which human development in civilised countries has always proceeded. They are the same everywhere and have been evolved by the experience of centuries. In doing this, however, we shall have to keep in clear view Indian traditions of education and build on their basis. The main Indian tradition embodied in ancient literature is that right education must aim at the freedom of the individual all round, freedom to think and believe, freedom to meditate and adore, freedom for self-evolution and self-expression against all the tyrannies of sacred books and the fanaticism of political and religion zealots. An old writer was asked in ancient India for whom he was writing his great work. He replied, "for all persons good and bad, small and great, who think that they ought to be free bonds of low life." India also warned its citizens against the dangers of excessive intellectualism which it conceived to be in the extreme self-consciousness of the intellect leading to isolation, conceit and intolerence. Fourthly, it will be national because a new type of administrator will have to be brought into existence to work the new institutions which will arise after the war, a person of calm judgment, impartiality of outlook, combining out of these two, wise and beneficent leadership. This will enable him to rise superior to excitement both in himself and his followers, with an ability to quiet it in others by his tolerance and readiness to see the opposite point of view. Fifthly, it will be national, because it will aim at national unity and peace. The war is aiding this process, for during its operation the world has come nearer, distance has been annihilated and in the pursuit of a common endeavour against a common danger, all distinctions of nationality and creed, all group egotism, class outlook and racial superiority ought to grow dimmer and dimmer.

In India, the process would have worked faster if the Government had the wisdom at their right time to take full advantage of the offer of the youth of India to man the defence of the country. The history of the Marathas teaches us that, in the common enthusiasm which a war creates, caste distinctions are lost sight of and if the youth of India had been permitted to create a citizen army to defend their natural right, we would have by this time advanced a great deal on the path of national unity. These influences are working already, and it will be the business of educationists to take the work in hand in a methodical and scientific manner. We have to evolve a single nationality through the best avenue that circumstances provide, namely, the culture of the people and it will be the function of the university to plan it, so that our first and deepest loyalty will be for our country. The universities, as the name implies, must take up this work. Curricular changes will be necessary so as to place more insistence on all that unites the people and not on what divides them as at present. Universities are best fitted to do this, subjugating more and more all forces which make for isolation, superiority, intolerance and hostility. There is much in India on which the people can unite and, if this is brought more prominently forward, I have no doubt that the present forces of of disintegration will be replaced by mutual understanding, respect and co-operation. The bigotries, both superstitious and political of self-seeking leaders, must be dissipated by the diffusion of the right ideals of education.

I have great appreciation of the system of national education which your conference adopted at its previous sessions and I am at one with you on the aim, the

objective and the general scheme which your conference has approved. It is wise to lay down that the aim of such education is the realisation of the maximum growth of every individual with a view to evolving an efficient co-operative social order; that the objectives of such education are physical well-being, cultural development, ethical and moral consciousness, economic self-sufficiency and national solidarity. Its general scheme will be that every individual will be ensured the maximum possible general cultural education coupled with a preparation for occupational life, labour and handwork forming an essential part of the general cultural education at every stage. This scheme ought to receive more and more support in the country, as its essential features become more known. But some features of it I particularly value, for instance, that the medium of instruction will be the mother tongue of the pupils up to the secondary stage and, as far as possible, at the university stage. I appreciate the resolution which you passed in this connection in 1941. Secondly, the reduction of the public mass examinations and their replacement by internal examination based purely on the pupil's record of performance as judged by those who have known him well. Similarly your resolution against propaganda carried on for inflaming communal and racial discord and suggesting steps to remove it, is worthy of attention of all thinking man.

In my own part of the country the problem of education, at present engaging public attention, is more regional and linguistic universites of a teaching and residential character specialising in the fullest development of the language, history, literature and the agricultural and economical needs of the people of the region. The Bombay University has grown too bukly. A Government Committee, appointed nearly 20 years ago, advised decentralisation. The Bombay University at present caters to the people of four distinct areas, each growing increasingly conscious of its claim for the cultural, social, and economical needs of its people. As you perhaps are aware a committee is sitting to consider the development of such a teaching and residential university for Maharashtra. The problems before the committee are interesting, but I do not wish to tire you longer by giving their details. One important feature of university education, on which the public mind is insistent in Maharashtra, is the imparting of military education as a compulsory part of college studies, for we hold that it is the natural right of the youth of the country to prepare itself for its defence and that Indian university contain splendid material for building up an effective defence of the country. It is unfortunate that the Government have not taken advantage of this unlimited storehouse of energy and patriotism, owing to the lack of confidence and goodwill. But we hope that the university, which is proposed to be established for Maharashtra, will rectify this defect.

The Indian Science Congress

29th Session—Baroda—1st. January 1942

Presidential Address

The 29th Session of the Indian Science Congress was held at Baroda on the **1st January 1942**, under the presidency of Mr. *D. N. Wadia*, who in the course of of his address said :—

"An international directorate of scientists, containing a due proportion of economists, engineers and industrialists, will, by adopting the technique and temper of science, govern the countries of the world better than the chancellors, diplomats and politicians who for the past 5,000 years have failed to bring harmony in human relations, but have signally succeeded in making history one record of recurrent wars."

Mr. D. N. Wadia, at the outset, felicitated Sir P. C. Ray, the 'doyen of Indian scientists,' on his 30th birthday and referred to the loss Indian science had suffered by the death of Sir Shah Mohamed Sulaiman, Judge of the Federal Court.

Mr. Wadia added: "To-day, after a century of science, during which it has explored vast vistas of Nature supervened Time and Space, conquered many plagues and diseases, probed truths about God's creation and is near making an approach to absolute Truth, science is facing the charge of helping with its inventions and discoveries man's lower instincts and lust for power, possession and aggrandisement.

But for the aid of science, it is thought his animal instincts and desires would have been infinitely less and the tempo of resulting suffering and destruction greatly reduced. But science repudiates the indictment. The ulterior end of science is search for truths of Nature and of the universe, and Truth always builds and integrates. The wreckage made possible by the abuse of science is an evanescent phase in the history of nations, and is to be compared to the havoc by earthquakes and tornadoes. Science will, without doubt, rebuild the damaged world on better foundations and reintegrate the stricken people to a new and more secure life and the tempo of the resulting reconstruction will be no less striking.

"The precision tools, the alloys, the specialised steels perfected by scientific research, can be used equally well in the making of surgical instruments, in improved ploughshares, in drills for cutting the hardest rock as well as in the making of a super-edge sword, a Messerschmitt engine, or in the internal mechanism of a death-dealing bomb. To check this perversion of science, it is time the hierarchy of pure science asserted its patent right on the common pool of strategic science and, backed by its 1½ centuries of resolute strivings for the betterment of mankind, claim a determining share in the governments of the world. An international directorate of scientists, containing a due proportion of economists, engineers and industrialists, will, by adopting the technique and temper of science, govern the countries of the world better than the chancellors, diplomats and politicians who for the past 5,000 years have failed to bring harmony in human relations but have signally succeeded in making history one record of recurrent wars."

The progress of science in India, the speaker added, was reflected in the growth of the Indian Science Congress during the last 28 years. A very welcome development of recent years was the addition of sections of Entomology, Physiology and Engineering, in each of which fruitful work had already been done, and in which the scope for productive research was still immense. The recent establishment of the Sub-Committee on Science and Social Relations by the Congress was a timely move for reviewing the progress of science in the country and appraising the extent to which it had promoted, or was capable of promoting the real welfare of the populace. In a country whose social structure was based on traditional religion and custom it was inevitable that there should be some time-lag between the march of science and its ultimate effect on the popular welfare. This was the gap between the static India that is passing, and the dynamic India that was visualised by the scientists. The Committee's report was awaited with interest.

"Although it can scarcely be said that science has begun to occupy a considerable place in the general life of the masses of the educated middle classes," the speaker said, "one welcomes the attempts of some voluntary organisations, municipal and civic bodies through the publicity of the radio and the press to bring the benefits of elementary science home to people at large. The infiltration of everyday science thus to the 600,000 villages, which harbour 78 per cent of our population, is sure to bring results in improved agriculture and husbandry, health and housing, sanitation and nutrition." Here he paid a tribute to the "evangelistic work" of the two journals, *Current Science* and *Science and Culture* to accelerate the advancement of higher science in India. Stating that the disproportion between the task looming ahead and the work accomplished was vast and the outstanding basic needs of national economy, such as literacy, sanitation, nutrition and improved standards of living were reminders of our yet unliquidated liabilities, he said that workers in the cause of pure and applied sciences would have to multiply a hundredfold and their efforts redoubled in order to eliminate these big debit factors from the national balance sheet. Mr. Wadia, continuing, said: "A serious handicap to industrial progress in India has been the lack of planned liaison between industry and science. In the Board of Science and Industrial Research, inaugurated last year under the directorship of Sir S. S. Bhatnagar, we see the promise of a new era of the planned aid to India's industry. Already the activities of the Board, through its fifteen committees, cover a wide field of research calculated to assist a variety of new manufactures. Although the services of the Board are channelised today to further India's war production through *ad hoc* research with the return of peace and the withdrawal of the stimulus of war premia and priorities, there will be a greater demand on these services for domestic aid to the nascent industries it has itself sponsored, as well as to those launched by private enterprise in recent years, particularly the heavy-chemicals, engineering and metallurgical industries. The country will then need a central agency for integrating the scientific effort of the different units to-day functioning under handicaps, financial and others and improving the defective industrial machinery of

the country at present working with many emergency joints, if there is to be no setback to the hardwon industrial progress of pre-war years. This need is nowwhere greater than in the mineral industries, where for the last three or four decades the raw produce of the mines, the ores and industrially vital minerals have been allowed to leave the country in ever increasing tonnages, at ridiculously low prices, simply because of lack of technical guidance in the processing of minerals or their part manufacture before exports.

Welcoming the commencement of the functioning of the Eastern Group Supply Conference at Delhi during the year, Mr. Wadia said: "When the crisis of war is over, the contacts established by this Conference should make for greater collaboration and interdependence of these nations in place of the ignoble jealousies and racial barriers that have marred international relations so far."

Mr. Wadia then gave details of his geological investigations in the last three years in Ceylon and the light they throw on the structure of India.

"The shape or figure of India, as we see it to-day", he concluded, "is determined essentially by the destructive processes of Nature. The sea, rain, rivers and other atmospheric agencies of change, by their ceaseless action have cut deep into the profile of India and have removed thousands of feet of matter from off the surface, producing the existing sculpture of the land. The 6,000 to 15,000 feet thick beds of clay, sand and silt, laid down in the Indo-Gangetic plains, are all derived from the decay of the Himalayas. They are only a small measure of the waste of these mountains. The dissection of the originally two miles high volcanic plateau of Malwa-Deccan to the depth of over a mile into the picturesque alternation of plains, valleys and hills is another visual demonstration of the power of surface natural agencies in shaping the surface features of the continents, while constantly lowering their level to the mean sea-level. These base-levelling processes have in the past, repeatedly peneplained vast tracts of India, but the geological cycle was not allowed to be completed by the supervening earth movements which restored topographic youth. Rajputana and Madras have thus been levelled and peneplained and rejuvenated by timely earth-movements reversing the geological cycle time and again."

The Historical Records Comm. Conference

18th Session—Mysore—21st January 1942

Mr. John Sargents' Speech

The eighteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission Conference was held at Mysore on the **21st January 1942** under the presidency of Mr. *John Sargent* who in the course of his speech stated that it was most pleasant and appropriate that a learned society like theirs whose primary concern was with man as a social unit, should be able to meet in a place where the glories of the past, the achievements of the present and the hopes of the future were so happily united. Much history had been made and unmade in this part of India. "I like, however, to think," he added, "that the aspect of local history to which the future historians and researchers will pay the greatest attention will not be "old unhappy far off things and battles long ago" but that record of persistent, enlightened and constructive efforts for bettering the living conditions of ordinary men and women which made the reign of Your Highness's predecessor so illustrious, and will, we have every reason to believe, be no less characteristic of your own."

Mr. Sargent said that he regretted that ill-health had prevented the President of the Commission, the hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker, from being present. Even in the short time, which had elapsed since he took up his office as Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, Mr. Sarker had shown keen interest in the work of the Commission particularly in the reconstitution which had recently taken place.

Referring to the main objects that had led to the reconstitution of the Commission by the Government of India, Mr. Sargent stated that the changes were the outcome not of any feeling of dissatisfaction with the achievements of the old Commission, but they arose from the fact that a stage had been reached when it was essential to consolidate the work which had been accomplished and to prepare the ground for

a future advance. The first need in this connection was to ensure continuity of policy. During his short tenure of office, their President had been successful in securing funds which would do something towards enabling the keeper of the records to make available to students, the great historical riches which had been committed to his charge. An agreed policy of co-operation was essential in this respect and it was hoped that the Commission in its new form would be able to ensure that Mr. Sargent pointed out that great historical treasures lay hidden in the archives of private institutions, families and individuals. Access to those treasures could only be had by tact and persuasion and it was to be hoped that the work would be undertaken by the local bodies which it would be one of the main functions of the reconstituted Commission to establish.

Mr. Sargent then requested His Highness to address the Conference.

Mysore Ruler's Opening Address

His Highness the Maharaja welcomed to Mysore the distinguished assembly and added: "A French historian of the year 1800 declared that the plains of Mysore were the most beautiful habitation that nature could offer to men on the face of the earth. They are rich in precious metals also and in consequence in history and historical lore. But I am afraid you will also find that much of the historical wealth like the gold, has passed out of the country. I understand that the period of history in which you interest yourselves reaches from the Battle of Panipat, 1526, to 1880. In Mysore history, we might put it from the establishment of the capital of the present dynasty in the City of Mysore in the early part of the 16th century, to the Rendition of the State to my grandfather by the British Government in 1881. This period divides itself into four minor periods: from 1526 to 1761, when Hyder Ali first assumed the practical control of the country; from 1761 to 1799. the end of the Fourth Mysore War; from 1799 to 1831. which was the commencement of the British Commission; and from 1831 to 1881, the date of the Rendition."

"For the first of these periods," His Highness continued, "we have many documents in the wider sense—in stones and monuments, mutts and temples. But we have comparatively little in the way of documents in our archives. It is recorded that there were once many chronicles collected by my ancestors, but they all disappeared in the troubled period of our history. There is some matter still to be explored in the collections in the Oriental Library, and there are a few documents in the Secretarial records. There are also, I believe, a great number to be found in the possession of the mutts and temples and in the archives of our leading families.

"For the second period, from 1761 to 1799, the great bulk of the records have been removed. There are large quantities of them in the India Office, others in the Government of India Records, others again in those of the Government of Fort St. George and in the Mackenzie Collection. Others are to be found in many parts of the world.—in France, in the Dutch East Indies, in Goa and in Hyderabad. Others again were burnt when the Saraswathi Bhandar was destroyed in the great Palace Fire of 1897. We have a certain number left, including some original letters of the great Duke of Wellington, and the Residency have some more, of which they have been good enough to lend a collection for your exhibition. The records of the third and fourth periods are also distributed, but a considerable number of those for the period of the British Commission have been transferred to our records where they await examination and we have a good deal of matter of our own.'

His Highness then referred to the work that had been done all this material from the Epigraphia Carnatica, relating to a period before 1526 to a volume of letters and despatches of the Duke of Wellington from 1799 to 1805, another of select letters of Tipu Sultan. a copy of Wilks's report on the internal conditions of Mysore as in 1801-02, etc. There had been published a large number of histories of Mysore, many of which contained copies of extracts of important historical documents. The most important of those was Colonel Walks's history, which had recently been reprinted with annotations by Sir Murray Hammick and published by the Mysore Government. "In spite of all this formidable array," His Highness added, "I felt that I am speaking for my Government when I say that we fully recognize that there is vast amount to be done in the discovery, preservation, translation and publication of valuable records that were to be found in the headquarters offices, in the district offices, in mutts and temples, in places of business and in private houses."

"There is now, I understand, a project afoot for the development of a historical museum of Mysore," continued His Highness. "If money and time were ununlimited, I should like to see added to this a records office, specially designed for

the purpose in accordance with the latest scientific arrangements, in which there should be preserved all the public records of your period, just as the older records are preserved in the Oriental Library. I would even go further and add to it something in the nature of a safe custody deposit, in which mutts and temples and private individuals could deposit their ancient records and have them preserved in accordance with the latest methods." "But these," added His Highness in conclusion, "are dreams for the piping times of peace. For the moment we want all our men and all our money in order to devote every effort of which we are capable to the conquest of the enemies of freedom and the right. When we have achieved that end, we can turn our attention to the extermination of the enemies of the raw material of history."

The Convocation Addresses

The Calcutta University Convocation

Sir Azizul Haque's Address

In the course of the address at the annual Convocation of the Calcutta University held on the **28th February 1942**, *Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque*, the Vice-Chancellor said :—

The world to-day is in the throes of great agonies and many sufferings. Clouds have gathered up not merely on our horizon, but almost all round ourselves, and no one can say how things are going to shape in the future. But whatever that may be, I have no doubt in my mind that India shall be stronger than ever, even though we may pass through a trail of sufferings, privations and misfortunes. With deep faith in Providence, Who has kept this country alive through many centuries, we shall emerge victorious from the perils of to-day. The Almighty will make her stronger than before—it is in that abiding faith and conviction that I feel that the time has come when we must critically examine ourselves, our educational system and our entire life. We have now felt and realised as to what it means if our trade routes are cut off and if our essential services are dislocated. And to-day we have to appreciate not merely the events outside India, but even inside this country or its neighbourhood. It is always in an emergency that we have to do severe thinking on our part as to what we should do to be prepared for the future. We are producers of a very large amount of raw materials and it is time that we must think of developing those raw materials for industrial and commercial utilization within the province. The district of Rangpur and its neighbourhood grow many lacs of maunds of raw tobacco leaves and the largest bulk goes to Burma where it is made into cigars. If Burma cannot import these raw leaves we have to find out as to what we can do to develop the industry within our province so that our cultivators who grow tobacco may not have to starve. We had to import a large volume of commodities of all kinds from abroad which we can not get to-day. We had to import a huge volume of finished products from Japan and in fact the Japanese trade enveloped a very large bulk of our imports.

