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July–December 1926.

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July–December 1926

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Chronicle of Events.

July 1926

1 July '26 Congress Karmi Sangha Meeting in Calcutta adopts Social reconstruction work apart from political.

Serious Riot at Pabna (Bengal) following a Hindu procession with Music in front of a Mosque.

3 July do. Mrs. Sorojini Naidu at Chinsurah—Desbandhu Das's Protrait unveiled.

4 July do. Monster Meeting of Calcutta Hindus at the Town Hall to protest against the Govt. Communique of "No Music Before Mosque."—Mr. J. N. Basu, the President, dwelt on the legal aspect of the question. Mr. Goswami characterised the Government's action as "pig-headed and perverse."

Meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee in Calcutta.

Dr. Kitchlew's impassioned appeal for unity to a Hindu-Mahomedan Meeting in Calcutta.

5 July do. Dr. Kitchlew at Patna—Tanzim Movement explained.

6 July do. Zamindar of Sitlai and Mr. Ranajit Lahiri arrested in connection with the immersion of mutilated images following the Pabna riot.

7 July do. Sen Gupta—Goswamy controversy—compromise arrived at.

Lord Olivier's letters to the "Times" on the Hindu-Moslem Tension—accused the Officials of Pro-Moslem bias.

11 July do. Sind Journalists' Conference at Karachi—a Journalists' Society formed. All-India Anniversary Day of Late Desbandhu Das celebrated at Calcutta Bombay, Madras and other places with due solemnity.

The Third Phase of the Calcutta riots began and continued up to the 25th—The Riot commenced on this day following the Raj Rajeswari Procession.

12 July do. Delhi Hindu Sabha protest against Bengal Government's decision regarding Music before Mosque.

Select Committee Report on the Howrah Bridge Bill considered and carried in the Bengal Council.

13 July do. Howrah Bridge Bill passed in the Bengal Council.

15 July do. Report of the Tariff Board published at Simla—no protective duty on imported coal.

17 July do. Lord Irwin's Speech on communal tension at the Chelmsford Club, Simla—His Excellency's appeal for toleration and good-will.

18 July do. All-India Cow Conference in Calcutta urged Government to regulate slaughter of cattle by legislation.

19 July do, Hindu Moslem riot in Paikpara, Calcutta on the Car Festival day—1 Hindu Killed, 5 Mahomedans, 2 Hindus wounded.

21 July do. Serious riot in Calcutta during the Moharrum Procession—Police compelled to fire on the Mahomedans.

30 July '26 Indian Debate in the House of Commons—Budget Estimates passed—Earl Winterton on Communal tension and disintegration of Swarajists.

Personnel of the Bombay Backbay Enquiry Committee announced—Chairman: Sir G. Mears and Members: Sir M. Visvesvarayya, Sir, F. Hopkinson and Mr. S. B. Billimoria.

Serious Mill Strike at Bangalore—4 killed and 14 injured.

28 July do. Manifesto of the Bengal Responsivist Party issued at Calcutta—the party declared their policy of working the Reforms, however defective.

The Local Self-Government Conference at Poona opened by H. E. the Governor.

25 July do. B. P. C. C. Meeting in Calcutta—Election of 30 Members to the Executive Committee.

Public Meeting at Bombay on Communal tension—a Round Table Conference proposed.

27 July do. Post Riot Conference in Calcutta of Hindu and Moslem citizens led by Maharaja Burdwan and Nawab Murshidabad—Sir B. N. Mitra's proposal for a Conciliation Board.

28 July do. Indian Debate in Lords—Lord Birkenhead on the Bengal Detenues—more "goodwill" demanded.

Lord Irwin at Poona—In reply to the Moslem deputation His Excellency reiterated his deep anxiety to ease the communal tension.

30 July do. The Mysore Economic Conference opened by the Dewan at Bangalore.

31 July do. The Nehru-Azad Manifesto proposing an Indian National Union Published.

August 1926.

1 Aug. '26 Tilak Anniversary Day observed throughout India with great enthusiasm.

3 Aug. do. Mr. Bole's Bill to amend the law relating to the emoluments of the Hindu priests passed third reading in the Bombay Council.

4 Aug. do. Pt. Malaviya and Dr. Moonjee served with prohibition order not to enter Calcutta.

5 Aug. do. Representative Labour Deputation submitted a Memorandum to the Home Member in which relief was sought in respect of Labour representation in the Councils and Assembly, fines levied on workers and the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Act.

6 Aug. do. Mr. Biswanath Das honourably acquitted by the Madras High Court—the Judges strongly condemned the prosecution tactics.

7 Aug. do. The Indian Currency Bill published at Simla.

Pt. Malaviya defied the prohibition order and arrived in Calcutta—no arrest was made—great sensation prevailed throughout the country.

9 Aug. do. Dr. Moonji arrived in Calcutta—not arrested.

Summons issued against Pt. Malaviya and Dr. Moonji for disobeying the prohibition order.

11 Aug. do. Calcutta High Court in full Bench ruled that the Police can not detain arrested persons for an indefinite period without their being produced before the Magistrate.

16 Aug. '26 Responsive Co-operation Party formed in Andhradesa—provisional committee appointed.

Passing away of the Hon. Mr. M. A. Desai, the foremost Kenya Indian leader.

17 Aug. do. Indian disabilities in Natal—The Township Ordinance ratified—a blow to Indian civic rights.

H. E. Lord Irwin opened the autumn Session of the Central Legislature at Simla.

18 Aug. do. The Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill passed in the Bengal Council.

19 Aug. do. Charges against Pt. Malaviya and Dr. Moonji withdrawn by the Bengal Government.

20 Aug. do. The Cr. Procedure Code Amendment Bill regarding the confiscation of communal literatures introduced in the Assembly by Sir A. Muddiman.

23 Aug. do. The Currency Bill introduced in the Assembly—Mr. Rangachariar's motion for eliciting opinion was put and carried.

25 Aug. do. Conversations between the different Party leaders at Simla regarding the formation of a United Congress Party continued on this and following days.

26 Aug. do. Lala Lajpat Rai's resignation from the Swaraj Party—The Historic Correspondence between Pt. Nehru and Lala Lajpat Rai. (See p. 51).

Congress Working Committee meeting held at Simla.

Cr. P. C. Amendment Bill passed in Assembly after a heated debate.—Mr. Rangachariar's motion for limiting operation of the Bill for two years was lost.

Bar Councils Bill passed in the Assembly.

27 Aug. do. Discussion on the Irrigation Bill in the Madras Council adjourned "Sine Die".

28 Aug. do. Inauguration meeting of the Responsive Co-operation Party in Calcutta presided over by Mr. B. Chakravarti.

29 Aug. do. B. P. C. C. meeting in Calcutta—compromise with the Karmi Sangha effected.

September 1926.

1 Sept. '26 A Deputation of Indian Christians to H. E. the Viceroy under the leadership of Sir Harnam Singh deplored the extension of communal representation to the Services and urged that merit should constitute the main condition for admission to the Services.

2 Sept. do. The Bar Councils Bill as amended by the Council of State passed in the Assembly.

The Malabar Tenancy Bill passed in the Madras Council.

3 Sept. do. Conference of Presidents and Dy. Presidents of the Assembly and Councils held at Simla on this and next day.

5 Sept. do. The Bengal Nationalist party in a manifesto condemned the obstructionist policy and urged the working of the reforms in the Council.

The Congress Electioneering Campaign opened at Meerut by Pt. Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

6 Sept. '26 Political Situation in the Country—Mahatma Gandhi appealed to to leave his seclusion and assume leadership—The Mahatma's advice : "Follow the lead of the Charka".

Sir Abdur Rahim's Manifesto outlining the Policy of the Bengal Muslim Party issued.

The Seventh Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations held at Geneva from 6th to 25th.—Speeches delivered by the Indian Delegation. (See p. 159).

7 Sept. do. Pt. Nehru at Aligarh—Congress principles explained.

8 Sept. do. Hindu-Moslem riot at Dacca following the Janmasthami Procession.

9 Sept. do. Calcutta European Association's telegram to the Government of India alleging the partial trial of Europeans charged with assaults on Indians in Assam and Bengal.

10 Sept. do. Informal meeting of the Indian National Union at Delhi—Draft rules framed—Members to sign a pledge.

11 Sept. do. Conference of the Independent Congress Party at Delhi—Compromise with the Swarajists failed.

12 Sept. do. Congress Working Committee meeting at Delhi eulogised Mr. Andrews for his invaluable and selfless services abroad.

Hindu-Moslem Riot at Allahabad on the occasion of the Dadhkando festival—2 killed and 27 injured.

17 Sept. do. The Independent Party's election campaign opened by Pt. Malaviya at Lahore.

The Hindu Religious Endowments Bill passed in the Madras Council.

18 Sept. do. Sir Abdur Rahim's manifesto on behalf of Bengal Muslim Party—no desire to injure Hindu interests.

Arrival of the South African Parliamentary Deputation headed by the Hon. Mr. F. W. Beyers at Bombay.

20 Sept. do. H. E. the Governor of Bengal withheld assent to the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill.

21 Sept. do. Conference of Ministers and Commissioners of Excise from several parts of India opened by the Finance Member at Simla.

22 Sept. do. Annual meeting of the Madras Presidency Muslim League with Mr. Yakub Hasan in the Chair—the Hindus accused for turning the Muslim community into the Sixth Indian Caste.

23 Sept. do. Central Khilafat Committee meeting at Delhi—Report of the Indian Delegation to the Hedjaz Muslim Conference discussed.

Arrival of the South African Deputation at Madras.

25 Sept. do. The Indian Hedjaz Conference opened at Lucknow under the Chairmanship of Mr. Salebhoy Barodawalla.

27 Sept. do. Opium Smoking Bill passed in the Assam Council—punishment of imprisonment or fine to two or more persons smoking in company.

Akali Leaders' Case withdrawn by the Punjab Government—fourtene leaders released on this day.

October 1926.

2 Oct. '26 The Indian National Party opened election campaign in Bombay with Sir P. Thakurdas in the Chair.

5 Oct. '26 Crowded Meeting of Hindus at Allahabad under Pt. Malaviya to protest against the restriction on Ramlila Procession.

7 Oct. do. Railway Conference at Simla presided over by Col. Walton.

The Labour Conference at Margate—"Subject Peoples' right to Self-determination."

8 Oct. do. Opening the Indian National Council of Y. M. C. A. in London, Lord Birkenhead agreed to accept the Indian Demand for Swaraj on two conditions: "Co-operation and Communal Concord."

10 Oct. do. His Excellency Lord Lytton resumed office as Governor of Bengal on return from leave.

11 Oct. do. The Royal Commission on Agriculture held its first sitting in Simla with the Marquis of Linlithgow in the Chair.

The Mysore Provincial Co-operative Conference opened by the Dewan at the Rangacharlu Memorial Hall, Mysore.

13 Oct. do. After a three weeks' sojourn in India, which was one long round of dinners and sight-seeing, the Deputation from South Africa left Bombay on their return journey.