If we do not get all our food requirements that we had to get from outside this province or from abroad, if our agricultural products or other raw materials cannot go out, if there is shortage of the commodities that we need for all our economic needs, we have to think if we can develop our own resources to meet our own needs. We have to build up the future of India and of this great province in view of our experience not only here but what is happening elsewhere in the world; we have indeed to rebuild this country of ours almost in a new shape of things to come. I have referred to all these that we may all put our heads together to consider as to whether our educational system requires any change to get an equilibrium between our training and our essential economic needs. If we are to develop our resources to meet our fullest needs, we have to answer the question as to whether we should not readjust our educational system so that, in view of what I have stated above, the innate capacity and tendencies of our youth with all the hereditary talents in arts, crafts and vocations may get full scope in life.

Great things have been achieved in the past under the present system but greater things have to be done in the future. We have to answer the question as to the part we do, can and ought to play in the economic life of the province and where we do, and ought to share in the industry and trade of the country. Is there any integral connection between our system of education and the larger needs of the country? Where do we stand to-day and what shall we do to equip and fit ourselves for the future? An answer to these questions can ultimately be given by the province and the country as a whole, even though the responsibilities to give new shape of things will to a considerable extent depend on the University and the University organization. I can assure you on behalf of the University that whatever may be your ultimate decision, we shall not fail to act according to your decision and choice. We can even now do a great deal. Our research workers are always anxious to stand behind you and I know our University men and their past achievements and their ability. But we and they suffer from lack of funds. We have no funds to equip a laboratory to meet the contingent needs of to-day. I am grateful to those industrialists and commercial men and the Government who have given us a few thousands of rupees to carry on certain researches, but it is not even a drop in terms of what we can do in full expansion if we only consider the vast requirements of to-day. I only ask as to whether the time has not come when the authorities who have the power to shape things should not take immediate steps to prepare a scheme and to find out finances that may be required to carry on industrial and technical researches with a view to develop the resources of the province and also to determine as to what extent our educational system should undergo modification to equip the young men of the future for such work.

We Can Defend Our Country

Ladies and gentlemen, we are now in the midst of a war; it is almost near our doors, but let us have faith in ourselves that we can defend our country. Behind ships, planes, guns and fortifications, a country needs several lines of defences which we can only ourselves work up. To-day let every one of us stand for the other. Let us work with all that we have got and utilise every little bit to out best benefit and advantage. Let us face facts. Let us rise above our mere self-concerns and let every man and woman work not just for himself or herself but for the whole country wherever he or she may be or whatever his or her job may be. Let us have faith in ourselves. With land, naval or other fortifications, let us also have the will-power to defend our country. In its absence the Chinese Wall is stormed and the Maginot line gets broken, the fortifications vanish and along with it the nation collapses. Above all let there be a unity in this country of ours. Let us stand united; with war at our door, let there be no war inside and it is only then that the storm clouds that are darkening the horizon will vanish. Let every one of us honestly admit one's own fault and not always find fault with others. If there is more of loyalty to our country, with loss of personal, racial or party advantages we shall be a stronger country. Either we sacrifice our personal selfishness for our country or we sacrifice the country for our personal selfishness.

Our Country is Worth Defending

And this country of ours is worth defending and fighting for. Here in India we have everythiug in our midst that goes to make up a strong, united and powerful country. Words have their limitations; expressions fail me; it requires the imagination and the inspiration of a poet to describe the majesty of the snow-capped peaks of the Himalayan ranges guarding our frontiers and the eternal beauty of the deep blue oceans which wash our shores. In our magnificent rivers flowing past historic cities, in the gloriously green forests scattered all over the country, in the enormous and probably inexhaustible stores of our mineral resources, in the proverbial fertility of our soil which has attracted the wondering eyes of the world, with our vast paddy and corn fields and, above all, in our enormous man-power, we have ample materials for the fullest economic and political development of this land.

This country of great culture and a noble heritage should not be lost to us on the counter of personal jealousies or on the chessboard of political manoeuvrings. countless thousands of men of many creeds and faith have toiled for centuries to make this country and its culture what they are to-day; our inheritance is a heritage of great sacrifice, of great faith, of great prowess, of great courage, of great conviction and of supreme faith in the Providence. Let us also have that faith in the Providence Who is the only source of ultimate power and strength to ourselves and then toil in the furrow to make all efforts to defend our country and let us arrange its defence in all fronts.

The Crisis And Our Duties

Ladies and gentlemen, the world to-day is passing through a crisis unparalleled in the annals of human history. The shadow of the international conflagration threatens to overwhelm our motherland. I do not wish to enter here into the politics of the present war, but I declare most emphatically and with the fullest sense of responsibility that it is foremost duty of every one of us irrespective of party or religious allegiance to fight to the last for the preservation of our motherland. I do not know about military defence but it is my firm conviction that we shall be untrue to our culture, to our motherland and to those gallant sons of India who have cheerfully laid down their lives in the defence of India if we do not make it our primary concern to do everything possible to keep the enemy out. Let us for the time being sink our internal differences—let us once for all realise that at a time when the nation is faced with a national crisis, disunity is fatal. Let us not repeat the tragic mistakes of the past. Let us build up in Bengal the most powerful Maginot Line of our unshakable determination not to yield an inch of our country to the ruthless enemy. I have no doubt that against this line of defence—the panzer divisions of the enemy and the fifth columnists will hurl themselves in vain. Our country to-day is in grave peril. Our culture, our civilisation, everything that is sacred to us will be completely obliterated if we fail at this critical moment in our history. Let us to-day stand united in the defence of our motherland—let us today take a vow that in the interests of the nation we shall cheerfully sacrifice every comfort. Let us leave the enemy in no doubt of our iron will to fight for our motherland. We are to-day passing through a period of agony, but out of this agony will emerge a New India of which every one would be proud.

New India

And in that picture of New India, I see you, the graduates of this University occupying the most pre-eminent position—leaders of men, moulders of thought, pioneers of industry and organisers of prosperous peasantry, and, above all, builders of peace, amity and concord. Graduates of the University, to-day I raise that vision and that ideal before you and I wish you God-speed in your march of life.

Ladies and gentlemen, within almost a few days I shall have to relinquish charge of this great office as the Vice-Chancellor of this great University to take up my duties elsewhere. I have to leave my motherland with deep sorrow that I have to be away and far away from my friends, brethren and countrymen. For the last four years I have worked with you in this post to the best of my ability and on this occasion of farewell I look to you in all humility for your best wishes and for your blessings.

The Gurukul University Convocation

Sir Radhakrishnan's Address

In the course of his Convocation Address delivered to the Gurukul University on the **5th April 1942**, *Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan* said that he was impressed by the ceremonies which he witnessed. They indicated the uninterrupted continuity of the Indian culture over a large territory and long stretch of time. That distinguished the different systems of education was not the content of the programmes which was usual. but the spirit or form. And the spirit or form were closely related to the nature of society. The schools and colleges endowed their students with beliefs and ideals which society cherished. Laterly, militarism and patriotism had been the greatest ideals. Their educational institutions turned out young savages with splendid physique and ruthless energy, delighting in the thougths of war and conquest of territories. In India, however, a different ideal prevailed as in institutions such as this, the Gurukul University, and persisted till today.

After commenting on the Hindu ideal of Brahmacharya he pointed out that the present conflict was between two ways of life or philosophies. His implication entered every side of our life and activity. What was progress was not a military contest and there was no security that the military victory would not throw them back into the same blindness, cowardice and folly which had brought about this war. If the tragic defects of their ways of life were to be redeemed the ideal of truth and love must have functioning realities.

He exhorted the graduates to conform to great ideals of India which would save them even when catastrophies occurred, tyrannies were set up or dynasties were overthrown. A united and free India would be of the greatest benefit to the world at large.

Referring to Sir Stafford Cripps' proposal Sir Sarvapali Radhakrishnan said : "The weakest part of Cripps' proposals, which were very satisfactory in other directions, was in the encouragement which they implicitly gave to the dismemberment of India. It will be practical undoing of the greatest trust imposed on Britain, namely, develop an independent, strong and united India. The work of great British statesmen and administrators for over 150 years will be destroyed, if any such disintegration is encouraged.

The Delhi University Convocation

Mr. N. R. Sarkar's Address

"To-day the waves of war are furiously lapping on our shores and may, at any hour, flood into our very hearth and home. It would mean untold misery and sufferings for millions of peaceful citizens. Yet even as the war churns up its tales of destruction, cruelty and horror, it would at the same time afford our youth—in the course of a remorseless struggle against the cruel aggressor—just those opportunities to prove the strength of its moral fibre—of courage, discipline, organization and all that go to make the fulness of character."—Thus observed Mr. *N. R. Sarkar*, Education Member, Government of India and Pro-Chancellor, Delhi University, at the 20th. Convocation of the University, held at Delhi on the **18th April 1942.**

"As in the Western countries during the last war," Mr. Sarkar added, "the younger generation of our country—in the role of the soldier in the trenches, the elusive guerrilla fighter and the anonymous hero—will escape from the colourless tenor of an artificial existence and face nature and raw life with a new dignity of hardships and sufferings. It will be their privilege to render a unique service to afflicted society in obstructing the enemy, in preserving the morale of the public and in bringing help and succour to the distressed. The very intensity of such an experience cannot fail to affect profoundly the mental outlook of an entire youthful generation."

Mr. Sarkar said : "India is predominantly an agricultural country, about 80 per cent of the population being dependent on agriculture. This is significant weakness in the economic structure of the country and the ideal which now guides India is the establishment of a more balanced economy resulting in the expansion of her industries to an extent that will help to reduce the proportion to a level of 50 per cent by transfer of the excess to non-agricultural pursuits. A careful reflection on our peculiar problem and needs would show that for the large majority secondary education should in itself be complete after which they would either start specializing in various technical lines or to pass on to some kind of employment needed by them.

Discarding False Ideas

"Now that you are at the portals of a hard and intensely competitive world, I would like you to realise the great complexities of modern life. In days gone by there was almost a certainty that the average university student could, on the completion of his college career, step into some definite job which did not leave him in want of the material necessities of life. But the situation to-day has become ever so much more difficult and complex. There is, therefore, greater need now to equip yourselves more thoroughly for the respective vocations of life you elect to pursue. You must shed false ideas and expectations. Social and economic conditions are in such a flux under the influence of the growing political consciousness of the common mass of people, that we would do well to anticipate in the future a considerable narrowing down of disparities in respect of opportunities and incomes than is the situation even to-day.

"The hectic craze for climbing the golden ladder each for himself, no matter what happens to others, is no longer the ideal that inspires American youth. They now place emphasis on sufficiency of life rather than on a plethora of riches. The

young people in America now think in terms of good health, good working conditions that are based on the wider sense of social well-being in which methods for individual advancement do not conflict with those of the advancement of the community as a whole. This is a spirit which the young men of India will do well to emulate."

University's Progress

Sir Manrice Gwyer, Vice-Chancellor of the University, addressing the convocation, gave a detailed history of the progress which has been made in the academic side and the preliminary steps taken to establish the three-year degree course which, in his opinion, was going to be a blessing to the university itself and to those whom it sought to educate. He gave an account of the progress of the construction of the university buildings, and acknowledged the gifts from numerous donors who had helped the university.

Sir Maurice Gwyer said that every rupee which the university had received had been well spent, and the plans for the development of the university were no longer paper-plans only but were being steadily translated into reality. The Government have provided funds which would enable things to be done which he had been afraid would have to wait till after the war.

He made an earnest appeal to the citizens of Delhi to come forward with help which was very badly needed to complete all the schemes.

S. N. D. T. University Convocation

Mr. N. R. Sarkar's Address

To-day totalitarian war, in its mighty sweep, is rushing towards our frontiers, and may, at any hour, completely envelop our crisis, if and when the call should come, I have no doubt in my mind that our womenfolk, too, will stand in comradeship with our manhood in consecrated acts of courageous and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of our Motherland."

These remarks were made by the Hon. Mr. *N. R. Sarkar*, Member, Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, in his address at the twenty-sixth convocation of the S. N. D. T. University, Bombay, held on the **3rd. July 1942.**

The higher education of our girls as much as of our boys presents the depressing picture of an aimless drift, except perhaps for a microscopic minority. Against this background we are becoming more and more conscious that the ideals of the system of female education in our country, stand in need of being defined and viewed in the context of the economic and social realities of our national life. Old institutions, like the joint family system which kept questions relating to the economic status of women very much in the background, are disintegrating and new ones are arising.

And inevitably along with these rapid changes in our society, we are being confronted with the task of giving close and careful thought to the question of women's status, the role they will have to play in the changing order of society and the training that should be imparted to them for the purpose.

Separate Universities For Women

To-day, co-educational colleges are often nothing but boys' colleges where a sprinkling of women are admitted, while their special needs are ignored. It is true that there are colleges meant exclusively for girls, but even then because they are mere reproductions of the boys' colleges, these colleges as well do not minister to the special needs of women. Viewed in this light, all, I think, will concede that separate Universities for women, if built up along right lines, will answer to some definite needs and perform a useful function in society.

Formal education, however, I feel, can never be a satisfying substitute for home training and we shall not get the ideal system of girls' education, until the home is fully and frankly rehabilitated as an educational factor.

At the same time, in our zeal for practical education, we may lose sight of the value of a liberal culture. A liberal education, in Aristotle's view, is liberal in proportion to its divorce from practical affairs. If in consonance with the conventional type, we limit her education to a predominantly practical curriculum, we not

only subordinate the full and free development of her personality, but also make her incapable of building a home in which her child will find "a University of true culture."

Presiding Spirit Of Home

For a housewife is not merely a domestic technician whose task is solely to cook, darn, sew and, in general, to look after her children and her husband. She is the presiding spirit of the home and the cultural level of the home is measured precisely by her own. A woman totally submerged in the petty details of domesticity is not an ideal home-maker.

I sincerely hope the Indian Women's University will be able to offer a true synthesis of liberal and cultural education, on the one hand, with the training in practical subjects to fit women for their primal vocation of home-making, on the other. It is this synthesis which, I strongly feel, should constitute the ideal higher education of women in India, as otherwise it may lead to serious complications in our social structure of which signs are already in evidence.

Assertive Feminism

Unless we are able to achieve the right synthesis, I am afraid we many also witness in this country a repetition of what has taken place in Western countries—an extremely assertive feminism leading women to try in every way to fit themselves for man's world and man's work, competition by women for men's jobs, with consequent increase in male unemployment, decrease in the number of marriages, disruption in family life and the many evils that come in its train.

Experience during the last few decades is leading people once more to lay the emphasis on the home as the focal centre of woman's activities. But I must not be misunderstood to imply that woman has or can have no sphere of work outside the home. The world is becoming much too tough and complex for us all and in exceptional times like the present specially, woman must work and exercise her influence for the benefit of the community in various directions. It is in fact most remarkable how women in countries with most diverse social and political backgrounds, have unhesitatingly accepted the hardships of a strenuous life of struggle during periods of national emergency such as war.

War, in fact, always quickens the pace of social changes. The last war, for example, hastened the advent of women's franchise and led to improvement in the status of women in Society.

Vital Role Of Women In War

Even this war is providing us with glorious instances of the rich and varied contribution that women can make and are making to the life of the State, even though in times of peace they accept the home as their most important sphere of work. To-day in Russia, the women, emancipated by the last Revolution, are playing the most diverse, arduous and courageous role in the defence of their Motherland. Even in conservative China, the stresses of the war have brought about a most remarkable change in the status and role of women. In a short period, they have passed from the impotency of bound feet to the strenuous dignity of a life of bitter struggle against a ruthless foe. They have been fighting in comradeship with their menfolk.

I am inclined to think that the troubles of our generation, in a large measure, are due to the exclusion of the feminine personality in the direct shaping of our social affairs. Without women in public affairs men have made a world in which physical science is over-developed in comparison to the science of human and social relations; in which brain-power has precedence over heart-power; in which brute-force is admired more than humane and sympathetic control; in which, in short, the male personality predominates over the female personality. As a result what a frightful mess we are in to-day! Clearly it is high time that some new influence were introduced to assuage the sufferings of a ravaged humanity—not, however, the boudoir influence of woman, but the impact of her emotional and intellectual integrity on a grievously distracted world. Woman bears life in pain and her strongest instincts are towards preservation and concord. The plight in which humanity finds itself is, I believe, a direct consequence of a lack of balance between the male and the female instincts in social organisation. With woman mostly out of it, society has been not a duet, but a solo—and a disastrous one at that.

In India, we realised long ago the duel principle of the masculine-feminine

personality—"*Ardhanarishwara*" and what the Western civilisation has called the "weaker sex," we in India have apostrophised as "Shakti"—Power.

You who are to-day passing out of this University, are the flower of our enlightened womanhood. I would remind you again that if your power and prestige are great, so are your responsibilities. I can pray for no greater blessings than this that you may hold high the ideals of womanhood and may shape and mould the present generation and the generations yet unborn, so that society may be informed with the aesthetic, intellectual and spiritual values and the abiding spirit of Beauty and Goodness which indeed are the epithets of perfect Womanhood.