16 Oct. do. Ramlila Procession abandoned at Allahabad—elsewhere passed off smoothly.

18 Oct. do. Strike in Bombay Mills due to effect of depression in cotton trade—about 3,000 holding out.

19 Oct. do. The Ninth Imperial Conference opened in London—India represented by Earl Winterton and Maharaja Burdwan.

The Government of India's reply to the European Association that assault cases of Europeans on Indians should be fairly and impartially examined.

20 Oct. do. The General Election Manifesto of the Indian National Congress issued from Madras.

22 Oct. do. Lord Birkenhead's Speech at a gathering of Dominion Premiers at Guildhall—His promise of "generous" response to Co-operation.

Bombay Business Associations' strong protest to Viceroy on the deflation of Currency as being detrimental to Agriculturists' interests.

Death of Mr. S. Rangaswami Iyengar, Editor of the "Hindu," Madras.

Riot at Chapra (Behar) following the sacrifice of a pig—eight persons wounded.

25 Oct. do. The Governor of Assam withheld assent to the Assam Opium Smoking Bill passed in the Council.

27 Oct. do. Inaugural Meeting of the Indian Currency League at Bombay,—Sir V. Sassoon presided.

29 Oct. do. Inaugural Meeting of the League of Nations Union, Madras Branch, presided over by His Excellency the Governor.

30 Oct. do. Police Commissioners' report on the third phase of the Calcutta Riots issued.

November 1926.

1 Nov. '26 Governor of Madras withheld Assent to the Malabar Tenancy Bill passed in the Council.

4 Nov. do. Maharaja Burdwan's advice to Indian Students in England—a "disaster' if they cherish a dislike of Britain.

5 Nov. '26 Sir T. Vijiarghavachariars' arrival from Canada—the Canadian People's Sympathy with India's aspirations.

6 Nov. do. U. P. Indian Christian Conference at Allahabad with Mr. Jordan in the Chair.

12 Nov. do. The Madras Unemployment Committee appointed by the Government to inquire and find out a solution for unemployment among middle classes commenced its sittings under the Chairmanship of Sir G. Paddison. Statute of Mr. G. K. Gokhale unveiled by His Excellency the Governor in the Senate House, Madras.

15 Nov. do. Deccan Sabha's send off to Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri on the eve of his departure to S. Africa to participate in the Round Table Conference.

16 Nov. do. Death of the Hon. Justice Sir Lallubhai A. Shah at Bombay.

Finance Members' Conference opened at Delhi—Discussion on Meston Settlement.

19 Nov. do. The International Textile Workers' Delegation under their leader, the Rt. Hon. Thomas Shaw arrived in Bombay.

Mr. Satin Sen, the leader of the Patuakhali Satyagraha arrested under Police Act.

20 Nov. do. Report of the Imperial Conference published in London—The report explains that no mention is made of India because the position of India is defined by the Government of India Act 1919.

22 Nov. do. Hearty Send-off at Bombay to the Hon. Mr. Habibulla, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri, Sir P. Sethna and Sir D. Lindsay, the Indian Delegates to the Cape Town Round Table Conference.

Chamber of Princes opened at Delhi by His Excellency the Viceroy—proceedings not open to the Press.

25 Nov. do. The Railway Rates Advisory Committee commenced its sittings at Delhi—enquiry held into freight concessions.

The Punjab Enquiry Committee Report on the Commercial education in the Punjab published—Post Matriculation classes advocated.

28 Nov. do. The Eighth Andhra Provincial Conference commenced its session at Ellore under the Presidency of Mr. K. Viraraghavaswami.

Andhra. Social Reform Conference held at Ellore under the presidency of Dr. M. Rangayya.

29 Nov. do, Aerial Transport in India—The Indian Air Board's recommendations to the Government of India for subsidising commercial Air services published.

30 Nov. do. St. Andrews' Dinner in Calcutta—Lord Lytton on the failure of Reform in Bengal—Mutual lack of faith the cause.

December 1926.

1 Dec. do. Appeal in the Panipat Riot Case concluded at Lahore—Sentences reduced.

Second reading of the Judicial Committee Bill moved in the House of Commons.

2 Dec. do. Government of Bengal's resolution on the Excise policy—System of Licensing Boards to be extended.

3 Dec. do. Sixth Puddukottah Peoples' Conference under the Presidency of Mr. S. Satyamurthi who urged everybody to "assert the right of Swaraj."

4 Dec. '26 Thirty-Second Session of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Conference held at Madras under the presidency of Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar.

Fourth Annual Conference of the European Association held at Cawnpore under the presidency of Mr. Langford James.

5 Dec. do. B. P. C. C. meeting in Calcutta ended in blows and fusillade of bricks and stones—Police help sought—five persons arrested.

Twentieth Session of the U. P. Provincial Conference opened at Kashipur under the presidency of Babu Shiva Prosad Gupta.

6 Dec. do. The Eighth Annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce opened by H. E. the Viceroy at Cawnpore.

9 Dec. do. The Indian School of Mines at Dhanbad opened by H. E. the Viceroy.

12 Dec. do. Punjab P. C. C. Meeting—Compromise resolution passed,

14 Dec. do. Opening of the New Madras Council after the general elections under the Chairmanship of Mr. Wood.

Arrival of the South African Delegation at Mozambique.

European Association's dinner to H. E. the Viceroy in Calcutta—Mr. Langford James' amazing speech: "We have a right to be in India on moral, but equally strong grounds."

17 Dec. do. The Round Table Conference opened by Gen. Hertzog in Cape Town and then adjourned till 20th.

Informal Conference of the Indian Mining Federation with Sir Charles Innes in Calcutta—Reduction in freight of Coal urged.

19 Dec. do. Universal Prayer Day throughout South Africa and India for the success of the Round Table Conference.

21 Dec. do. Annual Meeting of the Madras Chamber of Commerce under the presidency of Mr. C. E. Wood—Review of Trade conditions.

23 Dec. do. Murder of Swami Shraddananda Sanyasi at Delhi by a Moslem Fanatic—horror and indignation throughout the country.

25 Dec. do. Tenth Session of the Non-Brahmin Conference opened at Madura under the presidency of Sir A. P. Patro.

26 Dec. do. Forty first Session of the Indian National Congress opened at Gauhati under the presidency of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar.

27 Dec. do. The National Liberal Federation opened at Akola under the presidency of Sir Sivaswami Aiyar

All-India Political Sufferers' Conference held at Gauhati under the Presidency of Dr. B. N. Dutt.

All-India Volunteer's Conference held at Gauhati under the Presidency of Pt. Motilal Nehru.

28 Dec. do. Special Session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha opened at Gauhati under the Presidency of Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Thirteenth Session of the All-India Christian Conference opened at Madras under the Presidency of Rai A. C. Mukherjee Bahadur.

29 Dec. do. Eighteenth Session of the All-India Muslim League held at Delhi under the Presidency of Khan Bahadur Sk. Abdul Qadir.

Annual Meeting of the Bengal Police Association at Calcutta under the Presidency of Mr. S. N. Banerjee.

All-India Kayastha Conference at Calcutta under the Presidency of Mr S. M. Chitnavis.

31 Dec. do. East African Indian Congress at Mombassa passed resolution expressing grief at the sad murder of Swami Shraddananda.

Fourth Session of the Indian Industrial Congress opened in Calcutta under the Presidency of Sir Dinshaw Petit.

INDIA IN HOME POLITY

July–December 1926

All-India Congress Committee

Constitution of the Congress.

The following is the full text of the constitution of the Indian National Congress as amended at the Gauhati Session, 1926, and published by the General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee.

ARTICLE I.

Object.

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

ARTICLE II.

Sessions of the Congress.

(*a*) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during the last week of December at such place as may have been decided upon at its previous session or such other place as may have been determined by the All-India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to.

(*b*) An extraordinary session of the Congress shall be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees or of its own motion, provided, in the latter case, due notice has been given and the proposal is supported by two thirds of the members present. The All-India Congress Committee shall determine the place where such session is to be held, and the Articles of the constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All-India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

ARTICLE III.

Component parts of the Congress.

The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following :— (*a*) The Indian National Congress. (*b*) The All-India Congress Committee. (*c*) Provincial Congress Committees. (*d*) District Congress Committees. (*e*) Sub-Divisional, Taluq or Tahsil, Firka and other local Congress Committees. (*f*) Such other committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress in this behalf. (*g*) The Reception Committee of the Congress.

NOTE : Provincial, District, Taluq or Tahsil and other conferences may be organised by the above-named committees for educative and propaganda purposes.

ARTICLE IV.

Congress membership.

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organisations referred to in the foregoing Article, unless he or she has attained the age of 18 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in Article I of this constitution and of the rules of the Congress.

ARTICLE V.

Provincial Congress Committees.

The following shall be the provinces with head-quarters mentioned against them, but in every case the respective Provincial Congress Committee shall have the power to alter the head-quarters from time to time.

	Province.	*Language.*	*Head-quarters.*
1	Ajmer, Merwara and Rajputna ...	Hindustani	Ajmer
2	Andhra	Telugu	Madras
3	Assam	Assamese	Gauhati
4	Behar	Hindustani	Patna
5	Bengal and Surma Valley ...	Bengali	Calcutta
6	Berar	Marathi	Amraoti
7	Burma	Burmese	Rangoon
8	Central Provinces ... (Hindustani)	Hindustani	Jubbulpore
9	Central Provinces ... (Marathi)	Marathi	Wardha
10	City of Bombay ...	Marathi and Gujarati	Bombay
11	Delhi	Hindustani	Delhi
12	Gujarat	Gujarati	Ahmedabad
13	Karnatak ...	Kannada	Gadag
14	Kerala	Malayalam	Calicut
15	Maharashtra ...	Marathi	Poona
16	Punjab and N. W. Frontier Provinces	Punjabi and Hindustani ...	Labore
17	Sind	Sindhi ...	Karachi
18	Tamil Nadu ...	Tamil	Madras
19	United Provinces ...	Hindustani	Alahabad
20	Utkal	Oriya	Cuttack

Indian States.

Provided that the All India Congress Committee may from time to time assign particular Indian States to particular provinces, and a provincial Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States assigned to it by the All India Congress Committee to particular districts within its jurisdiction.

ARTICLE VI.

Provincial Organisation.

(a) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee in and for each of the provinces named in the foregoing Article.

(b) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall organise District and other committees referred to in Article III and shall have the power to frame rules laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business not inconsistent with this constitution or any rules made by the All India Congress Committee.

(c) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the Congress organisations in the province in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committee.

(d) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall submit an annual report of the Congress work in the province to the All India Congress Committee before the 30th November.

ARTICLE VII.

Franchise.

(i) Every person not disqualified under Article IV and paying a subscription of 5 annas per year in advance, or 200 yards of evenly spun yarn of his or her own spinning, shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by a Provincial Congress Committee: provided that no person shall be a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.