The Agra University Convocation

Mr. N. R. Sarkar's Address

"The war enhances the importance of our problems and increases the urgency of studying them without delay. We need not only to maintain the outlay in attention and money on our educational system, but also to maintain a constant and penetrating study of our education problems, a study which will, at suitable stages, issue in sound and concise proposals for the reconstruction of our educational system," observed Mr. *N. R. Sarkar*, Commerce Member, delivering the Convocation Address of the Agra University held at Agra on the **14th. November 1942.**

Mr. Sarkar said young men to-day were confronted with a situation infinitely more complicated and difficult than that which his generation had to face in its time. He doubted whether the Government or the public in this country had given that constructive attention to the problems of youth which they deserved. Mass education had never appealed to the Government as a practical proposition. The autonomy of universities and other educational institutions availed them little in the solution of our educational problems, not only because such autonomy was never large or real, but also because they did not derive sustenance either from a wise national government at the top or from a population which was being helped by widespread primary and secondary education to discover its racial genius and aptitudes. Higher education in India, therefore, always hung suspended in mid-air, and "despite the impressive number of Committees and Commissions appointed by Government for enquiry into the subject and the large annual output of educated men and women, we do not seem to have moved far beyond the stage of either skimming the surface or skirting the fringe of the problem. Even to-day when the paramountcy of educational purposes is more widely recognised, inroads into it on the plea of exigencies of war are far from being rare."

Dealing with the position of education in war-time, Mr. Sarkar deprecated the tendency to cast covetous eyes on educational buildings and staffs for war purposes. He referred to the services which had been rendered by technical schools and colleges in this country in connection with the scheme for training skilled and semi-skilled men for munition work. The universities, colleges and various scientific institutions had afforded invaluable help, both in men and material, for research. It was only in this way that education could legitimately help the war effort. "But I am more than doubtful", he said, "if the numerous officials and authorities who have the power to take over educational buildings or conscript men for war work have adequate appreciation of the limits within which alone legitimate demands can be made on education for aid to the war effort. If they have not, the evil must be traced to its deep roots in the traditional apathy of the Government towards education.

Indian Problems And The Solution

"There are special reasons why it is particularly important that India should look to her educational system while there is time," said Mr. Sarkar. "It is reasonable to assume that the time is rapidly approaching when India will be called upon to manage her own affairs and that a number of the young men and women now in colleges and schools will be called upon, and consequently ought to be prepared to take their part in this management. We have our masses without even the most elementary form of literacy ; we have large numbers of men to whom literacy is much like cast-off clothing, a system of secondary education, which is neither

sufficient for those who enter life thereafter, nor a sound preparation for the university, an increasing number of colleges and universities which soothe communal susceptibilities more or satisfy local pride more than our educational wants. In the background, there is the wellnigh insoluble problem of bringing into proper relation the training and teaching of youth in school and college on the one hand, and the economic conditions into which youth has to live its life. The solution, doubtless, lies in a happy blend of two or three alternative courses of action. One is that of adapting education to the possible demands for praticular kinds of ability, a second is making the training in itself a factor for change, in other words, creating those kinds of ability which do not wait for markets, but create them. The third is not wholly within the sphere of the educationist. For it is dependent on the formulation of a complete scheme of economic planning, which will state precisely its requirements of particular kinds of ability. To unify the educational drive of the post-war period, to ensure proper devotion to the national aim of educational uplift of the masses, to avoid needless duplication of educational amenities and to ensure their proper diversity a central authority, more federal, if you like, than unitary, will be found to be necessary. It is not too early to take a move in that direction."

India In Post-War World

Warning the young men against falling victims to catch-phrases and slogans, Mr. Sarkar said. "I want you to have a virile and active mind, a mind that is equipped against the fallacies of the market place, animated by the will to believe and act, but open always to the breath of reason and the light of truth, ready to take pains that the scales of judgment should be always even and fair. You must place the requirements of our ultimate aims against the apparently urgent promptings of the present. Not the least of the difficulties in securing healthy political life is the fact that by the time political policies get a hold on the public mind and gain popularity, conditions become different from those in which the policies were originally conceived. It is your duty to reflect on whether such is not the case with the policies of some of the great political parties in India, whether the war and the way it has developed and spread do not detract considerably from the wisdom of these policies, whether the post-war world as we can see it now, however dimly, is not a different world from that in which Indian Swaraj, as it has all along been thought out, would have to function. If we are rudely awakened to the fact that free India will have to live in a far more dangerous world than we ever imagined, that it is not the lone wolf of British domination that the Indian lamb has to fear, but packs of wolves, hungry and growling, not too far from our doors. I submit there are then new aspects of our national problem which you cannot escape by plunging into over-simplified programmes of direct action. The claims of patient building of the good are not to be brushed aside in favour of passionate destruction of evil."

The Madras University Convocation

Sir C. V. Raman's Address

"The true wealth of a nation consists not in the stored-up gold in its coffers and the banks, not in the factories, but in the intellectual and physical strength of its men, women and children. If you ask me what is the greatest industry—the key industry —of a nation, I have no hesitation in saying that it is the production and diffusion of knowledge," said *Sir C. V. Raman* delivering the address at the Convocation of the Madras University held at Madras on the **27th November 1942.**

Sir C. V. Raman urged Indian students to devote themselves to higher studies in Indian universities instead of going abroad and said that the money annually spent abroad, if devoted to promotion of university activities in this country, would result in great and permanent benefit to India.

Referring to research activities of the Madras University, Sir C. V. Raman, congratulating it on the work done so far, pleaded for a due recognition of the importance of basic sciences as a necessary part of studies in Technology and Applied Science. His Excellency the Chancellor, *Sir Arthur Hope* presided over the Convocation.

Sir C. V. Raman, addressing the Convocation, said that it was no small honour to be called upon to address a gathering of this kind and especially so to one who, in

that very hall, 38 years ago, had the privilege to be presented as a candidate. Since then many changes had taken place. Some of them were regrettable and one of them, for example, was the obvious disappearance of the turban as the head-dress of the graduate. (Laughter). It was regrettable, because, as had often been mentioned to him while travelling in Europe, where he was recognised as an Indian by his turban, there was no head-dress more beautiful and dignified than that of the South Indian. They might look at the Vice-Chancellor of the University to realise the truth of that statement. (Laughter). Another change which he noticed, though not regrettable, which made up for the lack of the picturesqueness of the turban, if he might be permitted to refer to it, were the beautiful coiffures of the increasing numbers of lady graduates. In his days, it was regarded as a rare phenomenon for a lady to aspire to a degree of the Madras University. At that time, they used to applaud the lady who was presented at a convocation but to-day nobody took notice of them unless when in competition with men, they knocked away the medals and prizes of the University. (Laughter).

Knowledge as key Industry

"As one who has been assigned the duty of addressing the graduates to-day." Sir C. V. Raman said, "let me, in the first place congratulate you on this occasion in your life. I assure you this is a great occasion. It is a fashion nowadays to decry Indian Universities. We hear so much to-day about Capital and Labour, about Marxism and Capitalism and about basic industries and so on, and here I should like to make a confession of my own faith. I have been a teacher for 25 years and I say this advisedly that the true wealth of a nation consists not in the stored-up gold in its coffers and the banks or in the factories, but in the intellectual and physical strength of the men and women and children of the country. The greatest industry, the key industry, of a nation is the production and diffusion of the knowledge. You are the products of the greatest key industry of the country. There is no nobler work for a a man or an institution than to bring up a young generation in health and strength and in the vigour of intellectual and physical activity.

"I have lived long enough in this world to know that the present generation of young men in this world do not stand in need of any advice, especially, when that advice is given free and gratuitously. But let me, as a farmer in the garden of youth, express a few thoughts which come uppermost in my mind. You can feel justifiably proud of being graduates of one of the three oldest universities in India. The Madras University can look back upon nearly a century of useful activity, and I hope before long, God willing, the University will celebrate its centenary. When that centenary comes, the university will look back with pride upon the long list of noble and distinguished names among its alumni. If the University can look back with pride upon its alumni I think you can look to your Alma Mater with the same pride. One thing which you must place before yourself is to raise and exalt in some way the name of your Alma Mater and do something that will make its name resound in the world. I do not ask you to be blind to its faults but you must try to help her rise higher and higher in the estimation of the whole world."

The Foreign Education Fad

Continuing Sir C. V. Raman said :

"I do not wish to be unjust, but I think there is in the mind of many Indians a feeling that Indian universities may be good enough or not quite so good as they ought to be. Before the war, as you know, a great many young Indians went abroad, to Great Britain, Germany, France, America and other parts of the world, to study in universities there. Behind all this, there was a kind of abstract feeling that we must send our young men to Oxford, Cambridge or Paris if we want to give them the best. Parents and young men shared that belief. I have been told that, at a rough estimate, something like a crore of rupees was spent annually by students from various parts of India studying in various universities abroad. What a pity ! I do not decry the idealism and the thirst for knowledge, so far as these were the motives underlying their going abroad, but one cannot help deploring the state of affairs which made such a thing necessary. If you study the budgets of our universities, you will realise, with the same feeling with which I regard this vast expenditure of money abroad, that even half that amount, Rs. 50 lakhs, would mean a vast addition to the resources in staff, laboratories, libraries and other equipment to our universities here. That being so, it is but right, I think, to ask if India is getting the value for the vast out-pouring of her money each year ! I say it with due deliberation and sense

of responsibility, that I hold all that money as literally wasted. I do not for a moment, let me repeat, seek to decry the great universities of Great Britain and other countries. But what we are concerned with now is this. Do Indian students really benefit by going to that environment to the extent they think they do, and can they not do just as well and even better still by staying here if all the money were used here. To that question, there can be only one answer.

"A Vicious Circle"

"Believe me, graduates and Senators, I say with a due sense of responsibility, that no country in the world and no people should continue to believe that their own teachers, their own institutions, their own scientific Chairs and Academies are inferior to those of other countries. Can we ever hope to see anything achieved unless we shed this complex? If we want our institutions to be great and rise to eminence, we must lay aside such beliefs and refuse to accept the proposition that Calcutta, Madras or Allahabad is inferior to Oxford or Cambridge or any other university in the world. (Loud cheers). I will go further as a teacher, pleading for understanding. I am prepared to quote any number of examples to show that Indians who have stayed here and worked at our universities and used the opportunities present here, have done infinitely better and shown more real originality than many of those who went abroad. I do not say that a few who did go abroad have not really benefited; but, I do maintain, that if they had stayed here, they would have benefited more, certainly not less. I feel strongly that it is up to you and every one interested in the future of Indian education to try and make our institutions—I include here the Universities and everything connected with the advancement of learning—the very best in the world. If we find the resources wanting, let us try to make up. Let us try to make the institutions the best—we should not be satisfied with anything less than the best. What will be the result? Instead of a great many of our young men going out of the country, they will remain here and strive to advance our reputation and that will make us strive for more good things.

"The moment we believe that the right thing to do is to send our young men abroad, we come to believe also that the right thing is to have men with foreign degrees as teachers, professors, and for other places. It is a vicious circle. I should therefore put it before my young friends that their aim must be to reach the highest in the field of scholarship and learning by remaining and studying in Indian Universities, and I am sure they can achieve their ambition."

Madras University's Record

Proceeding, Sir C. V. Raman said that time and again he had noticed with pride how the Madras University had not stood still. He wondered if there was any University in India or anywhere else in the world which boast of such magnificent location and buildings. What was even more, the Madras University had tried its best to promote all branches of knowledge.—Tamil, Music, Bio-Chemistry. "In common with others interested in learning in India" the speaker said, "I have watched with pride the achievements of the Madras University, of my colleagues in various departments here in raising and keeping aloft the flag of research and advancement of knowledge which is indeed the highest aim of a University. But I should be failing in my duty, if I sounded this note of gratulation without, at the same time, discharging my duty as a son of my Mother by respectfully venturing to draw the attention of you, Sir, and the Senators of this University, to certain obvious lacunae which must strike any observer. I refer to this. In the development of research in this University, there has been a fundamental lack of balance if I may say so, and appreciation of the basic principles on which learning should be organised by a University. If I speak to-day on this point, it is because the Vice-Chancellor, I am glad, is a distinguished man of science. I am very happy about it, because I am sure that what I say will fall on fertile soil and that by the time the University celebrates its centenary, some of these deficiencies would have been rectified.

Importance of Basic Sciences

"One of these wants," Sir C. V. Raman said, "is the complete lack of research activity in some of the branches of Science. For instance, there are the great branches of Knowledge, Theoretical Physics, Chemical Physics, Physical Chemistry, Inorganic Chemistry and so on. These great branches of knowledge may be taught in colleges but can any one who knows anything about Science say that anything worthy of mention is being done anywhere in the Madras University in these subjects. I say that with great diffidence, but I know what is being done. I am not one of

those who would say that a University must do everything. But there are certain basic sciences and I know of no University in the world that claims to be a University engaged in research and scientific work which ignores those great and fundamental sciences. For, you cannot organise successfully the kind of atmosphere you want in a University if you ignore these branches of knowledge. I think it is the clear and plain duty of the Madras University and its *alumni* and all those—I hope these are many—who look forward to seeing a great and glorious future for it, to organise the highest kind of study and research in these branches. Then and then only can we hope to see the right kind of results coming out from all those activities in which the University is already engaged in. I am sure the true meaning and spirit of my appeal will be realised and no time would be lost in rectifying these obvious and fundamental defects in the organisation of studies in the Madras University. We see in other parts of India a Rash Behari Ghosh or a Jamshed Tata or a Tarak Nath Palit coming forward to give of his best for the promotion of learning. Has it not been truly said that he who gives for learning will be remembered long after kings and emperors are forgotten ? There is no greater gift a man can make than a gift in the cause of learning. It is up to the graduates of the University, past and present, who have benefited by the teachings of the University in trying to develop these fundamental activities. I am not one of those who think that the University should concentrate on pure academic studies only, but I think you cannot really hope to see anything like real development of Applied Science or Technology, if the university ignores the organisation of studies in the basic sciences. As any one who really has gone into the matter knows the success of technology and practical education rests essentially on the existence in the University of a strong School of Basic Sciences. Technology trying to advance without Science is like a man trying to walk in darkness with eyes completely blindfolded. It is very necessary that if we in Madras wish to see our students and our men and women enjoy the fruits of the earth to the fullest extent, we cannot achieve that object by following the idea that technology could be encouraged without a study of the basic sciences."

Concluding, Sir C. V. Raman said : "I will ask you to make it the great aim of your life to further the fair name and reputation of your *alma mater*, to help its progress as well as the progress of your fellow-countrymen which is intimately bound up with the future of our centres of learning." (Applause.)

Benares Hindu University Convocation

Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Address

"We must wake up from the sleep of centuries and hold our heads high," said *Sir S. Radhakrishnan*, Vice-Chancellor, addressing the Convocation of the Benares Hindu University held at Benares on the **29th November 1942.**

"India has a message for the whole world. Her treasures of spiritual wisdom are for the healing of nations. Many are struck with amazement that a nation so great, spiritually, morally, materially, once upon a time, has come down to its present low position. The recent past of our country is an age of decadence and shaken nerves. A nation that has produced such culture and such men for centuries has a right to Independence, to shape her own future in keeping with her past. If India wants freedom, it is for enabling her to teach the world lessons of moral perfection and love. It is impossible for those who have not experienced foreign rule to realise how deadening it is to the soul of the country. Freedom is something deep and elemental. Speeches like those of the Prime Minister about there being in the country a White Army, larger than at any time in the British connection and that he is therefore entitled to report to the House that the situation in India at this moment gives no occasion for undue despondence or alarm, are highly provocative. They burn into the Indian soul deep resentment and bitterness."

The Vice-Chancellor, continuing, observed that to preserve order was the primary duty of every Government, but it did not stop there. There was another obligation on the Government to base their rule on the consent and goodwill of the governed. It was the duty of a Government, not only to maintain law and order, but to create conditions which made for law and order.

"We need a programme", said Sir Radhakrishnan, "more positive than repression, which is not an aid to civil peace or war effort. The Secretary of State said, 'Indian nationalism, the desire to see India's destiny directed by Indian hands free from external control, is not confined to any one party in India. It is shared by all. To that aim we in this country have solemnly pledged ourselves before India and before the world. In the name of His Majesty's Government, I repeat that pledge to-day. But when the fulfilment of this pledge is put aside to some future date in the name of war, doubts arise."

"We are glad that the course of the war has changed for the better and we hope very much that it will end in 1943 with the victory of the Allies. But if we have to win it on the moral plane also, where we have the power, equality and freedom must be established. In fighting for our rightful place in the common-wealth of nations, we should not sacrifice our inner wealth of spirit, the inexhaustible richness of human sensibility. If we give up the traditional courtsey of this ancient race, if we fail in love and forgiveness, the soul of India will have departed from this stand. Nothing is lost if the spirit lives. This world plunged into darkness will wake up to the truth and come to its senses. Daylight shall yet return for time is boundless and the world is wide".

Purpose Of Education

Sir Sarvapalli said that education was not a mere intellectual enterprise. It was a training for human environment, by civilising our attitudes and refining our emotion. It was dedicated to social, moral, as well as intellectual ends. It initiated the pupil into the traditional pattern of living in the race. India was not to be the passive instrument of outsiders, wills and forces. We could borrow from others' experiences, but we cannot build on them. We must, therefore, preserve our individuality. To lose touch with tradition was to doom ourselves to mental ruin. If we were to play a worthy part in the world we must know our spirit and preserve it. India had passed through many valleys of humiliation, but she had not entered the valley of death. Her territory had been invaded but her soul was unaffected. India had been tested by many trials, strengthened by many struggles, and made enduring by many sufferings and long patience. A spiritual inspiration had been the secret of her long life, of her immortality.

Giving a word of advice to the students Sir Sarvapalli said, "The art of living is insisted on. The pupil must not do anything which is questionable, though it is done by many good people. Whatever duties are blameless, be devoted to them. It is not given to us to be perfect. In spite of our care and vigilence, we may be guilty of lapses, we are erring, so do not imitate our fallings. For leadership and guidance, we will look to the conduct on the wise, the finest and the most disinterested conscience of which the nation is capable. When we are in doubt about what is right, take for your guidance what is done in similar circumstances by Brahmins competent to judge, apt and devoted, but not harsh lovers of virtue. As for those persons, who are accused, conduct yourself in such a way in which those Brahmins who are living there, who are competent to judge, educated to good virtues, not led by others, not cruel lovers of virtue, conduct themselves'. We must abstain from personal quarrels and petty bickerings must not play the partisan. 'Vengeance is mine, I will replay' says the Christian Bible, the guilt is due to the force of circumstances or impulsiveness. There is nothing in the world which is completely divine, or hopelessly diabolic. Chance plays a large part. Lastly there is insistence on discipline, on respect for superiors, on obedience to authority. It is the duty of pupils to listen to the voices of the wise, to respect the wishes of elders and carry out the prescribed duties".