(ii) The yarn subscription mentioned in section (i) shall be sent direct by the spinner to the Secretary, All India Spinners' Association or to any person nominated by the Secretary in this behalf, and a certificate from the Secretary, All India Spinners' Association to the effect that he has received 200 yards of evenly spun yarn of the holder's own spinning as his or her yearly subscription shall entitle the holder to the membership mentioned in section (i) hereof: provided that for the purpose of checking the accuracy of the returns made by the All India Spinners' Association, the All India Congress Committee or any Provincial Congress Committee or any sub-committee thereunder shall have the right to inspect the accounts, the stock and the vouchers of the All India Spinners' Association or any subordinate organisation thereunder and provided further that in the event of any inaccuracy or error discovered by the inspecting body in the accounts, stock or vouchers examined, the certificates issued by the All India Spinners' Association in respect of persons with reference to whose membership the accounts have been examined, shall be declared cancelled; provided that the All India Spinners' Association or the person disqualified shall have the right of appeal to the Working Committee. Any person wishing to spin for the membership of the Congress may, if he or she desires, be supplied upon due security with cotton for spinning.

(iii) The year of the membership shall be reckoned from the 1st January to the 31st December and there shall be no reduction in the subscription to be paid by members joining in the middle of the year.

(iv) *a.* No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of representatives or delegates or any committee or sub-committee of any Congress organisation whatsoever or to be elected as such or to take part in any meeting of the Congress or Congress organisation or any committee or sub-committee thereof, if he has not complied with section (i) hereof and does not habitually wear hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar.

b. The Working Committee shall frame rules for the proper carrying out of the provisions of this section.

ARTICLE VIII.

Electorates and Delegates.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election of delegates to the Congress.

No one who had not enlisted himself as a Congress member on or before the 1st October immediately preceding a particular session of the Congress shall be qualified for election as a delegate to that session.

The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall be ex-officio delegates to the Congress. Besides these ex-officio delegate the number of delegates returnable by Provincial Congress Committees shall be not more than one for every fifty thousand, or its fraction, of the inhabitants of each province, including the Indian States therein, in accordance with the census

of 1921; provided, however, that the inclusion of Indian States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates, due regard being had to the return of women delegates and the representation of minorities, special interests or classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for the organisation of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation, by a single transferable vote or by any other method, of every variety of political opinion. Notice of all changes in the rules framed by the Provincial Congress Committee shall forthwith be sent to the general secretaries of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the office of the All-India Congress Committee, an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected, containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the office not later than 10 days before the date fixed for the holding of the session. No changes shall be made in the list within ten days of the Congress. In case, however, of interim vacancies, the Provincial Congress Committee shall fill them in accordance with the rules made in that behalf. Such rules shall not be valid unless they have been previously confirmed by the Working Committee.

ARTICLE IX.

Provincial Subscriptions.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All-India Congress Committee as may be fixed by the latter from time to time.

ARTICLE X.

Delegation Certificate.

Each committee referred to in Article VIII, shall issue certificates to the delegates duly elected in accordance with the form and signed by a secretary of the committee.

ARTICLE XI.

Delegate's Fee.

Every delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of one rupee at the office of the All-India Congress Committee in the Congress camp at the place where the Congress is held shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress.

ARTICLE XII.

Voting at Congress.

Delegates shall alone have the power of voting at the Congress sittings or otherwise taking part in its deliberations.

ARTICLE XIII.

Reception Committee.

The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress Committee at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Congress Committee. The members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25 each.

ARTICLE XIV.

The Reception Committee shall elect its chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

ARTICLE XV.

It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress session, to elect the president of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following Article, to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests and, as far as practicable, of visitors, and for the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings, and to submit statements of receipts and expenditure to the Provincial Congress Committee within four months of the session of the Congress.

ARTICLE XVI.

Election of the President.

The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible, by the end of June, suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are in their opinion eligible for the presidentship of the Congress, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, in the first week of July, submit to all the Provincial Committees the names so suggested, for their final recommendations; provided that such final recommendation will be of any one but not more of such names, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is adopted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the president of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the president recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees, or an emergency arises by resignation, death or otherwise, of the president elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case, the election shall be final, provided that in no case shall the person so elected as president belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held.

The president of a special or extraordinary session shall be elected by the All-India Congress Committee subject to the same proviso.

ARTICLE XVII.

(a) The All-India Congress Committee shall pay to the Reception Committee within a fortnight after the termination of the Congress session half the delegation fees.

(b) If the Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session, it shall hand over the same to the Provincial Congress Committee in the province in which the session was held, towards the Provincial Congress fund of that province.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Audit.

(a) The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, and the statement of accounts together with the Provincial Congress Committee not later than six months from the termination of the Congress, to the All-India Congress Committee.

(b) The accounts of the All-India Congress Committee shall be audited every year by an auditor appointed at the annual session. It

shall be competent to this auditor to call for and inspect the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees.

(c) The All India Congress Committee shall take steps to ensure that the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees are properly audited.

ARTICLE XIX.

All India Congress Committee.

The All India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members, exclusive of ex-officio members.

The ex-officio members shall be the elected president, past presidents of the Congress if they sign Article I of this constitution and are members of any Congress organisation, the general secretaries and the treasurers of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committees within its jurisdiction.

The Allotment shall be, as far as possible, on the basis of population according to the linguistic distribution of provinces, as given in page 10.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Elections to the All India Congress Committee shall ordinarily take place in the month of November.

Casual vacancies in the All India Congress Committee caused by resignation, death, absence from India, or otherwise, shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Committee.

The All India Congress Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligations, and every time upon requisition by 30 members thereof, who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All India Congress Committee. When once such a meeting is requisitioned and convened, additional subjects may be brought up for consideration, provided due notice has been given to the members of the same.

The quorum for the All India Congress Committee shall be fifty.

The All India Congress Committee shall hold office till the election of the new All India Congress Committee.

ARTICLE XX.

The secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committee shall issue certificates of membership of the All India Congress Committee to the persons so elected,

ARTICLE XXI.

Function of A. I. C. C.

The All India Congress Committee shall be the committee of the Congress to carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from year to year and deal with all new matters that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose the All India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame its own rules not inconsistent with this constitution.

ARTICLE XXII.

The president of the Congress shall be the chairman of the All India Congress Committee for the year following.

ARTICLE XXIII.

General Secretaries and Treasurers.

The Indian National Congress shall have three general secretaries and two treasurers, who shall be annually elected by the Congress.

The treasurer shall be in charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper accounts of them. The general secretaries shall be in charge of the office of the All India Congress Committee and shall be responsible for the publication of the repors of the proceedings of the preceding session of the Congress and of any special session held in the course of the year, in co-operation with the Reception Committee. Such report shall be published as soon as possible and not later than four months after the session, and shall be offered for sale.

The general secretaries shall prepare the report of the work of the All India Congress Committee during the year and submit it, with a full account of the funds which may come into their hands, to the All India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year; and copies of such account and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress Committee and published along with the next Congress report.

ARTICLE XXIV.

Working Committee.

The All India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting after the annual session of the Congress, elect nine members who shall, with the president, general secretaries and treasurers, be the Working Committee of the Congress and the executive authority responsible to the All India Congress Committee in all matters.

All proceedings of the Working Committee shall be placed before the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

ARTICLE XXV.

Subjects Committee.

The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall constitute the Subjects Committee for the ordinary or extraordinary session following.

ARTICLE XXVI.

The Subjects Committee shall meet at-least two days before the meeting of the Congress in open session. At this meeting, the president-elect shall preside, and the outgoing secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing session of the Congress, including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees for adoption.

ARTICLE XXVII.

The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the said programme and shall frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The Subjects Committee shall also meet from time to time, as the occasion may require, during the pendency of the Congress session.

ARTICLE XXIX.

Contentious subjects and interests of minorities.

No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the president thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mohammedan delegates, as a body, object by a majority of three-fourths of their number, and if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mohammedan delegates, as a body, are, by a majority of three-fourths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped.

ARTICLE XXX.

Order of Business.

At each sitting of the Congress, the order in which business shall be transacted shall be as follows:—(a) The resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee. (b) Any substantive motion not included in (a) but which does not fall under Article XXIX of the constitution and which 25 delegates request the president in writing, before the commencement of the day's sitting, to be allowed to place before the Congress; provided, however, that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present.

ARTICLE XXXI.

Rule-making power.

The All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules in respect of all matters not covered by the constitution and not inconsistent with its Articles.

ARTICLE XXXII.

Election disputes panel.

The All-India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting every year, nominate a panel of twelve members to enquire into and finally decide all election disputes coming before it. The parties to the dispute shall nominate one each out of this panel to represent the respective disputants, and the president shall choose the third.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

Languages for proceedings.

The proceedings of the Congress, the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in Hindustani; the English language or any provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever necessary.

The proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committees shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the province concerned. Hindustani may also be used.

The Congress Election Manifesto.

In October 1926, on the eve of the General Elections, an Election Manifesto of the Indian National Congress was issued under the authority of the Congress Working Committee by Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee.

The Manifesto surveyed the evolution of the Congress policy in the last three years and showed that "Self-reliance", an attitude of "resistance" to the Government, the refusal of supplies unless otherwise directed by the Working Committee and non-acceptance of office were among the most important points in the Congress Programme. The following is the text of the Manifesto :—

THE TEXT OF THE MANIFESTO.

The Indian National Congress is taking part in the general elections to the Legislatures for the first time. The circumstances in which it has decided to do so are well-known and need not be set out here. All that is necessary is to recapitulate some of the resolutions passed by the Congress and the A. I. C. C. so far as they bear on the principles and policy which will govern Congressmen who are elected to the Legislatures of the country.

Introductory.

2. The A. I. C. C. at its meeting held at Patna on the 22nd September 1925 resolved that "the Congress do now take up and carry on all such political work as may be necessary in the interest of the country" and provided that "the work in connection with the Indian and Provincial Legislatures shall be carried on in accordance with the policy and programme laid down by the Swaraj Party under the Constitution framed by the Party and the rules thereunder, subject to such modifications made by the Congress as may be found necessary from time to time for the purpose of carrying out the said policy." This resolution was confirmed by the Congress at its Cawnpore session and the basic principle on which all political work was to be carried on was laid down in the following terms :—

> "This Congress reiterates its faith in Civil Disobedience as the only effective weapon to be used in the last resort to enforce the national claim and vindicate our national honour, but realises that the country is not now ready for it and in view thereof this Congress resolves that the guiding principle in carrying on all political work shall be self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation and resistance to every activity, governmental or other, that may impede the nation's progress towards Swaraj.

The Congress Adopts Swarajya Party Programme.