Concluding Sir S. Radhakrishnan said, "India never stood for national and cultural isolation. Her spiritual heights rest on a basis that embraces all humanity. Wherever men love reason, shun darkness, turn towards light, praise virtue, despise meanness, hate vulgarity, kindle sheer beauty, wherever minds are sensitive, hearts generous, spirits free, there is your country. Let us adopt that loyalty to humanity instead of a sectional devotion to one part of the human race".

The Dacca University Convocation

Sir Mirza Ismail's Address

"At no time has it been more true of Europe than to-day that he who controls education controls the ultimate springs of power," said *Sir Mirza Ismail*, Dewan of Jaipur, in the course of his Convocation Address at the Dacca University, held at Dacca on the **2nd December 1942.**

It is not at all strange, observed Sir Mirza Ismail, that the Fascist Powers have been able, by means of education, to inoculate the minds of the youth of the land with an attitude to life which has for them the sanctity of a gospel but which to others is a negation of all that makes life worth living. And, if we are to counteract effectively what we can only regard, from the point of view of ideal life, as evil forces, we must in our educational institutions create leaders who have a living faith in freedom, truth, and service. It is also through such leaders that we can hope to gather together and strengthen those forces which can repair the wastage of this terrible war and prevent another.

No expenditure, therefore, can be too high on educational institutions which aim at creating such leadership, continued Sir Mirza. No economy can be so disastrous as that which starves such institutions. The new China in the throes of a deadly struggle which has now lasted for five years, has not relaxed her educational effort and is still diverting all her available resources towards the maintenance and further development of her educational system. That she places very high the need for educational facilites, is shown by article 137 of the draft constitution for China which reads as follows :

"Educational appropriations shall constitute no less than 15 per cent of the total amount of the budget of the Central Government and no less than 30 per cent of the total amount of the provincial district and municipal budgets, respectively."

Dacca was the first unitary University with its emphasis on the residential system, to be established in India. Educationists all over the country are watching how this system works at Dacca, whether transported to Indian environment it deserves the famous eulogy of Cardinal Newman :—"If I had to choose between a so-called University which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence, and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects, and a university which merely brought a number of young men together for three or four years, and then sent them away as the University of Oxford is said to have done some sixty years ago ; if I were asked which of these two methods was the better discipline of the intellect, which of the two courses was more successful in training, moulding and enlarging the mind, which sent out men the more fitted for their secular duties, which produced better public men, men of the world, men whose names would descend to posterity, I have no hesitation in giving the preference to that university which did nothing over that which exacted of its members an acquaintance with every subject under the sun." It is, of course, too early to apply this standard of judgment to Dacca, but in your stock-taking of twenty years progress, proper emphasis may be laid on this aspect of development.

Economic Uplift

It is not enough, however, if graduates go out to the world from our Universities imbued with the ideals of truth and freedom and nobly strive to hold aloft these ideals. No leadership can succeed in India which does not attend to the dreadful disease of our body politic—the appalling poverty of the masses. In no problem of administration, during many years of public service have I been more interested than in this ; and I may say to you with conviction that modern knowledge has made such poverty absolutely unnecessary. Notwithstanding the misuse of scientific invention for destruction and death-dealing purposes, the genius of humanity has also given us a wide range of implements to serve the progress of the race. From the dawn of the agricultural age up to recent times, human civilisation has depended mostly upon slave labour. It is well known that in Athens at the time of her highest glory, there were four slaves to each citizen. In Rome the proportion was greater. To the slave captured in war was assigned all important work of the household, cultivation, irrigation, and handicraft.

The triumph of modern knowledge is that it has made human slavery absolutely unnecessary for civilisation. A machine can easily take the place of the slave and human muscles need no longer bear the drudgery and pain of work that machines can do. And there is no reason why the people of every country should not enjoy

a fuller and more satisfying life provided the country possesses sufficient natural resources and, what is more important, the people have the ability to explore and exploit those resources. The Red Indians, who lived in North America barely three-centuries ago, had no idea that their problems of food and living could be satisfactorily solved except by continuous wars between the tribes for the possession of some fields of maize and corn. Yet, to-day, the same country maintains 130 million human beings with food in such excess that to keep prices up to the level desired by the merchants maize has sometimes been burnt and milk thrown into streams. The standard of living is so high that there was a motor car for every five persons in the United States up to the coming of the States into the War. Sanitary and prophylactic measures have become so perfect that the average expectation of life is more than fifty years, twice that of India. All this has been due to the ability of the people in harnessing the power that modern knowledge has placed at their disposal. We know well that India does not lack natural resources. Her fields and mountains, her waters and mines can give us in abundance all that we want. But have we got the ability to develop these resources—men and women with the requisite technical skill, who have learnt to dare and to pioneer ? The Universities of India can provide part of the future affirmative answer to this crucial question.

Anything that a thoughtful and serious man can do, whatever his profession or vocation, to create a feeling of oneness in the country, is probably the most worth-while thing that he can be doing, continued the speaker. The educationist can achieve a great deal by upholding the idea of unity and in moulding the younger generation to a way of life which will lead to the solution of conflicts and the growth of a new and broader outlook. Both inclination and reason place me among the optimists. I believe the future will be better than the past. The destiny of India is unity. Geography, time and common dangers and interests work towards its integration. Indian rivers rise, fall and flow without reference to provincial and State boundaries. Every instrument that science forges from telephone to television, jumps frontiers. People cannot be left in compartments in the world of to-day, much less in the world of to-morrow.

The Travancore University Convocation

Sir Ramalinga Reddy's Address

The following is the text of the address delivered by *Sir C. Ramalinga Reddy*, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University at the Fourth Annual Convocation of the University of Travancore held on the **5th. November 1942** :—

Your Highness the Chancellor and Authorities of the Travancore University, Senators, Graduates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I must first express my sense of deep and sincere obligation to your Chancellor and the Authorities for the honour they have done to me by inviting me to address this Convocation. I know that this is one of the many events connected with the celebration of His Highness's auspicious birth day. So let me commence by proffering to His Highness the heart-felt congratulations of the Andhra University and myself on his birthday and our best wishes for many many happy returns of the same. I must also congratulate the Graduates on the degrees they have obtained under such distinguished auspices and more especially our illustrious savant, Brahmasri Gaykasikhamani L Muthia Bhagavathar, on the Honorary Degree of D. Litt. conferred on him and my friend, Professor Moudgill, on the Honorary Degree of D. Sc,, which he has just received. I wish all these Graduates every success in their careers that are awaiting them ; and, career or no career, I trust they will all dedicate themselves to the service of the country and humanity.

Your Highness, the Travancore University has been laid out on sumptuous and spacious lines. You have Colleges devoted to Arts, Sciences, Technology, Applied Sciences, Forestry, Engineering and Law. You have also a Department of Fine Arts in which Music and Dancing and all that go to promote the appreciation of aesthetic values and graces of life are inculcated. The ideal of a full and balanced life is at the root of your organisation and it is developing on lines that fill educationists with pride and pleasure, My friend, the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of this University referred to the importance of Research. In fact, without creative output a University

cannot justify its existence. It is Research that serves to keep the teachers up to the mark and up to date preventing their falling into stagnation. Research is the life-blood of a University. I must specially congratulate your Highness on the Central Research Institute in Travancore which already distinguished itself by its original output regarding which Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar just now said they were significant. The future of humanity rests largely on Applied Science. Science yoke nature to the service of man, and Arts endeavour to yoke man to the service of society. We want both life as well as the good life and, if anything, life is the foundation of good life. Whereas you can have life without the good life—it is not a desirability—you cannot have the good life without life, for it is an impossibility. Applied Science is power. Power is not the supreme good but it is a condition of good without which the good secured cannot be preserved and safeguarded from the rapacity of possible aggressors. I, therefore, wish those Departments greater success in the future than they have achieved in the past.

Tests of progress

But one thing. We are making small beginnings. We cannot allow ourselves to be satisfied with results so far obtained or the progress so far made. We must, above all, resist the temptation to compare ourselves with what we were yesterday and to fall into a state of self-complacency when we find that we are a trifle better to-day. It is a wrong comparison altogether, though it is a very usual one in India. To say that things are a bit better to-day than they were yesterday is no ground for satisfaction. The really significant thing is not whether we are better off than yesterday but whether we are fit for the tasks of tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. Let me illustrate. In England, when the Navy Budget is introduced, the First Lord of the Admiralty gives an account of all the Navies of the world and provides for a Navy better than that possessed by any other Power. The standard there is not a Navy better than what it was a year before, but a Navy which is superior to the best in the world, aye, to a possible combination of the best in the world. At one time they had the two-Power standard. The requirements of international competition determine the standards of progress that England maintains. In India, it is the other way about. We are here treated to statistics to show that there has been some improvement over the last year and the year before that, and we are asked to be profoundly grateful for the wonderful progress, relatively to our backward past achieved. This is most defective, it is most deceptive.

Moral and Mental Dualism of England and other Imperialist Powers and Organic and inorganic States :—

Now, let us, for one moment, ask ourselves the question, how comes it that there is dualism in the moral and mental attitudes of the Imperialist Powers ? They apply one standard in their own administration, a very different and fallacious standard in the administration of their dependencies. What is the root of this mental and moral dualism ? There is no book which, at the present moment, is likely to be of greater interest to the student of politics than Sir John Seeley's "Expansion of England". He has there pointed out that there are two types of States, the Organic and the Inorganic. In the organic State, it does not matter what the form of government is, there is one soul, one heart, one will and one ambition actuating both the government and the people. Parties and classes act in subordination to the nation's good. It is one body politic. It has therefore one life and in all its larger interests, is actuated by one will. Sir John Seeley has pointed out that that is the kind of relationship that exists between England and her Colonies like Canada and Australia. This particular relationship is not dependent on forms of government nor is it disrupted by class or party rivalries. Apparently it is dependent on racial and other affinities. I will later discuss the question whether it cannot be dependent on other affinities besides physiology. The relationship, Sir John Seeley points out, between England and India is not organic but inorganic. It is mechanical. There is no common life. If anything, there seem to be differences which are apparently, and on a surface view, irreconcilable. It is not one blood that courses through both the countries. It is not one life, one soul, one ambition, and it is this that is at the root of so many of those dilemmas and difficulties that vitiate or confront the administration of India and cause our political agitations and asperities. I do not wish to say that consciously and deliberately anybody or any Power is trying to do injustice to the dependencies. But it seems to be there is a matter of unthinking habit, of nature untutored by equity and unenlivened by spiritual obligations. In the present War, for instance, the United Nations are undoubtedly actuated by the

highest ideals of democracy, by the principle of equalitarian co-operation, which they fare out to establish between the different races and peoples of the world. I have not the slightest doubt about it. But unconsciously this inorganic relationship between the suzerain Powers of the West and the dependencies of the East shows itself. For instance, some time ago, in discussing the War aims of the Allies, Lord Halifax and Sir Samuel Hoare mentioned that England was fighting to establish Christian civilization in the world. Christians are not the only people who form the organisation of the United Nations. Earl Winterton very properly pointed out that such a claim might prove, if not positively offensive, to a certain extent repellent to the Muslims and others who are also fighting the Nazis and Fascists. The Foreign Secretary replied that when he used the words "Christian Civilization" he did not mean it in any exclusive sense derogatory of other religions but meant those spiritual and ethical principles underlying all the religions of the world ; but being born a Christian he was expressing himself in the idiom of the religion in which he was born. The explanation, no doubt, is satisfactory to himself. But if the Englishman can claim to speak in the idiom of the religion in which he was born, he cannot deny a similar right to the people of other religions ; and supposing Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek says that the Chinese are fighting for establishing Buddhist civilisation in the world ; and the Muslims of the Allied Armies, that they are fighting to establish Muslim civilization in the world ; and Hindus, that they are fighting for establishing Hindu civilization in the would ; the result would be that all would be fighting to establish Bedlam. My fear is that all unconsciously, without meaning it, idioms are employed which, though they appeal to the mind of the West, do not convey the same appeal to the mind of the East and of India but rather irritate. That is because this organic relationship, one life, one will, one soul, is absent. The same dualism, unconscious perhaps and not to be taken literally and pressed to its logical conclusion, can be seen in other declarations. Sometime ago, General Smuts, the distinguished soldier-statesman of the Empire, was telling a London audience that when the War was ended there would be nothing more left for Japan except Japan for the Japanese. I am very glad to hear it. I do not want Japan to establish an empire over the countries of Asia. I do not believe in her Greater Asia Policy or, as she puts it, the policy of co-prosperity. Japan will be the principal and the rest will not count. But the question arises, what about Java ? Will it be Java for Javanese or will it be Java for the Dutch ? Are the Allies fighting in the cause of liberation of peoples from thraldom or in the cause of liberation of peoples only from particular thraldoms and not all thraldoms ? Sir Dorman Smith, the Governor of Burma, made a speech recently about the re-conquest of Burma. Very naturally people are asking whether he means to liberate Burma from Japan and give Burma full independence or whether he is out to re-conquer and re-annex Burma to the Empire and continue as in the old days. Will it be Burma for the Burmese or for the British ? My own feeling is that the Allies are sincerely devoted to the cause of democracy and the self-determination of the different peoples. Indeed the whole trend of events is in the direction of the minimisation of imperialisms in order that a Supreme Global Order capable of giving permanent peace and prosperity to all the peoples of the world might emerge as a result of this global war. If global wars are to be avoided in the future, a global order will have to be instituted. I will not refer to the speech of Mr. Churchill in which he used the provocative phrase that India is now safe because of the large number of white forces stationed here, revealing how little we count in his calculations of war and consequently how little in his arrangements for future peace. Let me explain that I am not one of those who feel that our national dignity has been affected by the presence of American and other forces. Why, forces of many countries were in France, forces of many countries are to-day in China, North Africa, Australia and in England itself. Only the U. S. A. is free of foreign soldiers. This war is not a war fought by isolated nationalities for the perpetuation of their powered isolation and their insular independence or for imperialistic grab and greed. It is a war of a different type from all the wars that have gone before. It is a global war in which all the humanistic powers are acting in co-operation with each other for the sake of establishing a global order based on equality and co-operation. So there is nothing wrong in referring to the white forces in India or even to the yellow, though it looked as though he seemed to repose confidence in the safety of India from foreign aggression more on them than on the goodwill and co-operation of the Indian people.

Imperialism and the Global Order

The Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Eden, in his recent speech, spoke of Great

Britain after the war remaining a great power. Other British statesmen also are beating the Imperialistic drum in answer to Ameroian criticisms of their policy in the East, Middle, Central and Far. Mr. Eden gave certain arguments in favour of it ; England had a great mission to discharge ; she had known how to govern ; she had got the traditions of government in her. All true, perhaps. But analysis would show that particular result, if it does come about, will not lead to world peace but may possibly become the ground and seed of a further world war to follow. Mine is pure analytical argument. At present, there are four big nations, not to speak of many small ones, which are fighting the Nazis—Russia, China, United States and England. All the ideals that the Allies are out to establish are contingent on their winning a smashing victory over the Axis. I have not the slightest doubt that victory is theirs. In fact, the kind of language that has been employed recently by British statesmen is indicative of their thorough confidence in the coming victory. I also think that victory may come and will come sooner than anticipated. That is the very reason why after such a long time I have adopted a slightly critical tone to-day because we are now on the up-grade in our fortunes. Victory cannot long be delayed. There is nothing wrong, therefore, in entering on a bit of self-examination regarding the objects and the aims the Allies are out to realise. Now, Four Powers are fighting and if there is victory, it will be victory for all the Four Powers, and not for one only. If at the peace Mr. Anthony Eden wants provisions by which England would remain a Great Power he cannot deny an equal ambition on the part of America, on the part of Russia or on the part of China to be great dominating Powers. The last number of Powers under such a scheme would be four and we know what it would lead to. The friends of to-day may become the enemies of to-morrow. In politics there are neither permanent friendships nor permanent enemities. After all, is there an organic relationship between these Four Powers ; No. Is there an organic relationship between China and any of those countries ? No. Between Russia and the other three ? No. It is an inorganic alliance of vast moment and enormous significance, but not a natural, insurmountable, enduring, oneness or harmony ; a union of swords, not of hearts. So if there are four Great Powers, the ground is laid for possible animosities, for new alliances for further alignments and balances and an outbreak of a further trial of strength. The question arises then—is there no way of getting over these competitive racialisms, nationalisms, statehoods and imperialisms, which have been at the root of all wars !

Two Types of lobal Order

The Nazis want to establish world order under their own supreme power and they would like to keep all the other nations down. They must themselves be the masters —Herrenfolk—and all the rest subjects. This mastery they will base on a monopoly of all those applied sciences and basic industries that make for efficiency in war. The rest of the world will be held down and kept down. They will have to produce raw materials and semi-manufactured goods. That is one way of having universal peace—peace of death for all the other nations except Germany which will enjoy the mastery of the world. But that is not our ideal. Then if there are four Great Powers, each completely sovereign and each exercising its sovereignty in the way in which nation—states and racial imperialisms have been exercising their sovereignties so far and exploiting the opportunities, each wanting to dominate, then the ground is laid for future animosities and future wars.