3. As regards the work in the Councils the Congress adopted "on behalf of the country the terms of the settlement offered to the Government by the Swaraj and Independent parties of the Assembly by the resolution passed on the 18th February 1924", and in view of the fact that there had been no response on behalf of the Government, the Congress resolved upon certain steps to be taken in the various legislatures culminating in the withdrawal of all Swarajist members from them. By the same resolution the Congress called upon the A. I. C. C. to frame a programme of work, including the education of the electorates, and authorised it to lay down the lines upon which the general elections were to be run by and in the name of the Congress and to state clearly the issues on which Congressmen were to seek

election. The power thus conferred upon the A. I. C. C. was subject to the important proviso that "the policy of non-acceptance of offices in the gift of the Government shall continue to be followed until, in the opinion of the Congress, a satisfactory response to the settlement offered by the Assembly is made by the Government". The A. I. C. C. at its meeting held in Delhi gave the necessary directions for the carrying out of the mandate of the Congress and laid down that :—

The ensuing general elections will be run by and in the name of the Congress on the following programme, subject to such modifications as may be made by the Congress in its session of December 1926.

The general policy of Congressmen in the Assembly and the various Councils shall be one of determined resistance and obstruction to every activity, Governmental or other, that may impede the nation's progress towards Swaraj; and in particular, Congressmen in the legislatures shall :—

(a) refuse to accept offices in the gift of the Government until, in the opinion of the Congress, a satisfactory response is made by the Government ;
(b) refuse supplies and throw out budgets, (unless otherwise directed by the All India Working Committee) until such response is made by the Government ;
(c) throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its powers ;
(d) move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bill which are necessary for the healthy growth of national life and the advancement of the economical, agricultural, industrial, and commercial interests of the country ;
(e) take steps to improve the condition of agricultural tenants by introducing and supporting measures to secure fixity of tenure and other advantages with due regard to the rights of Zamindars ; and
(f) generally protect the rights of labour, agricultural and industrial, and adjust the relations between landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen.

All Congressmen in the Central and Provincial Legislatures with only one or two lamentable exceptions having faithfully obeyed the Congress mandate, the Working Committee has approved, and have authorised me to publish this as the election manifesto of the Congress.

4. It will be evident from the above *resume* of the proceedings of the Congress and the A.I.C.C. that, subject to any changes made by the Congress from time to time, the policy and programme of the Swaraj Party were adopted as they stood on the dates on which the Congress of Cawnpore and the A.I.C.C. at Delhi passed the resolutions referred to above. This policy and programme have been the subject of considerable misrepresentation in a section of the Press and by persons who have since seceded from the Congress. It is therefore necessary to remove all misapprehension by tracing as briefly as possible the gradual development of the Swarajist policy and stating clearly what the Congress stands for to-day.

5. The election manifesto of the Swaraj Party issued on the eve of the last general elections declared that "the Party will not concern itself with trivial reforms in the various departments of the administration to be obtained by the grace of the Government, but would insist on the transference of the power to effect the necessary reforms from the bureaucracy to the people of India." It may be safely asserted that the Swaraj Party has, through good and evil report, firmly adhered to this policy which must be taken to be and is hereby declared to be the general policy of the Congress. The same manifesto provided for certain contingencies which did not happen, but advantage has been taken of these provisions to discredit the Swaraj Party, as, for instance, the constant harping upon the phrase "uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction," conveniently ignoring the preceding words "if they (the Swaraj Party) constitute a majority." There was indeed such a majority in the C. P. Council only; but as it turned out soon after the

election, a considerable proportion of that majority was not Swarajist by conviction, but had joined the Party to mark time. They have since openly declared their lack of faith in the Swarajist principles and have joined one or other of the new parties recently formed to oppose Congress candidates at the general elections. It will thus be seen that the conditions, necessary for a resort to the policy of "uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction" were never really fulfilled. The Swaraj Party therefore come to the conclusion that in view of the developments in the political situation and the varying attitude of the bureaucracy, it was necessary to reconsider the situation as it had developed.

Natural Evolution of a Living Programme.

6. In May 1924 Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru had several conferences with Mahatma Gandhi at Juhu (Bombay) as a result of which the well-known Juhu statements of the 22nd May 1924 were issued. The Swaraj Party in the Assembly met in June 1924 and on the basis of these statements proposed certain modifications in the rules governing them for the sanction of the General Council of the Party. The future line of action chalked out in these proposals was as follows :—

> "It shall be the constant aim and endeavour of the Party to secure full satisfaction of the National Demand as set out in the resolution adopted by the Assembly on the 18th February 1924, and so long as no adequate response is made by the Government to the said resolution, *the Party shall continue to resort to a policy of obstruction in such form and manner as it may determine from time to time with or without the consent and co-operation of the other parties as circumstances may require.*"

It will be observed that the policy of "uniform continuous and consistent obstruction" having been found impossible in the circumstances, "a policy of obstruction in such form and manner as the Party may determine from time to time," was recommended for adoption. The particular steps to be taken in the Assembly, including important constructive work, were then set out (vide Rules 7, 8, and 15 to 19 of the Rules for the Assembly). These proposals were sanctioned at a general meeting of the Party held at Calcutta on the 16th and 17th August 1924 and again at another general meeting held at Belgaum on the 27th December 1924, and a revised constitution and programme of the Party were issued, the material portion of which is reproduced in the Delhi Resolution of the A. I. C. C. quoted above.

7. Much uninformed and at times malicious criticism has been directed against the developments mentioned above, but it will be evident to all fair and impartial minds that they represent the natural evolution of a living political force as, in its onward progress, it encounters new situations and grapples with new difficulties. While on the one hand it has kept the goal and the supreme sacrifice it demands steadfastly in view, it has on the other hand shaped its course on practical lines to suit the ever-changing conditions of political life. It is however unnecessary to go into this point in greater detail as the Congress has adopted as its starting point the rules of the Swaraj Party as they stand to-day and reserved to itself the right to modify them "as may be found necessary from time to time." For the same reason it is unnecessary to encumber this manifesto with a detailed account of the work of the Swaraj Party in the Assembly and the Provincial Councils during the last three years. Some of the more important and characteristic features of that work in the Assembly are set out in the annexure and it may be stated with confidence that the Swaraj Party has achieved phenomenal

success under very difficult circumstances. Above all, it has thoroughly unmasked the bureaucratic Government and its allies and fully exposed their pretensions.

A Policy of Self-reliance and Resistance to Evil.

8. The people of India and the constituencies of the several legislatures must have clearly realised by now that neither in the Central nor in the Provincial Governments have the elected representatives of the people any real power or responsibility which can be effectively used for the establishment of Swaraj or for radical reforms in the administration of the country. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms stand condemned after two periods of Council work as a costly and futile experiment and a serious impediment to Swaraj. The Indian National Congress cannot therefore acquiesce in these Reforms to the extent of "working them the all they are worth" which can only mean the subordination of the National Demand for full responsible Government to a few temporary advantages of doubtful value which are fraught with possibilities of a general set back in the political development of the country. It is impossible to understand how a party which allows its members to accept office under the Government and thus become a part and parcel of the Government itself, can be trusted to act on the principles of "self-reliance" and "resistance to every activity; governmental or other, that may impede the Nation's progress towards Swaraj." It is equally impossible to conceive that such a party really believes in Civil Disobedience or to expect that it will ever work for it. While the Cawnpore Congress gave the A. I. C. C. a more or less free hand in laying down the general lines on which the next general elections were to be run, it expressly provided that "the policy of non-acceptance of offices in the gift of the Government shall continue to be followed until, in the opinion of the Congress, a satisfactory response to the terms of the settlement aforesaid is made by the Government." This policy must therefore be taken to be the bed-rock on which all Congress activities in the Legislatures must be based.

9. In the light of what has been stated above, the most striking features of the Congress programme, where it differs fundamentally from that of the other parties who are setting up their own candidates, may be stated as follows:—

(a) The general attitude of Congressmen who will enter the Legislatures, will be one of "self-reliance" and "resistance" as defined above, in contra-distinction to a general attitude of acquiescence and co-operation that will be adopted by the other parties.

(b) In particular, Congressmen will, unless otherwise directed by the Working Committee, refuse supplies and throw out budgets until the Legislature is given adequate control of the latter; while the other parties have a constitutional dread of refusing supplies and will be content to take such part in the farce of budget discussion as the Government is pleased to allot to them.

(c) In the Provinces, Congressmen will oppose to the best of their ability, the present mischievous system of dyarchy and resolutely refuse to accept office until a response to the National Demand acceptable to the Congress is made by the Government; while the other parties will support dyarchy as it is, and accept office without any such response if only their

susceptibilities (more apparent than real) are met in some way or other by the Government.

A National programme inside and outside the Legislatures.

10. The other matters with which Congressmen will concern themselves are sufficiently clearly stated in the resolution of the A. I. C. C. already quoted. It will be observed that Articles I to IV refer specifically to work in the Legislatures and Articles V to work outside them but the two are so inter-related that if properly carried out they are bound to implement and supplement each other. Together they cover a wide field of useful activities embracing every department of national life, social economical, industrial and commercial—including the adjustment of relations between landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen. In the work of promoting inter-communal unity, removal of untouchability, popularising the spinning wheel and Khaddar and achieving total prohibition, the return of the Swarajya Party to the Central and Provincial Legislatures will powerfully strengthen the hands of the Congress which is pledged to these great items of social and economic reform.

Hindu Muslim Unity.

11. There is, however, one important matter not included in the resolution of the A. I. C. C. which requires special mention namely, the attitude of the Congress Party, on communal questions. It may generally be stated that the Congress party in the Legislatures, as indeed outside them, is pledged to stand for Nationalism and for equal rights and opportunities, for all communities, classes and castes, but will set its face against communal hatred, strife and corruption. The question of legislation affecting communal matters was discussed by the Working Committee of the Congress at its Calcutta meeting held on the 4th July 1926 and the following resolution was adopted :—

"The Committee is of opinion that having regard to the best interests of the country, no bill, motion or amendment relating to any inter-communal matter should be moved or discussed if a majority of three-fourths of the members of any community affected thereby in the legislature, are opposed to the introduction or discussion of such a bill, motion or amendment and that the Congress Party in the legislature concerned should take such steps as may be possible to give effect to this resolution in each case."

This resolution was a mere direction to the Congress Party to try their best to prevent communal questions being discussed in the Councils. But it gave rise to various misapprehensions and misrepresentations and was twice reconsidered by the Working Committee, first in Simla on the 24th August and again in Delhi on the 11th September. On the latter date the Committee passed the following resolution :—

"In elucidation of its resolution No. 8 passed in Calcutta on the 4th July 1926, the Working Committee resolves :—

"That if their efforts as contemplated in the said resolution are not successful and a three-fourths majority of the members of any community of the Congress Party affected by such an inter-communal question consider that it should not be made a party question, then the Congress Party in the Legislature shall refrain from making it a party question."