Concept of Humanity of a Global Order as its Embodiment

Is there a way out ? I think there is. After all, the conception of humanity is wider and nobler than that of race, than that of nations and states. The very word 'humanity' connotes that there is possibility of an ethical relationship between different races, which transcends the exclusions of blood and of physiology, the greed and rapacity of our animal nature. There can be unity in a moral purpose and it can be as real as the unity of blood and the unity of race. All religions, universal religions like Christianity and Islam which believe in conversion, proceed on the hypothesis that all humanity could be brought into one brotherhood, one fraternity and that a moral or spiritual purpose can unite us as much as colour and race ; and illustrate this by churches and missions spread over the globe and having all races as members. But moral ideals are not likely to be very effective unless they are based on material interests and the movement of history. Is there then any movement of history now which opens up the hope and the possibility of a world order being established, so

supreme that the old competitive nationalisms and imperialisms would be transformed regulated and kept in due subordination ?

Historical Movement and the Global Order

I think there is such a movement, and my reason for saying so is this. Air power has abolished boundaries. It was in 1937 that I delivered my first speech on the probable influence of air power on the future of the world and I have devoted more thought since. Natural boundaries have gone. Imagine a condition of things in which the Himalayas are no longer there as it were, as even the Vindhyas are supposed to have been buried underground by Agasthya ; wide oceans approximating to the dimensions of little channels ; and war not confined to particular lands and particular places or lines, but by means of air power, spread all over and everywhere ; where total wars prevail and the civilians are as much in the fight as the military, and women as men. Out of evil cometh good. Out of this power of aviation which has produced these changes, the conception of common world order is, I think, bound to be evolved. Natural boundaries caused nations to be formed. Now the sky is the boundary. It is over all. And all will be one day one nation or at any rate, one State or Political Economic Order. Otherwise, there is no safety for the races. Frontiers have gone the whole world now is one unit for purposes of war. And should it not be one for purposes of peace ! Federative political arrangements and co-operative economic distribution of production and consumption are bound to be evolved. If not, what is the alternative—wars, the elimination of weaker by the stronger powers, and the emergence of the strongest power as the World-Master, the Nazi ideal in a round about way !!

The other historical factor is that this is a global war and the difference between this war and the previous war is that in the Great War, frontiers existed making the questions of adjusting the frontier between Germany and Czechoslovakia and between Germany and Belgium etc., real, live, important military issues. To-day that question has disappeared. Your Maginot line did not prevent the German aviators and their divebombers crossing over and attacking the French Army, from the rear. This is a global war This is a total war. The other Great War was global without being total. These are the two special features. I think therefore the future of the world depends, as many thinkers have now been advocating, on an equalitarian co-operative world order to be established by the victory of the Allies. Why do I say that it has to be established by the victory of the Allies ? Because the Nazi theory, the Nazi practice, is domination by Herrenfolk. They mean death to the rest of the world, while it will be a privileged life for the Germans. If there is going to be anything like a good order like a decent peace, good-will in the world, and co-prosperity of people, it must come from the victory of the Allies. And it must take the form of an equalitarian co operative world order.

League of Nations the forerunner of Global Order

I may incidentally remark that this idea came into existence even in connection with the Great War. It took shape in the League of Nations. The idea of a global order based on co-operation is as old as the previous Great War, but it failed because equality was eschewed and it became the plaything of England and France—an international wire-pulling station for England and France to make their puppets dance to their wishes, secret or avowed. The global order does not, necessarily, involve the abolition, but it does involve the abatement and regulation of at least three principles which have been actuating the imperialists and nationalists of previous wars, namely, the exploitation of weaker races, That must go. Secondly, the anarchical sovereign nationalisms in terms of which Indian politicians are still thinking about our future. That too must go Thirdly, exploitative racial imperialisms like the Dutch Government over Java and the government of the European races over Africa and Asiatics, these must go. America has been the only non-Imperialist Great Power known to the history of East or West and she must serve as the law and model for the future.

Indian Politics

Now, if we apply these principles to India, I think we can now see in proper proportion and perspective, the value of the contentions that are raging in our fields There are four parties. The Government with its imperialism, though no doubt that imperialism has been considerably modified and reduced from what it was before There is the nationalism of absolute independence claimed by most of our parties There is the communalism for which the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah stand and

there is the particularism of the Indian States. If the Anglo-Indian relationship is inorganic, India's internal structure is also inorganic : this is the difficulty, the root of the tragical frustration of the hopes and endeavours of our intellectuals. Now if each is to be strong enough to fight every other—and that was the principle of the old order of things—I can understand the imperialist saying, "No, I won't give up any of my territories, powers and privileges". I can understand the nationalist saying, "I want my country to be absolutely independent and enormously strong, so that I may be able to fight anybody and everybody." I can understand the Muslim League saying, "In such a country we shall have no part or lot". I can understand the Indian States saying, "We too would like to be first-class powers, so that if there is anarchy in the country, we may annex neighbouring territories".

But if you conceive a new world order in which there is a supreme power seeing to it that there is proper co-operation between the different parts, then these individual ambitions need not be there in their present acute form. It is one thing when each unit will have to be strong enough to fight any and every other unit. In those circumstances, the unit has to be as strong as possible and it must have the freedom to form any alliances it likes so that it may have maximum strength on its side in the hour of trial. Balance of power, ever unstable, may be a desideratum in those conditions. But conceive a different future for the world in which the strength of each is the strength of the whole and where there is a whole which will, impartially and in a spirit of honesty, sympathy and trusteeship, regulate the privileges and action of the different units. Then it is no more necessary to have the types of rights and privileges that were claimed under the old order, than it is necessary for an individual in a well-ordered society to go about with a pistol always in his pocket. Society protects him and to that extent there is no need for him to arm himself.

Is a Global Order Possible ?

Is such a global order possible ? I have already shown that historical evolution is pulling in that direction, that otherwise no permanent peace, plus good-will in the world is possible, and furthermore, the idea has already been there since 1914. In the light of experience of all these years, statesmanship ought to be able to devise a more effective institution than the old League of Nations. The old League of Nations failed. Firstly because Russia was excluded on account of her Communism. The United States, the author and evangel of the idea, would not come in but stood aloof in rebuke of European imperialism. This is not known to many people. The Senate of the United States refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles on the ground that the League of Nations Covenant formed part of the Treaty and that one of the provisions of that Covenant was that members should guarantee the integrity of the States joining. This meant that America should guarantee European imperialisms in Africa and in Asia, which it felt it could not do consistently with its republican principles or the self-determination of peoples professed by the Allies. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held an enquiry at which Egyptians and others from the Middle and Far East gave evidence. The Senate said, "We cannot enter the League which has to guarantee the present frontiers of the different Empires".

Global Order possible only under the victory of the United Nations

Now I am sure that in some of these respects there will be a change in the future and that the United States will take a leading and healing part. But such a development is contingent on two hypothesis. First the United Nations must secure a smashing victory. Under the Nazi-Facist ideals there is no scope for human liberty ; there is no scope for even the cultural freedom and the economic prosperity of the different nations of the world. Therefore, the first condition is that the United Nations shall win a victory. The second condition is that they shall remain united after the victory. That did not take place after the Great War. Italy broke off ; Rumania also broke off ; Japan was sent out, because it was England that denounced the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The United States would not enter the League or ratify the Treaty. I do trust that this time at least the United Nations will keep together but they cannot keep together if Mr. Anthony Eden says, "England shall remain a great, world-dominating power", and if Mr. Churchill says "everything that England gained in China and Asia in the days of their weakness shall be regarded as our eternal and natural properties". Then Holland and France and Russia will make similar claims and the Global War would have resulted in a Global status quo and stalemate. That is why I said we need not talk politics about these matters. If we

talk analytical politics and merely analyse the propositions laid down by the Imperialisms and see how they lead to absurdities and self-contradictions, we shall have done something to produce a correct understanding of the trend of history and induce them not to betray the causes they profess, in the hour of their success.

India's Duty

If I have carried conviction so far, India's duty is clear. Apart from all politics we must support the Allies in this war, because individual problems are not going to be decided according to the pretensions and claims of individual nations, but as parts of a generous global order. If that global order is secured, then the claims and privileges to which individual nations and races can legitimately aspire, will also be secured. The fate of the world is not in the grip or hands of any particular power, not even England. Therefore, I say that India should realise that in this war issues far transcending nationalisms and imperialisms are involved ; and by promoting a proper world order, which cannot be done unless the Allies win the war, we shall stand a chance not merely of our independence being secured, which is not all-important, but of there coming into beneficent operation an order in which regulated or limited independence will be assured to all and there will be guaranteed universal peace and prosperity. An independence which is threatened by aggressors every day is not worth having. What we must have is an insurance against aggression and that insurance is the global order which I think is being evolved. Our duties are both positive and negative. Our positive duty is to join in large numbers the various War Services that are being opened. I would ask the young men, the Graduates here, to apply for Emergency Commissions. I would ask my medical friends to accept places in the Indian Medical Services. I would ask our women to go out as nurses. I would ask everyone to do his absolute best for the war by contributing personal service and finance. Now commissions re thrown open to us. Many facilities previously denied are freely offered and even pressed. Till the other day it was held by the Government that locomotives could not be manufactured in India. Now we are told that they are going to begin their manufacture. The War has opened their eyes, and I hope their hearts. Let us not ruminate over past wrongs and disabilities and future possibilities. Regrets for rights and claims lost or denied in the past, should not lead us to sulks and sullenness leading to futility in the present and unavailing regrets for all future. That is not good sense or patriotism. Our nationalism won't suffer by our war services. It will be strengthened. Lakhs and lakhs of demobilised disciplined officers and other ranks will be a powerful supplement to the force of our platform arguments. Make the world safe for democracy. And India will get all she deserves to have if only she can get over her internal dissensions.

There is a negative duty. The kind of disorders and the sabotage that has been going on, will do harm and nothing but harm, and we must prevent them. Two people are fighting for an inheritance and what is the good of burning down the inheritance that is under dispute. Sabotage weakens our war-effort. Therefore it has lowered the value of our political stock at Washington and in the Allied markets. Anything which makes victory more difficult must be regarded as a crime both against humanity and against our own country. For the future of our country is dependent not merely on England but on this vast concatenation of forces which are evolving a new order of human society. Frustrate them and you defeat yourselves. It is like cutting the branch of the tree on which all our hopes for the future are hung.

The Indian Impasse

I do not wish to say much about the political deadlock that is such a tragic feature at the present time in our country. Everybody is preparing a key but no key seems to fit the lock. I have suggested a global key but I do not know if that will serve the purpose either. But I am not prepared to blame Government entirely for the present impasse. Two or three propositions seems to me to be self-evident. This country cannot put forward its maximum war-effort unless political leadership is associated with the Central Government. That is a self-evident proposition. That is why I suggested as early as October 1939 the institution of a National Directorate at the Centre composed of leaders of the big political organisations. It might function as a Super-government like the Genro of Japan. It will have power, and even more influence than defined power. Men of ideas are not enough ; they must be leaders of opinion. University Professors are men of ideas. But what is the

power of opinion, that they can bring to strengthen the Government ? It is the great parties which are organising opinion in the country or have organised, that are to be associated with the Government. For opinion is power. If political leadership must be associated, it follows that there must be transfer of power. No true political leader would care to accept an appointment on the same terms and status as the mere service man or as the careerist or others who have value only as individuals, granting that they have a value not wholly due to the position bestowed by Government. Positional importance without personal or political worth cannot be achieved in these days of widespread knowledge and criticism. The political leader is there to pursue a policy because he has made it clear to the people or party that he stands for certain principles and he must have scope for acting according to those principles. If he becomes a mere subordinate , he is no longer leader and no association of leadership has been really brought about. Therefore it seems to me to be a self-evident proposition—an analytical statement—that political leadership cannot be associated with Government without real transfer of power. But in our country the difficulty is this. How is power to be transferred when the League, the Congress and the Sabha and the bodies that organise opinion in the country are at irreconcilable logger-heads with each other ? It seems to me that Government had no other course open to them except to .try the alternative of mere Indianisation, though it is not the best of policies and cannot enthuse the country. But what other course is there for Government to follow ? Indianisation means that so far as positions, as apart from power, are concerned the racial bar has been completely discarded. And that is as much as we can get until we evolve sufficient organic unity in the country. I do not wish to talk party-politics. I may therefore merely quote what Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar said the other day. He has propounded a scheme about which we are having articles, explanations and advocacies every day. Apparently he expects a response from Government. But I do not see how that is possible unless the Muslim League first declares its approval. Mr. Rajagopalachariar himself concedes that proposition. He claims that his proposal in its essence is worth the support of every one, but if the League opposed the proposal there was no chance of a National Government being established. Mr. Jinnah has called his scheme his 'Kite flying' ; and his response is negative. So I would request Mr. Rajagopalachariar to try and secure the League's co-operation before expecting a response from Government. I do not thereby mean to say that Government should not do its best, but it seems to me that it is not to throw the entire responsibility for the present difficulties on the Government. Great Britain is moving, and moving in the right direction. No doubt, having dependencies in the East, she has to talk in two voices, which is sometimes confusing ; a uniform voice for the ear of England and a fitful one for India and the Muslim countries of the Middle East. But wo ought not to be too critical. We ought to allow for the power of circumstances and the difficulties of a Power which has to placate diverse susceptibilities. Recently she has shown the direction in which she and the Allies are moving by agreeing to the abolition of extra-territorial right in China. That is a sign of the times. If she would promise to hand over Hong-Kong back to its natural and rightful owner, China, it would a be still better sign of the times. Let India be patient. She won't suffer after the war greater harm from England than she will inflict on herself by her dissensions.

Moral Ascendancy of England

At one time England held unquestionable moral ascendancy ever the world. Today it has pased to America. I say this with regret. I am a lover of England and admirer. Why are Amercian Missions and Wendell Wilkies and Col. Johnsons sent everywhere and welcomed everywhere ? It seems to me that the nations of the East have faith in the world of America and desire her endorsement to the bonds that others may give—the war bonds that may not have a peace circulation. Mr. Wendell Wilkie has said so bluntly and openly. The hour of victory may prove the hour of temptation. But England will not succumb. Victory won't go into her head ; morality won't go out of her heart. England, the home of Cannings, Gladstones, Russels, Morleys and other great lights of political idealism will not lag behind America as the hope of the world and all its various peoples.

In contrast to the kind of speeches that Mr. Churchill, Mr. Anthony Eden and Mr. Amery have been making, I would like to read this passage which appeared in the papers the other day. It is a declaration by Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek. Addressing the Chinese Assembly he said :

"China is the largest and the most ancient of Asiatic countries but it is not for us

positively to talk of a right to a position of leadership among those countries. We have been fighting this war of resistance with a purity of motive and consistency of principle, not for any selfish purpose but for the salvation of the world, through first saving ourselves. Towards Asia and towards the whole world we wish only to do our duty to the exclusion of any lust for power or other desire incompatible with the moral victory of love and benevolence that are characteristic of the Chinese national spirit."

That I think is a refreshing contrast to the type of speeches that have of late been delivered by Mr. Winston Churchill, Col. Amery and Mr. Anthony Eden; and probably represents the deeper soul of England more accurately. We have the recent pronouncements of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wendell Wilkie, the twin leaders of the Western Hemisphere. Mr. Roosevelt has said that the Atlantic Charter applied to the whole of humanity and Mr. Wendell Wilkie has stated clearly that unless the United States took a more vigorous leadership in support of the pledges given and the solution of the problems of the East, she would begin to lose the confidence of the entire Orient.

These clearly show that the ethical forces that are going to shape the future are not dormant but active. But time would be required to produce big changes. I have no doubt that in the various activities that we here might undertake with a view to promote, firstly, the Allied Victory, without which no ethical reconstruction of the world is possible, and, secondly, with a view to bring prominently to the notice of the British Government how ardently we hope that she will re-acquire the moral ascendancy she once enjoyed under statesmen like Gladstone, I have not the least doubt that the people and the University of Travancore would play a most worthy and memorable part.

The Patna University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by *Sir Mirza M. Ismail*, K.C.I.E. O.B.E., at the Convocation of the Patna University held at Patna on the **27th. November 1942**:—

My first duty is to tender my cordial thanks to the Vice-Chancellor and his colleagues for the honour they have done me in asking me to deliver this year's address to the graduates of their University.

History of the University

I have been reading with great interest a history of your University. It is young, since, of course, to a University a Silver Jubilee marks only a stage in infancy, but is after all not so young as its years would make it, since its affiliated institutions are old and enriched by their association with the University of Calcutta. Its possibilities seem to be without limit, and particularly cheering is the immensely increased demand in this area for university education, a demand that has outpaced even the considerable increase in the number of colleges.

There are one or two features which particularly impress one with the soundness of the policies of the University. One is the fact that, as soon after the founding of the University as was possible, a separate Science College, exceptionally well-equipped, was opened. Only two other colleges teach science, and I suppose that now, when among other difficulties, apparatus is so hard to obtain, it is vain to hope for an immediate increase in the number. May this soon become possible: I should imagine it is the greatest need of the University.

Colleges sor Women

Another admirable change that has been made since this University began is the institution of a separate college for women. Clearly it is not enough, for I find that a large number of women students are non-collegiate. As at Oxford, so anywhere else, a non-collegiate student loses a great deal. One must have a college, of which one is a part and in which one can feel pride. And it is good to see that this University recognises that a separate college for women is most desirable. Where there is co-education in university colleges, the women, no doubt, may play their part in collegiate activities, and in a sense their association and competition with men is

beneficial to them, and to the men also, but nothing can compensate for the absence of a college of their own, where all of them, at the different stages of social freedom, may live with complete lack of embarrassment and run their own concerns, in the way that best suits them. There is no doubt whatever that, at any rate for a long time, a somewhat sheltered career will be best for our academic womanhood. Whatever you do, of course, you must have co-education to some extent, since there cannot be a woman's college in every place, nor can such a college be easily provided with all the advanced courses, not to speak of the professional courses. But I think we should be governed by the general idea that, wherever possible, women's colleges for women are best.

University Union

I wish you had been able to build your University Union. Probably it is not a crying necessity, since the colleges no doubt provide for their own students a great deal of what the University Union would provide. Yet the same soundness of instinct that seems to appear in everything that the University does is evident here. As I am going to suggest later in this address, what we all need is to become broader, and yet broader, in our relationships and efforts and sympathies and it will be of great value to have a place and organization to provide for the combined activities of the students of the different colleges here. It will bring the teachers together, too. And it may help towards University consciousness in both staff and students, an excellent supplement to, and even corrective of, college consciousness.

University Convocations

The Convocation of a great university is, as a rule, an occasion, both solemn and exhilarating, radiant too with the hope and resolution of its hundreds of young graduates, who move forward after their first decisive success in life. Over this grand hope of theirs presides the sage and revered spirit of their University, which has done all that it could to train and arm them—above all to train them in the ways of knowledge and of reason, to arm them with the might of self-discipline. I am sure that this University has thus earned the honour and gratitude of those who graduate do-day.

The Chancellor

But I wish that they might be having a *happier* convocation. I am sorry to think that the graduates will have to look back upon a Convocation which lacked the presence of His Excellency the Chancellor. His presence would have been both an honour and a pleasure to me personally, and would have lent distinction to the occasion. I hope and pray that happier times are in store for us all, that happier relations will soon be re-established and that you, young men and women of the University, will offer him a warm welcome, such as he eminently deserves, both as a sympathetic and high-minded administrator deeply interested in your welfare, when he presides, as let us hope he will, on the next occasion. Those who make it difficult for him to attend bear a grave weight of responsibility upon irresponsible shoulders. May the day soon come when, throughout India, the dignity that is essential to the very idea and tradition of a university may irresistibly possess the mind of even the newest and humblest undergraduate!

Universities and the War

The last few months have not been one of the golden periods for our Universities. It might well be expected that at the time of supreme danger, the inspiration that should strengthen and save us would come from them. Instead of which, they have—most of them—simply gone out of action, and, so far from inspiring and guiding the whole country, have been defied by their own students. When we win hardly through to the peace for which we are now fighting, there will be much food for thought in this.

Until this war, which ought, I think, so to fill our minds as to press all else into the back-ground, until this war is victoriously ended, there can never be for us an atmosphere in which we can duly meditate our academic duties, as at Convocations we have been accustomed to do. We have not been invaded; it seemed a miracle that saved us; we hope that such danger will not return. But there remains this deadly danger which by our united effort we must overcome, the danger that a complete, final victory may not be won, that civilisation may remain vulnerable to savagery. It is difficult to listen with patience to those studiously moderate persons who, with delicacy of judgment, do, *on the whole*, prefer the Allies to the Axis, and count them slightly the superior

of two groups of self-seeking materialists. Germany and Japan have been at pains enough to blazon, in both word and act, their own true colours, and to show, in every occupied place, how they propose to rule the world—perpetual servitude of all other peoples and the savage crushing-out of every kind of personal value and liberty.

We cannot rightly seek to escape from the thought of our war-duty into the peaceful old-time atmosphere of a university. And if now I proceed to consider some aspects of a university's work, I cannot hide my preoccupation with those tremendous issues. It is more true now than at any time within the memory of any of us, more true indeed than at any time in India's history, that what we are doing and planning now, at this moment, is in a sense decisive. To fail now is not only to fail ourselves and our own time, it is to fail the future, and that is the worst betrayal possible. The noblest of mankind have "loved the future" and undertaken any sacrifice for those who shall come after them.

Universities and the Past

It is the natural tradition among universities everywhere to be preoccupied with the past. The humanist's business is mainly this: to cherish and revive the memory of the past records of mere event and change, of thought, of creation in power and beauty. This is the heritage of the spirit, so vast that none can fully apprehend it. But it enters into the atmosphere of a university and makes it venerable even when in years it is young. Any responsible person who breathes that atmosphere is nourished by it in ways far beyond his conscious studies. We should be the more careful to keep it immune from passing controversy and from the heat of prejudiced passion, personal, communal, or national. But it is not right that any one, even the most learned, should live wholly in the past, or should so venerate it as to conceive that man's works are of value in direct proportion to their age. This is a common delusion among university people. Many an old manuscript, which in its own day was of little worth, is dug out and fondled and pondered over and classified with scrupulous care. Or the devotee of antiquities may trace, with the most painful apparatus of scholarship, the minutiæ of a long-past administration, which matters less than nothing to us now. Not all that is true is worth knowing, not all that is old is sacred, and all this is just the sham of scholarship. Many and many an eye has been dimmed by years of utterly fruitless labour, and the time has come, I think, when before any research is begun, one should ask whether it can have any genuine fruitfulness for our day and generation. Inevitably, therefore, scientific investigation must at the present time be considered of more vital importance than research of a historical or literary or speculative kind. We need not deny the paramount value of those studies concerned with human nature and life. But, to speak rather crudely, perhaps, we have already rescued from the past all that we need from it of history, of literature, of philosophy. That store will serve us well. The discovery that we most urgently need now for our understanding of things is in the way of scientific experiment and reasoning, with a closer collaboration of sciences than ever before, with the mathematician accorded a new place of honour, and the philosopher called in to interpret—and a second-rate philosopher he may prove nowadays unless his own *scientific* knowledge gives him competence here. The special encouragement of scientific research for the practical purposes of industry is obviously incumbent on any university, but what I have been thinking of here is of more academic value, the scientific investigation which is directed ultimately towards metaphysical understanding, so that science becomes prominent among the humanities themselves.

That such work cannot prosper except by the widest cooperation has long been recognised by our universities, and the annual Science Congresses, ever-broadening in scope, have proved of immense value in bringing about personal intimacy between our investigators and correlating their work. The visits of great scientists from Europe have been helpful also. Nor have our historians, philosophers, and economists been unware of the advantages of such contact with their fellows, both Indian and foreign. This movement towards unified effort of scholarship and exploration is one of the healthiest signs in our university life. We ought, I think, to stress this idea of unity which the name, university, implies. It is probable that at first that word implied merely a unity of faculties within the university, and even that is worth pondering. The compartment idea, the very notion of any sort of exclusive specialization, is fraught with danger. It has been a trouble to us in the lower reaches of education.

Specialism

It is really a shame to make even the little boy a specialist, and to pretend we are able to discover, when he is yet a child, the bent that is to determine his line of study and perhaps, eventually his line of life. It is not fair, and I would urge that in high schools we ought to give him a training that will not fit him for anything in particular, but will simply train his powers, give him a certain breadth of knowledge that will help to prepare him for life if he can study no more, and will be a good foundation for any special study thereafter. It does seem unwise and unfeeling to detect literary or scientific bent at fourth-form stage, when the child knows practically nothing and has had little chance of responding to different stimuli. And surely, even were the bent established, it should not be yielded to at once. It might well be considered that, the stronger the child's *preference* for something, the greater his *need* for something else. It has been found elsewhere—I wonder whether it is your experience here—that the ordinary science student (and not seldom the teacher of science himself) has not merely dislike but contempt for literary study. Now there is a case of sheer deficiency, which in all conscience we ought to set right. We ought to humanise the scientist however reluctant he may be—not in the technicalities of humane study, but in that within it which ought to appeal to all. Conversely, we find among students of history or philosophy, very frequently a really consummate ignorance of the simplest, most ordinary scientific facts and methods ; and they are infinitely the poorer for this, and the less competent, perhaps, even in their own subjects.

Honours courses

One specialistic error that, I think, we often make is the undue encouraging of students to take honours courses. At the university stage, of course, specialism is often quite appropriate. But how often (this I ask of the professors assembled here) —how often do you find that a man desires to take an honours course not because of any outstanding ability but simply because of *lack* of ability, because he will get on better within those narrower limits ? In fact an honours course may be easier than a pass one, and very much less profitable. Surely it is best, even at college, for the man of ordinary abilities to have the broadest possible education, so a proper honours standard might be maintained, and the men of great ability might work on their own level and proceed their natural pace. This is a digression, but rather a serious one ; and here I would appeal to the commonsense and charity of professors against their natural pride in large honours classes.

But to return to the question of unity and cooperation among faculties within a university or a college. It is not always observed. A jealous hostility between faculties is not entirely unknown ; and sometimes the relation between one and another has been mainly a mutual studious scrutiny of laboratory grants or number of demonstrators allowed. It so happens—and of course, you are far more precisely aware of this than a layman can profess to be—that just at present the interdependence of studies has assumed such importance that even the professorial specialist can contribute but little to learning unless he possesses fairly comprehensive amount of accurate knowledge of the most recent advances in other spheres. We have come to realise that any really intelligible truth must be joint discovery of physicist, biologist, mathematician and metaphysician, and even then it will so baffle our powers of statement that we must call in the figurative apparatus of the poet.

When this singleness of purpose informs each university, it will be the easier for all our universities to work together in a single national effort for the advancement of knowledge and learning in India. But, far beyond this, they may, by this unity of theirs, help to promote our national unity.

National Unity

Unity—how blessed is that word and that idea, so inspiring, so profoundly necessary to us in India, and so very hard to attain! If there is any real message that I have for you, especially to the young men with whom our future rests, it is just this that, throughout this country, we must not, in any sense whatever, be separate : ours must be the virtue, ours the power and glory, of a single nationhood. There are those who, looking far, too far, ahead despise talk of nationalism, conceiving that the only worthy citizenship henceforward is citizenship of the world. There are others whose view is precisely opposite, who prefer to think that India is not, and cannot be, one nation, and that a permanent conflict of interests exists, which makes impossible any singleness of consciousness and constitution. To me, India, one Nation, is a most inspiring thought and a most reasonable one. I see, too, all around the growth

of this consciousness. This is the land of all of us, to whatever race or creed we may belong.

Conflicts of tradition and interests

We all know well how serious are the discrepancies and conflicts of tradition and mode of life and thought, and, perhaps most serious, of economic interest; but it is our absolute duty to forge all this diversity into a single comprehensive state, within which there shall be absolute liberty for each composing element, and absolute justice, and confidence of justice, between them. It is not beyond our power. It is too great, too fine a thing to be impossible. We must be men of faith, faith in India's destiny, and then no mountain of difficulty can fail to be removed. Nationality, then, is by no means too *broad* an ideal for us to-day. Nor is it too narrow an ideal. Did you ever hear of any cosmopolitan, anyone whose country is the world, who was of any value to the world? My country first, from which my life has sprung, whose people are my people, whose very soil is dear. He who has no country is nothing: the sap of life cannot flow into him, he must live on thin intellectual sunlight. We must have a certain narrowness of view if our view is to have any shape and significance. Our first and deepest loyalty must be to our own country and people: and this at once prepares us for still wider loyalties, and reaches them to us. Here can be no conflict. I am sure that he who most deeply and wisely loves his own country is the very man who will most deeply care for the well-being of mankind. Just as he who, as a child at home, has truly loved his parents and his brothers, becomes thus so rich and true in love that in the world he will care for his brethren, so love of our own people will teach us a wider charity and service far better than any vague, theoretic idealism can. As Harry Emerson Fosdick has said, "No other nation can mean to us what our nation means. Here are the roots of our heritage, and here our central loyalties belong. But because we feel so deeply about our own land, we understand how other people feel about their lands, and using our patriotism to interpret theirs, we grow, not in bitterness but in understanding and sympathy."

Universities and Indian Unity

What is the function of a great university in promoting this Indian unity? In one of its aspects, this is a problem of culture. Several languages, each with its own literature; several religions, each with its own philosophy and ethics. They all seem to care most, at present, about their differences and rivalries, and this, no doubt, is human nature. Few indeed, though most eminent and wise, are those who have cared to think not of Hindu culture, or Muslim culture, for example, but rather, of Indian culture. I suppose it may be argued that the opposition of religions is so radical, and culture is so intimately related to religion, that fusion of cultures is as unattainable as a fusion of religions. But this has already been denied by history, and already we can speak with pride of Indian culture. Speaking in Benares last year, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru remarked, "As time has gone on in our history there has been a remarkable blending and fusion of the original Hindu culture with that culture which is popularly called the Muslim culture but which is clearly traceable to countries like Persia and to a certain extent Arabia, with the result that at least in Northern India during the last three hundred years or more a mixed common culture has grown up which may truly be said to be "Indian Culture".

Fusion of Culture

It is the task of a university to encourage deliberately, so to speak scientifically, that which by natural process is already coming to pass, and this fusion of culture can be hastened, and guided, and enriched by any university which deeply cares about it. There are curricular changes that would help; there are ways, too, outside the curriculum; but above all, this is a matter of attitude on the part of those who teach. It could never be suggested that between Hindus and Muslims and other communities there should be identity either of thought or of custom, for just as I have insisted that a people's vitality must come from the special national source, so the energy and worth of a person must be intimately related to his own religion and tradition. But the prevalent attitude of isolation, of superiority, even of intolerance and hostility, should give way completely to the positive desire and effort for mutual understanding, respect, and co-operation. There is no doubt that in colleges and universities students who play games have, without effort, simply forgotten differences of community. So also in the life of non-communal hostels. Why? I think that here

there are two secrets. One is that on playing-fields and in hostels people get to know each other, and are surprised to find that what is different is a small fraction of self and of life compared to what is common. But the other secret is still more important than those who are working strenuously together for a common end, whether victory in a game, for instance, or victory in a war, find that comradeship simply overwhelms every sort of difference. If only it might come to pass that all sections of the Indian people were intent on defence and victory in this war, and strenuously working together for this, our differences would melt in the heat of this energy. This again is a digression—a digression to the fostering of a truly Indian consciousness, our universities may do.

Political structure of India

Indian culture is growing, and now a new political structure is to be made, and will be made the more quickly and securely the stronger our sense of unity becomes. Here, too, there rests upon the universities a heavy responsibility. The problem is one of exceptional complexity, and nothing in political history is adequate as model or guide. The different sorts of reconciliation which must be embodied in the constitution of the new India demand the calmest, most patient, most disinterested scrutiny. Moreover, this is work for men of comprehensive and accurate knowledge, both of affairs in India and of every sort of experiment, past and present. Again, that constitution when arrived at, will itself be an experiment, and for a considerable time its working, and its bearing upon the various elements composing the body politic, will have to be studied with the same dispassionate care. There will be a wonderful opportunity for the universities to cooperate with the practical politicians, contributing to discussion of every urgent problem a fund of knowledge and quiet judgment. Can we be quite sure that those whose university business is the study of affairs are themselves totally free from partisanship and the influence of interests narrower than those of the people as a whole? I fear that often it has not been so: but I am sure we all agree that it must be so if men are worthy of academic office. And further, there is the duty—certainly a most difficult one—of inducing a certain calmness and impartiality of judgment in even the ordinary student sent out by the university to take his part in the political as in the other activities of life. In the nature of things, every graduate exercises an influence far beyond that of the average citizen, and is regarded by the less lettered public as one who both knows and judges better than they. In fact, a certain degree of leadership, however limited or unconscious, is thrust upon every man who has been to a university. The blind leader is a curse to the community and it is a frequent experience that self-confidence and aggressiveness are proportional to blindness. He who has taken the trouble to study and understand has some sense of his own limitations. If only the universities and colleges could exercise continually on the whole body of students that moderating influence which should come from an intellectual environment, and could instil a modicum of political fact and principle in all of them, not only those for whom politics is a curricular study, how well they would deserve both of the student and of the country?

Conclusion

In turning to the graduates, congratulating them and wishing them success and happiness, I would only ask them to be *wise* in the service of their country. All I have said is meant for them. They are a tiny proportion of society, and the more is required of them. They ought to rise superior to excitement and passion, and be able to quiet these in others. They should themselves be thinking men, a rare species, and their thought should make them tolerant and ready for compromise. We believe easily what we fear or what we desire, said a philosopher. To see things from many points of view, to enter into feelings far different from one's own, to understand and care about the ideas and interests of others, although they conflict with one's own, to be as ready to make concessions as to demand them—these are marks of the good man, there are forms of goodness which we positively demand of the graduate of a university. In this we meet with many a disappointment; so many graduates have proved positively illiterate in this finer learning of intellect and heart. Not you, however, not the Patna graduates of 1942. We rely upon you. We send you forth commending your country to your wise and thoughtful service, and commending you also and your future to the fostering care of a free, united India.

The Annamalai University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by *His Highness The Maharaja of Travancore* at the annual Convocation of the Annamalai University held at Annamalainagar on the **9th. December 1942 :—**

May I begin by thanking His Excellency the Chancellor for having asked me to address the graduates of this important Foundation? The first and most arresting thought that occurs to one who visits the precincts of this University concerns the happy choice of its site. Chidambaram is one of the holiest cities of the South with its five sacred Sabhas whose presiding deity, the Lord of the Cosmic Dance, was worshipped by the Sage Vyaghrapada and by countless other Bhaktas The shrine of Nandanar who overcame all handicaps of birth and prejudice by his immeasurable devotion and triumphantly demonstrated the equality of all men in the sight of God. This tradition and the juxtaposition in the same spot of Nataraja and Govindaraja cannot but carry the messages of unity and reconciliation to the youth of our country who need such a message sorely. This University has another special feature connected with it, in that it has been mainly endowed by individual munificence. Such endowments are common in rich countries like the United States. Cornell, John Hopkins, Leland Stanford and more recently Rockefeller and Duke were great and far-sighted benefactors; and one has only to remember the initial gift of 99,000 acres of land in California by Stanford and of 35,000,000 dollars by Rockefeller to realise the extent and scope of their largesse. In India, educational endowments have not been numerous and in the matter of Studentships and Fellowships, it is only recently that the examples of Palit and Tagore have been followed. I therefore specially congratulate Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar who, by his pro-vision and discerning liberality, has helped to bring this University into existence and who, so far as I have been able to gather, has insisted on no conditions save that this should be a nursery of indigenous culture and fine arts in addition to fulfilling the normal functions of Universities elsewhere. The traditional modes of charity resorted to by his community and his family have been deflected with significant and welcome results. The combination of Collegiate and University instruction under one administration has special advantages which appertain to this University.