The meaning is clear. No communal matter can be made a party question if a 3/4ths majority of either community in the Congress Party of the Legislature are opposed to that course. In other words, if a 3/4ths majority of any community desire to reserve to themselves full liberty of

speech and vote on any communal question affecting them, all the members of the Party belonging to both communities in the legislature concerned shall have the same freedom. It was presumed that a 3/4ths majority of the members of any community in the Party may safely be taken as reflecting the general opinion of that community in the country and if they can bring round a 3/4ths majority of the other community to their point of view the agreement thus arrived at should be respected by the whole Party. It may be observed however that this rule awaits the confirmation of the A.I.C.C. and the Congress, but it may be taken as a clear indication that the Congress Executive is fully alive to the difficulties of the communal situation and will do all that lies in its power not only to ease that situation but to secure to the Congress Party in the various legislatures an ample measure of freedom in dealing with communal questions.

The Walk-out—what it Really Signified.

12. The withdrawal of Swarajist members from the legislatures in obedience to the mandate of the Congress has been the subject of considerable misrepresentation in the Press and on the platform. It is asserted that the Swarajists deserted their posts of duty and cannot be relied upon to keep their seats in the new legislatures when the interests of the country demand it. This is a gross libel on the Congress which directed their withdrawal from the last Assembly and the Councils in furtherence of much higher interests than any that could possibly require the presence of Swarajists in the Legislatures. The following extract from the speech made by the Leader of the Party in the Assembly on the day of the withdrawal, puts the whole position in a nutshell. After a formidable indictment of the Government for its many sins of commission and omission and a reference to the inability of the Party to deal with it in a suitable way by reason of its being in a minority, he concluded his speech with these words :—

> "We waited till a clear answer to our demand was forthcoming. It has now come clear and crisp from my Honourable friend the Home Member. There is no use for us here. We go out into the country to seek the suffrage of the electorates once more. We do not give up the fight. We fully agree in the sentiment contained in the statement to which I have just referred. They are quite apposite but not in the sense in which Lord Birkenhead used them. They run thus :—
>
> > "He either fears his fate too much
> > Or his deserts are small ;
> > Who dares not put it to the touch
> > To win or lose it all."
>
> We have no misgivings either about our fate or our deserts, and we go forth into the country to put it to the touch to win or to lose it all. . . We hope and trust that the nation will give a suitable reply to the truculent rejection of our demands and will send us again in larger numbers with a stronger mandate, and, God willing, with the sanction for fulfulling its aspirations and enforcing its commands."

After this it is for the Nation to judge who are more likely to stand by it in the coming struggle—those who manfully came out with the resolute determination to enforce its commands, or those who stayed behind amidst official taunts and jeers and are now seeking to co-operate with those very officials and to serve under them.

The Congress and the new Anti-Congress Parties.

13. It is hardly necessary to emphasise the obvious fact that the parties recently started under the names of "The Responsivist Co-operation

Party" and "The Independent Congress Party" are not in any way connected with the Congress. There is little in common between these parties and the Congress; they entirely differ from the Congress on basic principles; and there is an irreconcilable conflict between their programmes and that of the Congress. They have come into existence with the avowed object of opposing the Congress candidates and defeating the Congress programme. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has declared open war against the Swaraj Party—which means the Congress itself, as the Party is now indistinguishable from the Congress. The constituencies will have to choose between their great National Organisation which, after weathering many a storm, represents the entire Indian Nation and new parties started by a few dissenters who have chosen to take up cudgels against the parent institution itself. They pay an unconscious tribute to the Swaraj Party by claiming to follow in its footsteps, forgetting that the Swaraj Party never for a moment renounced its allegiance to the Congress and contested the last elections only after the Congress had granted them express permission to do so and forbidden all opposition to their election campaign. It is hoped that the country will not be deceived by the thin disguise but will rally round the National Flag held aloft by the Congress.

14. Parties which have no organisation worth the name and consist mainly of persons who are setting themselves up for election on a retrograde programme, can exert no influence on the general political situation in the country. There can be no comparison between them and the Swaraj Party, which began as a highly organised body within the Congress with a bold fighting programme. The wisdom of the great experiment inaugurated by the Swaraj Party has been demonstrated by the resolutions of the Cawnpore Congress directing the continuance of that experiment. The consequent absorption of the Swaraj Party in the Congress has ensured the emergence of far more favourable conditions than those that prevailed in the last Councils. It constitutes a further advance in the direction of organising more completely the will of the nation to achieve full responsible Government and of bringing the Legislatures under the steady control of the great National Organization. The consequences which will follow are obvious. In the first place, there will be greater unification in the country, and work in the Councils and work outside them will be inter-related in a much more intimate and dynamic manner than was found possible during the last three years. In the second place, the Indian National Congress will be considerably strengthened and become even more of a real power in the land than it is to-day. In the third place, the concurrent will of the elected sections of the Legislatures and of the Congress will enable appropriate sanctions to be devised for the purpose of enforcing the demands made by Congressmen in the Legislatures in obedience to the mandates of the Congress. Parties which fight shy of these sanctions and pin their faith on co-operation with the Government cannot possibly serve the higher interests of the country.

Conclusion.

The Indian National Congress therefore appeals to the people and voters of India to realise that they can enforce the National Demand and vindicate national honour only by supporting and returning exclusively the Congress candidates at the coming general elections to the Indian Legislative Assembly and the several Provincial Legislative Councils.

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Report of the Congress Work in 1926.

The following is the annual report of the Congress for the year 1926, presented by the General Secretaries to the All-India Congress Committee. The report was submitted to the Indian National Congress held at Gauhati in December 1926 :—

"In compliance with Art. XXIII we beg to submit the report of the work of the All-India Congress Committee during the year and a full account of the funds which have come into our hands. Since the last Congress there have been three meetings of the All-India Congress Committee; at the first of these meetings held at Cawnpore on the 29th December last the All-India Congress Committee elected 34 representatives of all the provinces except Aimer, who were to constitute along with the members of the Working Committee of the Congress a Special Committee in terms of resolution VII of the Cawnpore Congress. The representative of Ajmer-Merwara could not be elected by the All-India Congress Committee owing to the peculiar circumstances of that province. The President was empowered to nominate the representative later on, but even this it was not possible to do. At this meeting of the All-India Congress Committee a very important resolution was adopted whereby the Working Committee was asked to appoint a sub-committee for the purpose of collecting and distributing funds for the relief of political sufferers, prisoners, exiles and their families. The Working Committee which met in Delhi on the 5th March 1925, accordingly appointed the Political Sufferers' Sub-Committee. Financial help has been given to two political sufferers, namely, Andhraratna Gopalakrishnayya (Andhra) and Swami Kumaranand (Ajmer) out of the funds earmarked for the purpose. An allowance at the rate of Rs. 20 per mensem was also sanctioned out of the Punjab Relief Fund for the family of Pandit Jagat Ram of the Panjab (in jail) for a period of one year. In addition to these, relief was also provided out of the Punjab Relief Fund to the family of Bhai Bhagwan Singh and to Swami Gajanand Azad of the Punjab. The Treasurer has since been asked to debit these amounts to the Political Sufferers' Fund.

"2. The second meeting of the All-India Congress Committee during the year under report was held at Delhi on the 6th and 7th March, 1926. At this meeting the Committee framed the programme of work to be carried out by the Swarajya Party and the Congress organizations in co-operation with each other throughout the country in accordance with resolution VII of the Cawnpore Congress which for the first time since the inauguration of the Reforms, permitted the employment of the whole of the machinery and general funds of the Congress for the purpose of taking up and carrying on all necessary political work and which required that the Congress do run candidates for the then forthcoming general elections to the legislatures of the country. The Committee issued detailed instructions to be followed by Congress Committees and Congressmen in regard to these general elections and also settled the form of election pledge to be signed by every Congress candidate.

"3. The most important decision taken by the Committee at this meeting was its adoption of the Special Committee's opinion that the

Government had failed to accede to the National Demand for reforms made by the Assembly, and its acceptance of the Special Committee's recommendation that the "Swarajya Party in the Central and Provincial legislatures do now take the steps laid down in Resolution VII (b) (iii) 1 and 2 passed by the Congress at its Cawnpore session.

The Walk-out.

"4. The All-India Congress Committee also called upon the Swarajist members in the Assembly not to wait till the Finance Bill came up for consideration, but to leave their seats after raising the constitutional issue once again on the 8th March when the first demand for grants would be moved. The Swarajist members of the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly and several local Councils in session at the time accordingly made that famous demonstration on the 8th March which has since come to be known as the "Walk-out." The All-India Congress Committee, however, made an exception in the case of the Swarajya Party in the C. P. Council and called upon them to attend the Council to throw out the provincial budget including the salaries of Ministers, in pursuance of Resolution VII (b) (iii) 2. Much unfair criticism was indulged in in some quarters about the action of Swarajist members of the Assembly and a few local councils in going back for some special or unforeseen purposes; but these critics apparently ignore the specific instructions contained in the proviso under section 2 of resolution VII (b) (iii) adopted by the Congress at Cawnpore which clearly lays down "that it shall be open to the special committee to allow the Swarajist members of any legislature to attend the said legislature when such attendance is in its opinion essential for some special or unforeseen purpose."

"5. The All-India Congress Committee also allotted at Delhi a sum of Rs. 25,000 for the initial expenses of the necessary propaganda and other work in connection with the general elections. An account of the expenditure incurred out of this allotment duly audited up to the 20th September is being enclosed herewith.

"6. A resolution was adopted by the All-India Congress Committee at this meeting asking the Provincial Congress Committees to organise branches of the Hindustani Seva Dal and to appoint whole-time permanent workers for carrying on the work outlined by the Dal in their respective areas. A grant of Rs. 2,000 was also sanctioned to the Dal by the Working Committee at Delhi.

"7. The report of the Bodh Gaya Temple Enquiry Committee was submitted to the All-India Congress Committee at this meeting and the recommendations contained in the report were accepted by the latter Committee.

"8. The third and last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was called at Ahmedabad to consider what was known as the Sabarmati Pact. But the question of the pact did not actully come before the All-India Congress Committee as it had fallen through in the Working Committee on account of differences of opinion among the signatories about the interpretation of the terms of the pact.

Hindu-Muslim Relations.

"9. The Hindu-Muslim relations unfortunately continued during the year to be far from cordial, although communal outbreaks were not so widespread as in 1924. In Bengal, however, very serious Hindu-Muslim riots occurred in some places, particularly in Calcutta where during several weeks

it seemed as though ordered government was at an end and the authorities responsible for law and order miserably failed to maintain peace. The All-India and the Working Committee have made earnest attempts to foster feelings of friendship and goodwill between the two communities. At the instance of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Working Committee which met in Calcutta on the 4th July, 1926 resolved on the establishment of a permanent publicity bureau with a view to educating the masses of India out of communal conflicts and differences and developing a sound national life, and authorised Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Motilal Nehru to take necessary steps in this behalf and organise the bureau. The President Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, visited Pabna, another place in Bengal where serious Hindu-Moslem outbreaks occurred in July, and Rs. 1,000 were voted for the relief of sufferers there.

Selection of Candidates.