We are now in the midst of an unparalleled cataclysm and the youth of the country, after undergoing their intellectual noviciate and equipping themselves with the spiritual armour and discipline which are the gifts of the University to its students, have to enter upon a fight which is different from the conflicts that were faced by their ancestors and predecessors. I congratulate the graduates of this University and Diploma holders on the successes that have attended their efforts. And I should like at the same time to point out that their responsibilities are numerous and unparalleled. Time was when the products of the Indian Universities qualified themselves mainly for what were termed the learned professions and for literary or clerical pursuits. The industrial and the scientific age burst in upon an unprepared world and for many years there raged a controversy as to the relative merits and virtues of technical, scientific and humanistic studies. As very often happens, the reaction against the study of the humanities tended to push them aside and to exalt the industrialist and the research worker and to depreciate the value of classical learning and of the fine arts. The results were conspicuous but also startling. The scientific age produced great marvels and profoundly altered the appearance of the world. Time and distance were annihilated. New wants began to be created and new appliances and methods were invented to meet those wants. The competitive age was ushered into existence. As an aftermath of competition arose those world-wide disputes as to raw materials which precipitated one war after another. Aggressive ideologies, perverted and pseudo-scientific theories of race superiority and race domination added to the confusion and not a little of the general distress which has overwhelmed the world is due to the disproportionate importance attached to one sided scientific and technical training. The world cannot do without such training and indeed for us, in India, who have been lagging behind in the race and who, by nature, are predisposed to contemplation rather than to action, the lessons of the laboratory, of the workshops and the polytechnic have to be learnt without delay. The claims of pure and applied science cannot be denied and the Engineer, the Physicist and the Chemist as well as the doctor and the public health specialist will be amongst the indispensable

elements of the future; but the Annamalai University is amongst those institutions which, without ignoring such claims, also stress the importance of an all-round reconstruction of education, holding that every system should combine with technique and with science the teaching of an appreciation of harmony and beauty not only in art but in daily life and ideals—a knowledge, in other words, of the things that are more excellent.

Rightly viewed, there is and should be no antithesis between a technical and a liberal education. No such antithesis was envisaged in any Eastern scheme of studies or even by the European scholars, artists and scientists of the middle ages or later by Bacon and Newton. It was a passing phase that came to a culmination in the 19th century. But even during that period a great thinker like Huxley emphasised that as preliminary to all technical training there must be imparted a desire for the things of the understanding. A complete education, as Milton declares, fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the officers, both private and public, of peace and war. The ignoring of these aspects has perhaps led to the catastrophes that are evident around us. Accumulated and perverted scientific knowledge and the strict regimentation of the human intellect applied not only to the armies in the field but to the armies in the class rooms and work-shops have proved futile and, indeed, dangerous because tolerance and fair play and the spiritual aspects of human life cannot safely be ignored

It is well that the Universities in a comparatively poor country like India, should cease to duplicate their courses and that, moreover, as far as possible, by the exchange of professors and students and by the endeavour of each University to supplement rather than to copy the work of its neighbours, should work for a common end pooling all their available resources. Large-scale exchanges of professors and students were growing in importance before the war. Lectures were given by travelling professors and exchanges of teachers took place all over Europe and America. The Universities Bureau of the British Empire and foundations like those initiated by the French Government and the Carnegie Corporation rendered notable services whose interruption has been a great calamity. The ideas underlying such enterprises are of the utmost possible value to us. Under present conditions, it is not every University in India that can afford the best possible training in all the subjects within its purview. Even in the matter of a single science, laboratory and other facilities may not be equally available to all foundations. The exchange of professors and students and the co-ordination of educational efforts are therefore necessary and the value of such efforts will not be solely in the educational sphere. They may well help to eliminate those parochial, racial and religious distinctions and hostilities too often arising from imperfect mutual acquaintance. I, for one, will gladly welcome such contacts being established between the University in my State and yours.

Side by side with the development of the intellect and the love for the fine arts, there arises above all things the necessity to care for the individual and corporate welfare of the students. We have sought in Travancore to combine the benefits of the team spirit manifested in Western games with those derived from the general discipline of our indigenous exercises including the Asans and Pranayamams prescribed by our ancients for bodily welfare. Great hopes are entertained of organisations like the University Training Corps, the Labour Corps and other bodies designed to bring about not only physical fitness but a sense of union and discipline.

This war caught the world unawares. It found India largely unprepared. Our industries are now being refashioned to meet new requirements. Our craft and sciences have to be remodelled to suit novel applications. Our scientists, soldiers, sailors and airmen have found their feet and are acquitting themselves, from all accounts, as befits us and our traditions. Upon the education of our people depends our fate as also on the creation of a new spirit of courageous comradeship amongst all Indians as a part of world-fellowship. May this University and its sister foundations help adequately to equip the new generation to fulfil the tremendous but glorious obligations that are already crowding upon them.

It only remains for me to render the heart-felt thanks of my mother and myself for the conferment on us of Honorary Doctorates. We sincerely appreciate and shall greatly value these distinctions not only as symbols of personal friendliness but also of future collaboration in the field of education.

The Andhra University Convocation

The following is the text of the address delivered by *Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bai* of Travancore at the annual Convocation of the Andhra University held at Guntur on the 12th. December 1942 :—

In accepting the invitation extended to me by Your Chancellor to deliver an address to the graduates of the Andhra University on the occasion of the termination of their studies and the bestowing of degrees on them it is my very pleasant duty to thank His Excellency for the compliment paid to me which I greatly appreciate. I can claim that while fulfilling this task, I am not coming to you as a stranger. In company with His Highness, I have enjoyed the hospitality of your University and we have been enrolled among its alumni by the conferment on us of Honorary Degrees five years ago. Our last visit, however, was amidst different surroundings and the change of environment naturally brings to one's mind the very special circumstances in which we, in India, in common with all other parts of the world are situate. It is a matter for profound satisfaction that we are now witnessing the turn of the tide of war and that we can look forward with renewed confidence to the coming of peace after these troubled years which have been a testing time for the courage and faith of the human spirit

My prime duty on this occasion is to tender my congratulations and my best wishes to those who have succeeded in the various tests conducted by the University and who are emerging into a world in which they will, I feel confident, not play a merely passive role but will be active participants in the fashioning of the new society to be.

The culture of India was, by no means, one of quiescence or passivity. Referring solely to historic times, when India counted for a great deal in the world, when, for instance, the Mouryas and Nandas, the Cholas, Pandyas and Cheras as well as the Vijianagar and the several Andhra dynasties made their mark on the history of the world, our land was noted for achievements both in war and peace. Nevertheless, the special characteristic of our life in the past may best be described as the maintenance of Dharma and the pursuit of simplicity in life combined with manysided culture. During the last few years, our contacts with the later developments of European civilisation have, however, produced a state of dis-equilibrium. False social values were created by the rise of what has been described as a "white collar" or clerical class who, though useful to a limited degree, tended to occupy the front stage in life. An employee in a Government office or a member of one of the professional classes was regarded with a special respect whereas a great musician, a fine sculptor or a skilled artisan was treated with much less regard. This war is bound, amongst other things, to produce a revolutionary change in such an outlook. The technician, the scientist and the research worker are rapidly coming to their own although the world has been too chaotic and events have been too catastrophic for a due recognition of the place of the artist in the scheme of things. Mechanical inventions are giving us a larger command over the resources of nature and the capacity to produce wealth. But have they helped to add to the peace and happiness of mankind ? Are we receding or progressing ? Are we becoming less civilized or more ? Is it not true that even our leisure has become as mechanised as our labour so that we are passively amused by mechanical devices which, in the language of Aldous Huxley, condemn us to frustration ? Such are some of the inescapable questions facing us.

The Andhras have inherited a great sculpture and it is very probable that the Ajanta Frescoes are partly, if not entirely, due to the Andhra inspirations ; and the devotion to music is part of your heritage. You represent the fusion of many cultures and the University is manysided in its activities. With the general support of the public and of local bodies as well as of the Provincial Government and the discerning liberality of great patrons like the Maharaja of Jeypore, you have made serious and successful efforts to cope with the problem of technological research and medical and public health problems as well as with the pursuit of literature and music, and you are endeavouring to work for a reconstruction of education on a well-conceived plan without giving rise to any cleavage between technical and liberal education.

The future opens up a vista of infinite possibilities, and we are noticing all around

us and even in the midst of the prevailing turmoil the results of what can be done by courageous enthusiasm and nation-wide effort. The chronicle of what is being achieved in the Chinese Universities is one of epic grandeur. Assailed from the air and on land, the apparatus and even the furniture of the Universities were bodily shifted and taken from place to place by students and teachers alike so that even in the midst of the clash of arms and the assaults of the dive bomber and the machine gun, the boys and girls of China were not deprived of the mental and spiritual training which was their due. In a recent issue of the American Journal "Science," we read a remarkable account of the journey of Tsing-Hua University from the east to Kunming in the south-west and improvised expedients adopted to secure continuity of studies. Thus writes a Chinese doctor of Medicine :—

"Six months in Kwelyang to start a medical school from nothing—absolutely nothing except a 'hospital' of four beds and a group of determined men—I designed everything, from a three-legged stool (after the principle of the tripod, for the floors are uneven), to the actually hand-made pneumothrax machine rigged up from parts got from junk shops all by myself, in order that serious cases of tuberculosis be treated."

Such feats of endurance and unconquerable zeal cannot but be a source of stimulus and an inspiration.

Self-reliance and self-dependence are amongst our foremost requisites. If nothing else has been done by this war, it has at least brought home to us the importance and possibility of substitutes for everything, the need to improvise and to get on with whatever may be available and make the utmost use of it. The transportation of huge factories across a whole continent and their reconstruction is not only an instance of the rapid assimilation of scientific knowledge by the Russians but is evidence of a creative skill brought to being by the hammer-strokes of Fate. The Universities in future should be universal in the sense of being able to create not only pervasive ideas but also the apparatus and the environment amidst which such ideas may germinate. The future will be for those who make things side by side with originating new thoughts and new visions of beauty. War, no less than peace, is no longer a mere display of brute force but involves specialised training of the intellect and the rise of a spirit of fortitude without which the trials of to-day and the inevitable complexities of to-morrow cannot be met. All Universities, therefore, bear special responsibilities Physical education has to be their first care so that in the fashioning of the future the coming generation may not be handicapped by weakness, bodily or mental. Discipline in action accompanying freedom of thought and speculation will be their next case, and, finally, the fostering of aesthetic and spiritual development which is the foundation and the *sine qua non* of that poise and harmony without which enduring work will not emerge.

You have the further advantage of possessing a language which is musical and expressive and which arouses the passionate devotion of those who speak it. Familiarisation in your own language with the formative ideas and literatures of the world can easily be a labour of love with you as well as an apparatus of culture.

Many thing have contrived to bring about a shrinkage of the world. No nation and no people can hereafter live wholly independently of the others and this implies not less but more toleration and breadth of outlook, a great sense of fair-play and more desire for union amidst diversity. Differences of language, of race and of creed may even be useful adjuncts of mental training but the supreme ideal is surely the fundamental unity of aspiration and endeavour that must be the keystone of the arch that will bridge our past and the future, and bear us safely over the rapids and whirlpools that are the symbols of the strifes of the present. This is our hope and it can best be achieved by the wise direction of a harmonious scheme of education that will at once kind'e the light of learning and produce the mellowness of wisdom and the sweetness of authentic culture.

The Punjab University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by the *Hon'ble Mian Abdul Haye*, Minister for Education, Punjab, at the annual Convocation of the Punjab University held at Lahore on the **22nd. December 1942** :—

I am grateful to His Excellency the Chancellor for his invitation to deliver the Convocation address. For some reasons I wished to be excused, but in view of His Excellency's persuasion I had to give in. I deem it indeed a great honour and privilege. I prize this opportunity of addressing the Convocation particularly on account of the cataclysmic times through which we are passing to-day. As long as the present titanic struggle continues, our thoughts and energies are devoted to the achievement of final victory. We have applied ourselves to the realization of this high ideal with determination and unbending resolution, for we realize that on the outcome of this struggle depends the future of the race of man. I have full faith in the justice of our cause and in Britain's determination to fulfil her promises and pledges. I hope, when peace dawns on the world and the demon of war let loose by political profiteers in the East and the West is vanquished by the combined effort of the peace-loving nations, India will attain her long-cherished ideal of independence. It is my firm belief that after the inevitable victory of the Allied Nations, India will be a free country. What form of Government there will be, a strong Central Government or several sovereign States, I cannot predict. But of one thing I am certain and that is, without inter-communal harmony and complete understanding among the various communities, and without mutual trust and confidence, there will be no political progress or internal peace or the great future which I visualize for this ancient land of ours. Twenty-five years elapsed, Mahatma Gandhi stressed the paramount need of unity and concord. He considered unity synonymous with Swaraj. It is a truism which holds good even to-day. India's future is as much linked with the outcome of the present war as with the evolution of a partnership, based on the tripod of unity, tolerance and fairness, for the speedy realization of our common ideals and aspirations. There is a tendency at times to ascribe our misfortunes and difficulties in national life to the presence of several religions in India. Religious doctrines and creeds, which in reality link God's creatures in a universal brotherhood, are looked upon with contempt and as a poison in our body-politic retarding all political and economic progress. Religion which should be beacon of hope and good-will is considered a philosophy of despair and disruption. This is because we have not understood the essentials of religion. We are, indeed, every day drifting from it and the result is infinite wretchedness and unhappiness. If only we were true to the fundamentals of our religion, if only we practised in our daily life what religion ordains we would not witness the misery and dismay which we are facing to-day.

In the present-day stress and strain of war, when we are directing all our attention and efforts on attaining victory, we are apt to lose sight of an important aspect of war ; I mean "Post-War Reconstruction". This is the theme of my address. This is a subject of supreme importance to a nation who has to plan ahead. Every war must end ; and we, of the United Nations, feel confident that the time is not far off when we shall triumph, when a glorious victory will, by the Grace of God, be ours and all the forces of evil, tyranny and oppression will be vanquished never to rise again. The question, therefore, is: "Are we preparing ourselves for that devoutly to be wished for consummation ?" Surely, we do not wish to be taken unawares, to be confronted all at once with a hundred and one problems which will demand an immediate solution and which will have far-reaching effects on the future generations. We, in India, should, like the other nations, take up the manifold problems of post-war reconstruction, so that when the enemy has sustained a total defeat and the sun rises on a world, tired and prostrate perhaps, but happy in the consciousness of a victory achieved in the noblest of all causes, we may be in a position to embark without delay upon the work of reconstructing a new world ; a world which would wish to say eternal good-bye to all the differences, quarrels and antagonisms which have very nearly destroyed the bonds of brotherhood which should normally bind together all God's creatures ; a new world in which every one would have suitable opportunities of enjoying the blessings of a full and complete life ; a world in which there would be plenty of the milk of human kindness, of

affectionate neighbourliness, of communal, racial and international harmony and concord,—a good world of good, Godfearing men. The ushering in of such a world should not be a dream; and if humanity can emerge nobler and purer from the terrible ordeal through which it is at present passing, all the misery, anguish and suffering will not be in vain. All those who have died or those, who will lay down their lives in the noble cause, will have died a martyr's death which would help in bringing in a new era of peace, prosperity and happiness.

"Reconstruction" is a vast, though a fascinating, subject. It has so many facets, and such an interweaving, interlacing and interplay of forces, wishes, sentiments and ideals that it would be impossible for me to discuss, even cursorily and meagrely, all its various aspects. I shall, therefore, deal to-day with only one aspect of the stupendous problem; I mean "Post-War Educational Reconstruction".

Every constructive reformer must proceed cautiously. There must not be too sudden a break with the past; no attempt should be made to uproot humanity and utterly ignore the old landmarks and foundations; every effort should be made to conserve and preserve all that is good and valuable, all that is sacred, pure and noble. It is in this spirit that I should, if I had an opportunity, undertake the work of educational reconstruction.

I do not think anybody now belongs to the Macaulay school of education. That system should be considered as dead. It was intended to serve a certain purpose during a certain period of Indian History, but it is entirely out of date and unsuitable for the needs of India of to-day. Every Indian to-day wants a fuller life, and efficient and useful life, which may see the fulfilment of certain ideals. For the achievement of such ideals we do not want mere literacy or capacity to read and write; we want a system of education which may open the portals of true knowledge and learning to us, which may not only train us to be good citizens but which may fit us to be worthy sons of India in every walk of life, so that each one of us may feel that he is an integral part of the body-politic who has a vital and important part to play in shaping and moulding the destiny of his country.

In my opinion the first essential requisite for such a system is the imparting of education through our own language. I am not one of those who shut their eyes to the advantage which the knowledge of English, as an international language, affords to every Indian, but I do feel strongly that instruction would be easier and more fruitful if it could be imparted through the medium of our own language. This question, however, should not be linked up with sentiment as is the tendency at times, but with science which is the very basis and texture of life to-day and without which we perish, or what is worse, glide back to barbarism.

I believe, it was said by a Jesuit: "Give me the training of a child up to the age of seven, and I do not care to whom it is entrusted thereafter." I am in entire agreement with this view and feel that the most important instructional period in the life of a child is at the primary stage. It is during the first few years of his schooling that the foundations are laid, and the whole future of the child depends on whether the foundations are good or bad. From the very start give the child good and efficient teachers, healthy and wholesome surroundings in an attractive and well-equipped school and you have made his career. Give him an unqualified, ill-paid and unsympathetic teacher, an insanitary and incommodious building with little or no equipment, and you have marred the child's future. It is an irony of fate that although we all realize this fact clearly, yet in actual practice many of the teachers employed in our primary schools are ill-paid, unqualified and unsuitable, the buildings in which the schools are housed are in some cases a disgrace and the whole atmosphere what it should not be. In devising our new system of education our first duty, therefore, should be to effect a root and branch reform in our primary education, no matter what the expenditure may be. All teachers in charge of little children should be fully qualified, they should be men and women of culture and character, and it is very important that they should be given a living wage, so that by example and precept they may be able to give of their best to the children entrusted to their care.