"10. One of the principal matters to which the Working Committee and the office-bearers had to devote a good deal of attention and effort during the year was the running of candidates by and in the name of the Congress in the general elections to the several legislatures, that have just ended in all the provinces. The work involved, besides frequent meetings of the Working Committee, a good deal of discussion and decision by correspondence and long and frequent tours on the part of the executive. Although the amount placed at the disposal of the Working Committee for publicity and propaganda was small, the political and educative work that has been carried out by the central and provincial Congress organisations throughout the country and among the masses has been valuable and fruitful. At the date of writing this report, the full results of the elections from all the provinces are not available, and it is too soon to sum up the general position of the Congress parties in the several provinces. But it may be safely stated that whatever might be the relative strength of frankly communal and anti-Congress groups, whatever might be the dividing line between those who stood by the Congress programme and those who, though belonging to the Congress, opposed the success of that programme and its exponents in the elections, the country has unmistakably accepted the Congress as the one and only institution by and through which all Indians, to whatever community they may belong, can achieve Swaraj. In four provinces particularly, Congressmen have been returned by the electorates in large numbers, namely, Assam, Behar, Bengal and Madras.

"11. In this connection it is specially worthy of note that both the Bengal detenues in the Mandalay jail set up by the Congress, Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose and Syt. Satyendra Chandra Mitra, have been returned at the recent general elections. Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose has been elected to the Bengal Legislative Council by an overwhelming majority and Syt. Satyendra Chandra Mitra to the Legislative Assembly unopposed. It would be difficult to find a more convincing condemnation of the obstinate and oppressive policy of the bureaucracy in respect of the detenues.

Enrolment of Members.

"12. It is gratifying to find that in spite of their preoccupation with the Congress election campaign the Provincial Committees have been able to carry on vigorously general Congress work including the enlistment of Congress members. Information has not been received from all the pro-

vinces at the time of writing, but so far as the reports received go, it would appear that in Bombay 4,933 members are on the Congress rolls besides 103 on the All India Spinners' Association, out of whom 33 have enlisted themselves also as Congress members. It Carnatak the membership figure has risen to 14,278. In C. P. Hindustani 3,676 Congress members have been registered this year. In Gujarat 651 persons have been enrolled, of whom 338 have come in under the yarn franchise.

"13. The All India Spinners' Association has on its rolls 3,472 members of class A, 942 of B and 48 associates. It is specially gratifying to note that besides these, some juveniles have been subscribing yarn. In all, 2,708 lbs. of yarn are reported to have been received by the All India Spinners' Association.

Finance.

"14. The enclosed statement of T. S. F. accounts for the year show that the opening balance with the Treasurer amounted on the 1st December, 1925 to Rs. 1,74,606-1-11. His closing balance on the 30th September, 1926 was Rs. 1,44,797-13-10 including Rs. 39,729-3-0 earmarked funds. It will be evident from these figures that the funds at the disposal of the All India Congress Committee are rapidly diminishing. It is urged that prompt and effective steps should be taken to place the central organisation of the Congress in a permanently sound financial position. The fund needed for an investment that will leave the All India Congress Secretariat free from anxiety as to its normal existence and functions, is by no means large and the attention of the All India Congress Committee is invited to this vital matter in the hope that proper steps will have been taken in this behalf before the Gauhati Congress disperses. The delegates' fee must at all events be raised to the old figure of Rs. 10, to enable the All India Congress Committee to have the usual income from its share of the delegation fees.

"15. The realizations made by the All India Congress Committee during the year did not amount to much; neither has the position of out standings as printed last year improved, most of them being bad debts. The assets too remain practically the same as last year's except for the addition of a few articles of furniture which had to be purchased in Madras in view of the transfer of the office from Allahabad.

"16. The Secretaries desire to record in this report their appreciation of the devoted and loyal work of the Under-Secretary, Mr. Raja Rao and the staff during a busy and trying year. Mr. Raghupati Sahai, the other Under-Secretary, was lent to the United Provinces Congress Committee for important work in connection with the general elections in that province.

M. A. Ansari.
K. Santanam.
A. Rangaswami Iyengar.

[Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, has been the Working Secretary for the year and much of the success of the Congress in the general elections has been due to his unremitting and devoted work.

M. A. Ansari.
K. Santanam.]

Report of the All-India Spinners' Association.

"A consideration of the present state of Khadi work and a comparison with what it was in 1921 or 1922 will convince anyone that the remark that is some time heard that Khadi has been steadily on the wane since the years 1921 and 1922, is nothing but a superficial observation, based upon the fact that there is now less of that spectacular show of white caps than we had in 1921. Not only is there a greater quantity of Khadi produced but there is also a wider field of operations," says the annual report of the All-India Spinners' Association which was organised in September 1925, as an integral part of the Congress under Mahatma Gandhi's presidency.

By the end of December the Association submitted its report to the Congress for 1925-26. The report is a most business-like document and gives a clear exposition of its work with the figures which speak for themselves. It is claimed by the report that the progress has been so marked and encouraging that while in 1922-23, provinces like Bengal and Gujerat depended for Khadi to a large extent on Andhra, Tamil Nadu and the Punjab, to-day Bengal has a production of over four and half lakhs, Gujerat of nearly one lakh, while the provinces which were supplying Khadi to these provinces have not only not decreased their production but in some cases have even made considerable progress.

Activities of Association.

Before summing up the future outlook in an interesting note, the report chronicles in a comprehensive and yet very concise manner the various activities of the Spinners' Association. The Association, it recalls, was started for centralising Khadi work in the country under the guidance of an expert organisation "un-affected and uncontrolled by politics." There are now over six hundred workers in the central office and several subordinate and affiliated organisations. Besides a scheme for securing trained and expert workers has been framed.

As regards the financial position the most important source of income was Rs. 2,23,600 from Deshbandhu Memorial Fund which the trustees of the fund by a resolution transferred to the Spinners' Association. The second source was a grant of Rs. 50,000 by Seth Jamnalal Bajaj for Khadi work in Rajputana. Donations and Association's associate fees brought in additional 2,778-9-0.

Resources of the Association were not found sufficient to meet the growing need of capital for work. Details are given of disbursements, investments in work in various provinces, the largest disbursement being made to Bihar, Calcutta and Tamil Nadu, namely half lakh each.

Progress of Work.

Reviewing the progress of work the report observes that Bengal and Behar nearly doubled its production and sales to Rs. 453,378 and 224,690 respectively. Tamil Nadu's efforts were mainly to increase the consumption of its goods. U. P. showed considerable improvement. Punjab largely added to its own production, though sales did not keep pace with the progress in production. Ajmere has been organised and production work been recently started in Assam. Karnatak was mainly engaged systematising its work, so also Andhra. Gujerat working its own funds very largely increased

its production, its biggest centre being Amreli. Utkal shows notable improvement and so also Maharashtra. The total figures for all provinces show production having gone up compared with the last year from Rs. 1,903,034 to Rs. 2,376,670. There was thus a general progress, and in money value there was an increase of twenty-five percent over the last year while if the general fall of seven to eight percent in Khadi prices were calculated, an increase by yardage was nearly thirty two percent. The report then shows how efforts to increase the local sales have succeeded through the special propaganda, publicity, exhibition work and by hawking and bounty schemes. Mr. Bharucha's services in this connection with the disposal of stocks are particularly mentioned.

More instructive than the figures of production and sale, says the report, is the information relating to the human side of the work. It has been ascertained by Mahatma Gandhi that 110 carders, 42,959 spinners and 3,407 weavers are supported by the Khadi production centres in the country.

Wide ramifications of the Khadi activity are also seen from the fact that there are now over 150 production centres, spread all over the country and on modest computations, the Khadi organisations must be reaching 1,500 villages. The report mentions with particular satisfaction that an improvement in the quality of Khadi is such that while Khadi produced in 1921 and even in 1922 "could be used only by the Khadi enthusiasts, to-day Khadi can supply patterns and varieties that will suit the most fastidious taste. The Khadi organisaton everywhere are trying to study the needs and satisfy the tastes of their markets."

Khadi Pratisthan in Bengal and Tamil Nadu Khadi depots were doing particularly good work in this direction. But while remarkable progress has been recorded in both quality and quantity to Khadi produce since the movement began, the price of Khadi had fallen considerably, due partly to a fall in the price of cotton and some other factors in the cost of production.

Improvement of Yarn.

The report lays emphasis on the need for improvement in the quality of yarn. Whatever be their superiority in days gone by, handspun yarn to-day did not compare favourably with the mill yarn neither as regards the strength or uniformity. Experiment at Sabarmati Ashram has shown that yarn of mill quality can be produced with properly carded cotton and careful spinning and with greater attention the provinces can show appreciable results.

As regards the membership "A" class, consisting of those who habitually wear Khaddar and supply every month a thousand yards of self-spun yarn, increased by 3,472, while "B" class of those who habitually wear Khaddar and supply thousand yards of yarn (not necessarily self-spun) increased by 942. Besides these "C" class of juvenile members was created of those who would supply self-spun thousand yards yarn and 185 members were enrolled.

The report next comments on the idea of voluntary spinning and individual self-sufficiency in cloth. Among the instances quoted is that of Bijolia, a centre in uparmal area in Rajasthan. This area has a population of 1100 and with 10 yards annual requirements per head would require 110000 yards. As a result of intensive propaganda for self-spinning, even men had taken to spinning. Now 65 looms were working in the area full time and 780000 yards of cloth were produced. If 30 more looms could be added the

area would become wholly self-supporting in its cloth requirements. The achievement was notable, all the more as there was no inducement by way of bounty or otherwise.

Then the activities of the technical department are enumerated, students are trained in carding, spinning, dyeing etc; exhibitions are organized and research and improvement in implements undertaken and invention of simple mechanical contrivances encouraged in respect of gins, carding, bows, taklis and spinning wheels.

Dr. H. Mann, director of agriculture, the report acknowledges, helped them in getting samples of cotton from the Government farms. Cloth was examined by the technical section to determine the genuineness and in all, 115 samples of doubtful "Khadi" were received, whereof 53 were found to be spurious.

The report draws pointed attention to the increasing interest, taken by the local bodies. Fourteen municipalities, nine district boards and four taluk boards are named as having introduced spinning in schools under their control in various parts of the country, while seven Municipalities, namely Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Benares and Bombay, are named as having resolved to encourage "Khadi" by purchasing for the Municipal purposes and uniforms of employees as also seven other district boards in different parts of the country. Eight municipalities are stated to have reduced or abolished octroi on "Khadi."

Future Outlook.

Summing up their work and future outlook, the report remarks, that the history of the five years of "Khadi" movement since the inception gives sufficient ground for encouragement and hope. Importance of handspinning as a means of adding to the scanty income of agriculturists in the villages, is being more and more recognised in all quarters. The interest taken by the local bodies shows signs of growing recognition of "Khadi." This growing interest is not confined only to the British India. Indian States have begun to interest themselves in the matter. The Cochin State in South India, it is stated, has introduced spinning in about 60 of their schools with marked success. Efforts are now being made by the Mysore Government to reinstate Charka in the homes of the poor. All this constitutes another welcome sign of the ground that "Khadi" movement is gaining in public opinion. But the industry is still on its early stages and if Charka is in any measurable future to take its proper place in the economy of India's national life, it is necessary that the movement should receive the widest and strongest support of the country.

Khadi work needs all the capital that the country can place at its disposal. The Association's financial position has got to be strengthened, if it is to extend to any appreciable extent its activities in the coming year. There is need for an effective realization by the people of their duty, both from the patriotic and humanitarian point of view to consume the "Kadhi" goods as fast as they are produced. But more important than all this is the duty of the educated classes to create and foster by their example the atmosphere of spinning and "Khadi" in every part of the country. It is primarily with this object the membership of the association is devised. To a large extent, fulfilment of these conditions depends on the patriotism and devotion to the cause of workers, already in the field. If these conditions are realised to any appreciable degree, achievement of the goal will not be far distant.

India in Home Polity

A Resume of Main Events.

In domestic politics, the year 1926 was marked by the rapid strengthening of the reactionary forces which, in the latter period of Lord Reading's regime, had begun to make themselves felt. The Indian National Congress saw which way events were tending and decided at its session at Cawnpore in December 1925, to give open battle to Lord Reading's policy, nominally of masterly inactivity, but really of the slow suffocation of whatever political and other liberties the country possessed. It passed a resolution that if the Government did not make a response to the National demand, satisfactory in the opinion of the Working Committee, Congressmen in the legislatures should walk out of those bodies. When early in the year the Assembly met, Sir Alexander Muddiman clearly hinted that the Government were not prepared to treat the Demand seriously. The result was that the Swarajists were obliged to walk out of the legislatures, reserving to themselves the right to attend them as occasion arose for it in the opinion of the party.

The walk-out made a deep impression on the country. It showed that the word of the Congress was the law with the vast majority of the people. It, however, led to one or two immediate results. In the first place, it made the position of the Government supreme in the legislatures and this position they exploited to the fullest extent. The record of the Assembly after the Swarajists walked out of them proves this fact. Perhaps the only popular achievement which the Assembly was able to effect after the walk-out was the rejection of the Lee Commission's concessions to the Railway officials. The Finance Bill was passed "in silence"; and whenever the Independents sought to improve its provisions, they sustained very heavy defeats. A number of reactionary legislative measures were put through without the least compunction. The Contempt of Courts Bill, a measure fraught with serious consequences to the Press of the country; the Criminal Procedure Code (Section 109 Amendment) Bill calculated to enable the magistracy to award sentences of rigorous imprisonment for alleged seditious utterances, a tyrannical weapon in the hands of the Executive; the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill empowering the executive to confiscate leaflets which, in its opinion, were calculated to inflame communal feelings—these and similar unpopular measures were passed in the teeth of the futile opposition of the Independents.

At the same time, the Executive Government showed a contempt for public opinion rarely known during the past some years. India was made a party to the Locarno Pact without her consent, entailing indeterminate expenditure; all the Assembly's efforts to ascertain the extent of her commitments were brushed aside on the ground that it was not competent to discuss such subjects. The Government refused to Indianise the Railway Board and the higher grades of the Railway services. They ignored the recommendations of the Mercantile Marine Committee. The proposals and the promises to Indianise the Army and to extend the territorial system

were held up. The freedom of the provinces was encroached upon by administrative instructions, by the misuse of the previous sanction rules, by the right to scrutiny the financial effects of provincial schemes, and by the assertion of the claim to impose higher administrative heads on the provinces in the guise of protecting the rights of the superior services and by the framing of rules under the Government of India Act. Some of these rules made serious inroads into the rights of the provincial and central legislatures, such rights as those pertaining to the right of discussion. But the Government did not shrink from framing them. Above all, the authorities openly proclaimed in as defiant a manner as possible that they were not going to concede the demands of the public. Lord Birkenhead even went to the length of stating that unless India showed her competence to the satisfaction, not of the British Parliament only, but of the Empire statesmen whom he proposed to nominate to the Statutory Commission, no extension of reforms was to be made. The offer of a toy "Navy" and one or two Commissions of Enquiry such as the Agricultural Commission was no compensation for the reactionary acts.

Political Factions.

One of the results of the walk-out has been that certain Congressmen who had become tired of the obstructionist policy and hopeful of accomplishing more tangible results seceded from the ranks of the Swarajists. They held the view that in as much as it had become impossible, except in one or two provinces and that for temporary periods, to prevent the formation of Ministries, the Congress should revise its policy and adopt "responsive co-operation," by which it was meant that Congressmen should boldly accept office and work the Reforms—to what end it was not always made clear. Some said it was to destroy diarchy from within, others held it was to work it for what it was worth. Their experience in the Assembly after the Swarajist walk-out must have shown them that, without unity, it was impossible to achieve anything, but they were far too much obsessed with the idea of responsive co-operation that they were determined to try it, be the results what they may. The decision of Mahatma Gandhi to keep himself aloof from the politics of the country throughout the year was felt as unfortunate at no time more deeply than when this tendency towards drift towards fissiparous politics asserted itself. The Mahatma was appealed to and, with his good offices, an agreement was arrived at between the Swarajists and the Responsive Co-operators—the term by which the seceders from the Swarajist ranks became known—by which acceptance of offices was to be decided on if the legislators of the province felt that the local Government of the province concerned had made a satisfactory response to popular feeling and if their decision was ratified by two representatives of the All-India Congress Committee. This Pact—the Sabarmati Pact—was, however, thrown out by the All-India Congress Committee and both these wings of the Swarajists decided to fight the approaching general elections on their own separate tickets.

The Rise of Sectarianism.

Nothing has been more unfortunate in connection with this cleavage among Congressmen than one of its results, namely, the appeal to communal sentiment. The Responsivists realised that, without some appeal to the masses they had no chance against the Swarajists. Some of them also were

men who felt that the Congress had been neglecting Hindu interests. The formation of communal Ministries in more provinces than one and the efforts in working the reforms through Muslim Ministries supported by the official and the nominated block, and the activities of these Ministries which Hindus felt were not dealing fairly and squarely with Hindu interests—all these facts had roused the fears of the Hindus, especially in the Punjab, in Bengal, and in Bombay. The appeal was made by the Responsivists to the Hindu sentiment and that appeal not a little succeeded in the Punjab and the United Provinces. There was acute Hindu discontent regarding the way in which the executive handled the problem of processions and music before mosques. It was complained that the police and the magistracy yielded to Muslim clamour and set at naught Hindu rights proclaimed in courts by resort to the use of the preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. This deepening of communal feeling led to much bloodshed. Heavy rioting, prolonged for days, broke out in Calcutta and there were minor outbreaks in the United Provinces. The depression in trade and acute unemployment prevalent everywhere also contributed to communal friction. The cruel assassination of Swami Shraddhananda by a Mahomedan fanatic on the eve of the Gauhati Congress was the culmination of this communal ill-will.

General Elections.

No wonder in the general elections towards the end of the year communal sympathies and antipathies were fully exploited. The Brahmin-non-Brahmin problem in South India was different from the Hindu-Muslim problem elsewhere. The vitality of the non-Brahmin movement at its inception lay in the fact that it began as a liberalising, democratic movement, calculated to secure equal opportunities for all. Its degeneration into an anti-Brahmin movement, the exploitation of it by a coterie of leaders to the benefit of their followers, and of the disrepute into which it has fallen in consequence are facts too well-known to need reiteration. The dangers of narrow communalism are now realised even by the bureaucracy under whose protecting wings it developed, and by the electorate at large; and, despite the refusal of the leaders to give it a satisfactory direction, it is to be hoped that in course of time they will be driven to the necessity of recognising the folly of their anti-Brahmin, narrow programme. In the other provinces, communalism has asserted itself in varying degrees. In the United Provinces and the Punjab and in Delhi, its success has been the greatest; in the Central Provinces, it has had a marked effect; while in Bengal, though its effect has not been so striking, it has yet left its impress.

In spite of these facts, the Congress has been able to score a considerable victory at the elections. In Bengal and in Madras, the Congress has triumphed beyond expectation and holds as strong a position in the legislatures as non-officials could hope to do under a diarchic constitution. In other provinces, Congressmen constitute the largest single party. The country has thus shown that its sympathies are entirely with the Congress. The success of the khaddar programme which the All-India Spinners' Association has achieved also shows that the nation is not unmindful of the wishes of the Congress, so that in the coming year it may be expected to give even greater support to the Congress than it has done in the past. (Vide The Hindu.)

The Bengal Responsivist Party.

Nucleus Formed.

On the 23rd June a meeting was held at 237 Lower Circular Road, Calcutta to organise a party within the Congress which would work the Responsive Co-operation programme. Mr. B. Chakravarti presided and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the All-India leader of this party, was present on the occasion and impressed upon those present the need of having the Responsive Co-operation Party within the Congress in Bengal. It was resolved, that the gentlemen present form an organisation to be called the Responsive Co-operation Party in Bengal upon enlisting as members of Congress and upon accepting the programme of Responsive Co-operation.

Pt. Malaviya's Address.

On the 29th June Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered a speech on Responsive Co-operation before a crowded meeting at the University Hall lasting for about 2 hours and discussed at great length the present situation, both political and economic, with particular reference to the state of serious unemployment in Bengal. The meeting was very orderly, and patient hearing was accorded. Mr. I. B. Sen, Barrister-at-Law presided.

History of the Congress.

Pandit Malaviya said that he was going to speak on the subject on which opinion was divided, but they should try to look facts and consider the position as they were serving the motherland. He condemned those who cast a fling at each other. He next traced the history of the Indian National Congress since 1885. It was established, he said, with the object of securing responsible Government in India which meant, the Government of the people, by the people and for the people in the real sense of the term. In the second year, he said, they prepared a scheme and presented it to Parliament and a Bill was also introduced to that effect. In 1905 Mr. Gokhale presided over the Benares Congress and subsequently went to England on deputation and saw the Secretary of State. During that time he said, some of the officials wanted great trouble among Hindus and Mahomedans, as before that date no communal representation was ever advocated in the Congress. In 1908 when it was understood that some reforms were coming, some Mahomedan gentlemen went on a deputation to H. E. the Viceroy asking for this and that and that was how the communal representation was introduced. In 1909 the Government passed the Minto Morley Reforms and that was the second step in the direction of responsible Government. In this connection the Pandit referred in glorious terms to the ancient civilisation of India and said that even now many Native Princes were ruling over big territories. In 1924 the Congress passed a resolution urging that India should be placed on a footing of equality with self governing colonies. After the reforms were introduced, the Congress passed a resolution characterising it as inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing and since then disunion in the Congress began and that was subsisting even now.

The Reforms.