Some time ago the Punjab Government appointed a strong committee called the "Syllabus Revision Committee", which was asked to recommend the main lines on which the curricula and syllabi for the middle and primary classes should be framed. This Committee presented a very valuable report, and when its main recommendations had been accepted by Government, subsidiary expert sub-committees were appointed to draw up detailed syllabi in the various subjects. The result is that a thorough revision and reform of the curricula and syllabi for the primary and middle classes in

the Punjab has been effected, and the Punjab Government has approved of the new scheme of studies; and authors and publishers are now busy preparing books in accordance with the new scheme. It is not necessary for me here to give details of this scheme, which is now public property. Suffice it to say that the keynote of the new curricula is "Learning by Doing", so that the child may find pleasure in his studies which would interest him to such an extent that he would be attracted to the school instead of attending it unwillingly and half-heartedly; the latest and the most up-to-date methods of instruction, in consonance with the atmosphere and environment of the child, will be employed and education in the primary and middle classes will be imparted by teachers who have been specially trained for the purpose. But as I have said above, the new scheme is applicable to the primary and middle classes only, and the edifice would be incomplete if it were not followed up by a radical reform in the curricula of the matriculation classes, and in the whole structure of University education in the Punjab. I hope, most earnestly, that these important matters will soon be taken up by the University authorities, so that they may be ready for post-war reconstruction on sound lines.

This is not an occasion where to present a cut-and-dried scheme which can be enforced immediately. Very useful spadework will have to be done by the eminent educationists of the province, with perhaps the help and advice of men from outside; but I should like to entertain the hope that, when the war is happily over, we shall not be found unprepared or still floundering in the dark, but quite ready to embark upon a far-seeing and liberal scheme of education which will eliminate waste and stagnation; which will, to a large extent, remove unemployment; which will enable every young man and woman to get a decent start in life according to his or her tastes or aptitudes; which will make life fuller, nobler and happier; an education the aim of which will be not to add to the ever-growing number of graduates who subsequently drift in life like a ship without a rudder or compass, but to produce good citizens, leading happy and contented lives, free from all those sentiments and passions which sometimes make life so ugly; citizens who are conscious not only of their rights and privilieges, but even more so of their duties and obligations; duties not to themselves and their families and friends, but also to God and all his creatures.

In visualizing a new system of education one should not forget the role—the most important role—which a teacher has to play at school and college. With your permission, I should like to give you here a quotation from the Report of the Syllabus Revision Committee which I have already referred to:

When the class-room door opened, the teacher turned and beheld an eager group of children entering. His heart went out to them and he said: "What would you learn from me?"

They replied: "Show us how to keep our bodies in perfect health: teach us how to love beautiful things. Help us to discover what powers are in us, and what things we can do best.

"Show us how to work happily with each other, so that we may eventually work in happiness with all our fellow-men.

"Teach us how to draw and build the lovely things which are in our minds. Let us be busy at work-bench and table and blackboard; and at other times, when the mood takes us, allow us to reach quietly amid the treasures of the library.

"Show us how to speak and write our language with beauty.

"Help us to discuss some of the problems about which the modern world is so puzzled; perhaps some day we shall be the people who have to find a solution of these problems.

"Be one of us and play with us on the playing-field.

"Tell us what life means and how wonderful the world is."

"Do this and we will love you."

At this the teacher turned away sorrowing, for his learning dealt not with these matters.

Fully realizing the defects not only of the present system of education, but also those in the training of teachers, the Punjab Government appointed other expert committees to overhaul the entire system of teacher-training in normal schools and the Training Colleges. The vernacular teachers in our normal schools are already being trained in accordance with the new scheme of studies, and I hope that in the very near future the training of graduate teachers will be given on up-to-date, more practical and useful lines.

All these are steps in the right direction; but what about collegiate and university

education in general? I cannot imagine the post-war world being content with the *status quo* in higher education. It will insist on having a new system which lays more and more stress on vocational, industrial and technical education, a system under which nobody would drift, but be guided to choose and be trained for a career best suited to his capabilities, natural gifts and temperament. All are agreed that at present there is too much emphasis on a purely arts education which leads nowhere and which has blasted the careers of many young men who, if properly guided and trained, would have chosen suitable professions and been a credit to the country instead of being a drag and a burden. In the best interests of the country this policy of drift has got to stop and Government and the University must devise means to achieve this end. It wrings my heart to find such a large number of highly educated men going from pillar to post in search of jobs and finding none. At certain stages in their lives, these young men ought to be guided to choose the right line or profession for which they are best suited, and it should be one of the most important duties of teachers in schools and colleges to help and guide their pupils in the choice of a profession. Before passing from one stage to another in his educational career, each student should be given facilities to discuss his future with his parents and his teachers. and he should be encouraged to pursue a course of study which is calculated to lead to a successful career. Only those who wish to do research or become teachers or those who wish to acquire knowledge for its own sake and can afford to do so, should be permitted to proceed to the Masters's degree. To help and guide students to come to a correct decision in such matters, every college should have a Students' Career Bureau with a personnel possessing expert knowledge, sympathy, judgment and imagination to examine each particular case, supply useful information and give the necessary guidance to every student who leaves the college. The University should have a similar Bureau of its own which is in constant touch with Government departments and agencies, and with leading men and institutions in the industrial, technical and vocational spheres. Every one, be he a humble school-teacher or a college or University lecturer or professor, should be imbued with the missionary spirit; his aim should be not only to impart knowledge, but also to bring sunshine and joy into the lives of many of his pupils as he can help by extending to them his sympathy, affection and guidance. Nobody wants men of learning who are content to live in "shells" of their own, who take no interest in the outside world. We want teachers inspired by the highest ideals. They should be men of high character and integrity; they should be torch-bearers in the real sense so that by helping and training their students they may help their country in its onward march, and at the same time revive the sacred bond which existed between the teacher and the taught.

With suitable curricula and good, high-souled and selfless teachere, we shall require efficient up-to-date, well-equipped institutions where agricultural, industrial and technical training could be imparted. In the Punjab there are too many Arts schools and colleges, but not enough institutions of this type. After careful planning—which I think should be started at once—a number of such schools and colleges should be started all over the province to suit the needs and natural gifts of particular areas. Care should, however, be taken not to multiply such institutions so that the supply of trained men should not exceed the demand in any particular line or calling. No fetish should be made either of agriculture or of any particular form of industrialization. The days of extreme *laissez-faire* are, in my opinion, over and after the war every country and province will have to devise its own plans for development and progress guided by the Science of Economics but not by following its theories too slavishly and rigidly. Pure individualism and complete freedom in matters, which pertain to the welfare of the country as a whole, often lead to failure, and some kind of State control is, therefore, necessary to prevent waste of national effort. This is particularly so in the sphere of industrial organization and development, and I have no doubt that in any national planning which Government may undertake they will have the co-operation of the people of the Punjab.

When this planning has been successfully attempted and particular schemes are launched according to certain programmes, some other measures will have to be adopted so that we may be able to make the fullest use of the brains, energies and capabilities of the youth of the province. These measures should be such as to make it impossible for promising lives to be wrecked on the waves of disappointment and despair. There should be no lack of opportunity for any one in this land of ours. The number of boys and young men, who possess first-class brains but are unable to make good or achieve anything in life for lack of suitable means and

opportunities, is distressingly large. We must, therefore, make earnest efforts to devise a new system of scholarships and stipends. At present, in addition to the University, local body and private scholarships, the Punjab Government spends every year over Rs. 2 lakhs on scholarships of various kinds: but the system under which they are awarded is halting and unsatisfactory. They are limited in scope and duration, and hedged round with too many provisos and restrictions; with the result that a bright lad who has, for example, won a middle school scholarship has to terminate his studies unless he succeeds in winning a high school and later a college or University scholarship. In most cases the award of stipends and scholarships depends on uncertain examination results, and so there is enormous wastage and loss. I should like to have a system of scholarships whereby a bright and promising lad enjoys, without a break a stipend or scholarship throughout his scholastic career, provided he remains of good moral conduct and his progress in his studies is satisfactory. It will also be necessary to adjust the value of these scholarships to the actual needs of the scholarship-holders, for it is useless to award scholarships of inadequate value which do not place a deserving student above want. I dislike the idea of awarding a scholarship of Rs. 10 per mensem to a bright but poor student when his actual expenses are much more. Give the poor scholar all he wants, so that he can pursue his studies calmly and peacefully without having to worry about the wherewithal to support himself at school or college. Only under such beneficent conditions can we get the best out of our young men, and I feel sure that the expenditure will be worth while. I would like to have a large number of such scholarships and would not grudge any expenditure thereon. Not only would I award these scholarships for the ordinary school and college and for technical and industrial education, but I would give them to brilliant students for study outside the Punjab and abroad, so that this province may be fully equipped for every kind of social and economic advance.

I now turn to some other important aspects of Post-War Educational Reconstruction. Statistics collected during the last two decades—incomplete though they are—clearly show that the health of our students in schools and colleges is not as good as one might expect in this land of the Five Rivers, which is known all over the world as the Sword-arm of India and which has produced whole armies of strong sturdy and virile soldiers whose gallant deeds on the battlefield have from time immemorial been chronicled by historians and sung by bards. We must, therefore, give a very important place, in our reconstructional programmes, to the health of our children in all types of educational institutions. For some years past, some kind of medical examination of school and college students has been attempted but except in a few places very little success has been achieved and the problem still remains mainly unsolved. The most important feature of any scheme of medical inspection is that it should be as thorough as possible and must, in every case, be followed up by proper medical treatment. Under a scheme of this kind, physical defects and diseases could be detected at the earliest possible opportunity, and with suitable and sustained treatment many a valuable life could be saved and made more worth living. Mere spleen censuses and sporadic medical inspections at long intervals may be useful for statistical purposes, but otherwise they are futile unless followed up by proper and regular medical treatment. After the war I should like to see the establishment of a wholetime cadre of fully qualified medical officers for schools and colleges; some posted at central places, others itinerating from place to place, all bent upon doing their sacred duty of healing and curing. The effect of such a system on the health of the future generations of the Punjab would be tremendous and there would be every justification for as large an expenditure as it may be necessary to incur.

Every educational officer is of the opinion that even in this land, which has been so richly endowed by Nature, there is a very large number of children—particularly in the lower classes of schools in rural and backward areas—who are underfed or not properly fed on a sufficient and well-balanced diet. The school hours, the distance from home, the poverty and ignorance of parents may be partly responsible for this deplorable state of affairs, but the situation should not be considered hopeless. Certain successful experiments have been tried by some local bodies and other organisations, and particularly in our Model Schools—a fairly large number of which have been established in typical rural areas—and encouraging results have been obtained. The free supply of milk or other nourishing food to underfed children, who could not afford or arrange for their midday meal has made all the difference. It has been observed that a child gains in weight, his general health improves, and

he begins to take more interest in his work and is, therefore, able to make more satisfactory progress in his studies. The matter cannot be dealt with by legislation, but co-operation between parents and teachers—and there are over twenty thousand of the latter in the Punjab—can accomplish much. In England and other Western countries a free or cheap midday meal in the school is a matter of daily routine and astonishingly gratifying results have been achieved. In some of our colleges, the "drink more milk" campaign is being successfully carried on, and a few milk bars have been established. This is a very welcome effort and those students who are acquiring a taste for milk will soon find that it makes all the difference to their health.

There seems to be general agreement that there should be universal, free and compulsory primary education for both boys and girls in the Punjab. We have passed a new Act aiming at the achievement of this goal but we shall have to hasten slowly; our progress will have to be gradual and careful so that we hurt no tender susceptibilities or tread on dangerous ground; enormous funds will have to be found for enforcing compulsion; many new school buildings will have to be constructed and equipped and a large number of additional teachers of the right type trained and employed. Despite financial and other difficulties, I should like to have a programme aiming at full compulsion for boys in 10 years and for girls in 20 years after war. This will need very arduous and careful planning and preparation, but the problem should be placed in the forefront in any programme of educational reconstruction.

There is said to be a tendency to look down upon a primary school and its teachers. This should be eliminated. Our post-war schools will be real centres of enlightenment. The people of a village will be proud of their school and treat the school-master with respect and affection. They will go to him for advice and guidance and he will once again come into his own.

Every school and college should have "Hobbies Club," so that creative and pre-vocational activities among the students may be encouraged. A few schools and colleges in the Punjab have these useful activities already, but I want them to become universal so that the leisure hours of the teachers and the taught may be employed profitably in creative and intellectual pursuits, and the new system of "learning by doing" may be reinforced by these activities in actual practice.

Not long ago the system of physical training in educational institutions was primitive and extremely defective. It is very much better now. Every recognised school and college must have a properly trained Physical Instructor. I have no doubt that Physical Training will occupy a very prominent place in any post-war educational reconstruction programme. There is a first-class P. T. College at Montmorency Park, Walton, which is now temporarily utilized for the training of Military Officers. I hope, it will continue to train and send out men of good physique and character who will act in a missionary spirit and help their province in building sound bodies with sound minds. I look forward to the organization of games, sports and health clubs in every town and village with the help and guidance of these P. T. experts and with the co-operation of the villagers and citizens themselves. Everything should be done to encourage games and sports in schools and colleges, but care should be taken to ensure that no student devotes himself to neglect his studies. Skill at games is, indeed, an additional qualification, but the tendency among some students to sacrifice studies for the sake of games should be carefully checked.

There are many other things which a post-war educational system would necessitate: but what about finances?—you will naturally ask. The roughest estimate—even if the most urgent reforms are to be effected—would be astronomical, but any expenditure on such a nation-building activity as education would be justifiable and must be met. We Indians should realize that no sacrifice would be too great in the noble endeavour of reconstructing and reforming our whole educational system in the best interests of the present and future generations. At the same time it is quite clear that no Government, as such, can bear the whole financial burden necessitated by great reforms and schemes. If there is to be free compulsory primary education, the present expenditure on vernacular education will have to be doubled, not quadrupled. To meet this enormous increase in expenditure, it is suggested that every local body may be empowered to levy an educational cess the proceeds of which shall be earmarked for educational reform and expansion. (This experiment was lately adopted for raising money to meet the cost of renovation of the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore and quite a large sum was collected.) The secondary schools, colleges and the University will have to be given liberal grants-in-aid: but they will also have to built up endowment funds. Government will, no doubt, provide as many

facilities for scientific, vocational and technical training as it can afford, but the philanthropists of India will have to supplement Government efforts by founding a number of such institutions and by endowing scholarship and stipend on as liberal a scale as possible. Only thus can those who are rich and afford to give, make their names immortal: only thus can they carve their names on the pages of history and get enshrined in the hearts of their grateful countrymen.

Education is, as you are all aware, a provincial subject, and the Central Government does very little by way of financial assistance to the Provincial Exchequers. I have never been able to understand why the Government of India should be absolved of all responsibility for education, especially at the earlier stages, in every province. If I had any hand in the framing of the Government of India Act, I should have made education the first charge on Central Finance. But things being what they are other means will have to be devised to help Local Governments in financing big educational schemes and reforms. If I remember aright, it was suggested some time ago at a meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education that few crores of rupees could be raised if the restrictions imposed at a present on the imposition of a tax on a few necessaries of life could be removed. The suggestion was made subject to the conditions that the whole of the amount thus raised was earmarked for education, and that each province should be allotted a quota according to its needs and requirements. If all the dreams we are dreaming now about educational reconstruction are not to remain mere empty dreams, some such legislatures to raise funds will be necessary.

Before I close, I should like to offer, if I may, a few words of advice to my young friends who have been admitted to the various degrees to-day. You will realize, I am sure, that you and those who have graduated during the last few years will have a very important role to play in the post-war India, and it is high time that you began your preparations for it right now. A few of you will, no doubt, by sheer force-of ability and merit obtain a decent and respectable start in life and rise, in due course, to the top of the ladder; some others among you, who have acquired knowledge for its own sake and whom a kind Providence has placed above want, will probably not care for jobs; but for the majority the struggle for existence will be hard—perhaps bitter and long. To the more fortunate ones I would say: don't forget in the pursuit of a happy and lucky career, that there are many others to whom destiny has not been so prolific in her gifts and whom, therefore, it is your duty to help by all the means at your disposal. Take a vow to-day that the service of humanity at large will be your guiding principle in life; resolve to-day that if circumstances do not permit to help a fellow-being, you will at least never harm him. There are so many ways in which you can help others in this world and apply a soothing balm to lacerated hearts. A little word of kindness, a little generosity and charity may often save many a life, may heal many a wound and restore lost hope in many a miserable heart. I should like to believe that all of you will leave this hall with the firm determination of doing good to all and harm to none. You are now on the threshold of life. You will look back upon and remember, with a fond and reverent affection, the happy days you have spent so profitably in your colleges and in the University; but always look forward and ahead, and make up your mind that despite disappointments, trials and rebuffs you are going to make good in life. Even in the darkest moments keep your faith in God and in yourself firm and unshaken, and always remain convinced that whatever happens is for the best, that when you have one trouble after another in life you are really being subjected to a wonderful test and that all will depend on how you face the test. I want you all to be "Happy Warriors," living not only for yourselves, but for your fellow-men and for your country. In this selfless spirit of service face the battle of life, and success will surely be yours.

It only remains for me to wish you the best of luck, and pray that the knowledge and culture you have acquired as members of this University and its affiliated colleges may fit you for your duties in life and enable you, with God's help, to serve your fellow-men and your country to the best of your power and ability. You may go out to the world to accomplish its high ideal purpose with a passion for sefless service, to bring about concord where there is discord, love where there is hatred, and trust where there is suspicion and distrust. Let you, my young friends, be the pioneers of a new movement which will eradicate the devastating prejudices and racial and communal barriers which divide us to-day, for that alone will secure for our country a place worthy of her great past in the comity of nations.