He then made mention of the work of the Muddiman Committee and said that even the Ministers had condemned dyarchy as unworkable and there

was no divided opinion among Indians on that subject. The system of dyarchy had failed. This measure of responsible Government was obtained as a result of the agitation conducted by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. But he affirmed that the present situation was to be faced and stated that the reforms were still working. Parliament laid that they should be judges of the time. He regarded this as an insult to the Indians as they had four thousand years' civilisation behind them. The Congress held in Delhi declared in no uncertain terms, their fitness for responsible Government, but in the Amritsar Congress a compromise was arrived at to work the Reforms Act and Messrs. B. G. Tilak and C. R. Das were party to it. They had since then seen six years of the working of reforms were unsatisfactory. But, again, they were faced with another division, namely, some who were for working the Reforms and others who were for total obstruction. In the first term of the Council many people boycotted them but subsequently Pandit Motilal and C. R. Das came to the conclusion that the policy of boycott was wrong and after the Gaya Congress, Mr. Das started the Swarajya party.

Swarajist Policy.

The speaker after tracing the career of the Swaraj Party said that except in the Central Provinces and Bengal their policy had achieved no result. On the contrary they were more and more divided now than before. At Faridpur Mr. Das offered terms of settlement and wanted a change of heart on the part of the bureaucracy. But he did not want full Swaraj to be established at once. Those terms were clear and in all his utterances he expressed and hoped that negotiations would begin and some settlement would be reached but the cruel hand of death removed him at the time when they required him most. Since then the Swaraj party has been deprived of their leader and at present it was more divided than before in almost all provinces. It did not possess the same strength as it had once during the previous election. He feared that at the next election, owing to disunion, the party would not be able to achieve the same result as it had done before. He particularly mentioned that he did not come to blame any party, but its policy had brought criticism from the public, particularly the policy of walk-out from the Council which was adopted by a resolution of the Cawnpore Congress. The speaker protested against that resolution then, but he was outvoted. He thought he did his duty though his amendment was rejected.

Walk Out.

After analysing the reasons which deterred Mr. Patel, from resigning the Presidentship of the Legislative Assembly and criticising Pandit Motilal's action regarding the resignation of membership of the Skeen Committee, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya criticised the Cawnpore resolution at great length, particularly the action of the Swaraj Party in Bengal, in connection with the Security Bill. He considered the "Walk-out" had caused much suffering to the country. He emphasised that the Government machinery was going on as before and said that Englishmen were never afraid of bombs as much as they were of public opinion.

The Pact.

Regarding the pact he said Mr. Das never thought it a sacrosanct document. He put it only as a suggestion to be considered by the Congress. Now the position was that even the Mahomedans disowned it.

The Present Position.

Considering the present position he said, there were now about half a dozen parties. In his opinion what was required was to put aside all differences and work in a spirit of service for motherland. With that end in view they should sit together and devise means of settlement. He wanted a clear cut programme and policy, but the Swarajists had not yet put forward any new manifesto up till now about their policy in the new Council. He thought that the country was not yet prepared for nonpayment of taxes, but he wanted to prepare the country even ultimately for open war and he said that it was permissible to write to the Government and say that unless they gave us responsible Government they would declare open war but at present they were not in a position to do that.

In this connection he feelingly referred to the serious economic state of the country as a result of Government policy on exchange and gold reserve in England. The serious state of unemployment in Bengal had brought almost starvation to hundreds of men.

Acceptance of Office.

After referring to the question of acceptance of Ministership on certain conditions by Mr. B. Chakravarti to which Deshbandhu Das gave his support, he appealed to them to follow the policy of Mr. Das namely co-operation when necessary and absolute downright obstruction when occasion demanded it. He asked them to work the reforms to its fullest extent.

The Party's Manifesto.

On the 23rd July the Responsive Co-operation Party in Bengal issued a manifesto in the course of which, after explaining their creed, they stated that, " in the present circumstances of disintegrated and disunited political life, it has been thought expedient to bring together in one group as many men and women as possible who are of one mind as to the essentials and who are, nevertheless, ready and willing to be members of the Congress. It is not the object of the party to wreck the Congress or to bring about a deadlock within the Congress. The party, however, reserves to itself the right to work for the alteration of the programme which the Congress may have adopted for the time being and even to work for the alteration of the conditions of its membership, provided that the proposed alterations do not violate the fundamental creed of the Congress. It will be realised that in view of the reformed Councils and the Assembly, the position of the Indian National Congress has undergone and will undergo serious transformation. In the nature of things, the position of the Congress, in its bearing on the political life of the country, cannot be a fixed one for some years to come. Already, since the introduction of the Reforms of 1919, the Congress has undergone more than one serious transformation and yet it would be unwise to be indifferent to the future of this national political institution or to let it degenerate into a permanent party caucus ".

Declaration of their Faith.

Proceeding to a declaration of their faith, they stated :—" (1) We believe that a mass movement of resistance throughout the country is certainly one of the means of enforcing the will of the nation in political matters, but it is an ultimate remedy and we agree with the Congress, that the country is not at

present ready for any measure of this nature. (2) We believe, however, that a movement of organised individual or group resistance to authority is feasible and may be resorted to, as occasions may demand for a particular locality for definite objects and particular occasions. (3) We believe that no programme of bringing about constitutional deadlocks by resorting to the policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction can be successful unless tried on a large scale and backed by some sanction behind the same. (4) We believe that the best course, under the present circumstances, is that of responsive co-operation which means working the Reforms, unsatisfactory, disappointing and inadequate as they are, for all they are worth and using the same for accelerating the grant of full responsible government and also for creating in the meanwhile, opportunities for the people for advancing their interests and strengthening their power and resistance to injustice and misrule. (5) We however, hereby declare that our working of the Reforms does not imply in any way that we give up any position or surrender any objection or make any commitment with regard to the grave defects and inadequacies of the present Government of India Act in general (including the preamble) or the diarchy in particular. (6) The policy of working the Reforms necessarily includes the capture of all places of power, responsibility and initiative, which are open to election by or are otherwise responsible to the party within the Legislature, subject to such conditions with regard to the policy, programme and other kindred matters as may seem desirable to impose from time to time'

The Bengal Situation.

Turning to the situation in Bengal, they declared :—" In Bengal, it would be a deliberate and pretended blindness now to ignore altogether the Hindu-Muslim question. The Responsive Co-operation Party of Bengal is a political party of the Congress, but it is not opposed to the Hindu Sangathan or the Tanzeem movement, so long as they are kept within very strict limits. The party will not countenance communalism, but it will encourage the growth of the Hindu organisation and of the Muslim organisation on a national, as distinguished from a communal basis. To surrender absolutely all political, social or religious rights and privileges that are essential to the growth of the Hindus and the Muslims as a modern living nation which is in the course of formation, is not the means of cementing Hindu-Muslim friendship, and any understanding between the Hindus and the Muslims cannot ignore either their constitutional rights or the administrative, executive or legislative policy of the Government in relation to the religious, social and political rights of the Hindus and the Muslims. Any pact, provincial and national, which ignores either the existing state or such rights of the component parts of the nation, must necessarily be futile ".

The Party Conference at Calcutta.

On the 28th August a Conference of the Responsive Co-operation Party was held at the Indian Association Hall, Calcutta. There was a large attendance of gentlemen from almost all districts of Bengal. Presiding over the Conference Mr. B. Chakravarty said :—

Gentlemen, on behalf of the Responsive Co-operation Party of Bengal I offer you a hearty welcome to this Conference. The object for which we have met this evening is to decide on a programme for this party and to consider what steps we are to take

to contest the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Assembly and the Bengal Legislative Council in the interest of the Responsive Co-operation Party and in the interests of the country.

Meaning of Responsive Co-operation.

Without being desirous of forestalling your decision in any way, I beg, gentlemen, to be allowed to place before you the main idea with which this party has been started in Bengal. This party is, first of all, a party within the Congress: none but members of the Indian National Congress are eligible to become its members. The aim of the party, as of all other parties in this country, is the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful legitimate means. To this creed the Responsive Co-operators whole-heartedly subscribe: and it is their distinctive claim that they recognize no other fetters on their discretion in the choice of means and methods. They do not see the utility or the prudence of limiting their activities by any other dogma. So long as a course of action is likely to bring us nearer to Swaraj and so long as it does not lead us beyond "peaceful and legitimate" methods, we should not only not hesitate to adopt it—we shall be under a duty to adopt it, if we mean to be true to ourselves and to the best interests of our county.

"Widest Liberty of Action."

This is the fundamental doctrine of the Responsive Co-operation Party. In striving for Swaraj we intend to reserve to ourselves the widest liberty of action that the Congress creed permits. So long as we feel that we are keeping up the struggle for Swaraj at as many points as possible and in as vigorous a manner as possible, we shall not be deterred by formulas, conventions, political catchwords, and other forms of verbal jugglery. If the interests of the country call for it, we shall non-co-operate with the Government to the extent of Civil disobedience, if necessary. The recent example of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. B. S. Moonje, two of the illustrious leaders of the Party in other provinces, is already fresh in your minds, and ought to convince you that the Responsive Co-operators does not mean business and will utilise every ounce of strength that the nation possesses in order to secure for it the birthright of freedom to which all human beings are by Divine law entitled. Again, if the interests of the country demand it, we shall not shrink from the duty of co-operating with the Government, even at the risk of courting ridicule from those who seems to think that Swaraj can be attained by noise and fury, excitement and other stage-effects. Whether misguided politicians and the blind followers they may have gathered round them callous co-operators, moderates or loyalists does not matter in the least. Whether we are serving the true interests of the country, whether we are bringing the day of Swaraj nearer, is the sole consideration for us. If we show ourselves weak in this struggle, if we fail to acquit ourselves as well as we might, if as workers in the country's cause we do not put the utmost pressure on the bureaucracy or if we fail to take advantage of opportunities for progress that offer, we shall have richly earned the condemnation of our countrymen. It is this attitude of fighting for our birthright at every point, with every weapon, and with unremitting devotion, that is the highest conception of nationalism to which we can aspire—the nationalism our great departed leader, Bal Gangadhar Tilak taught and worked for. For obstruction as such we have no love, because obstruction is not always synonymous with resistance, if we consider the peculiar relationship that subsists between ourselves and our rulers. Obstruction will in fact be mostly futile, often injurious to our interests. But there is a wide range of political activity in which we as a nation can gain in strength only by pitting the whole of that strength against the strength of the bureaucracy; it is in this sphere that obstruction will be useful, that obstruction will be necessary. And I need not point out to you, gentlemen, that as the past record of the leaders of the Responsive Co-operation Party shows, we shall not shrink from putting up the most stubborn resistance to official autocracy in all its form that we are at present capable of.

Acceptance of Ministership.

Before I conclude, I shall mention only one other matter; I mean the question of accepting ministerships. If you have followed mo so far, you will understand that the only test that we can apply to this question is the test of the country's welfare. Shall we be helping our country in their march towards freedom? If we can do so as Ministers, we are under a clear and urgent duty to put forward our best men for Ministerial portfolios; and if we fail to do so, we shall not only be convicting ourselves of moral cowardice, we shall even be betraying the country's interests. But we must at the same time keep in mind the other alternative. The Government may not be disposed to grant to ministers those facilities that will enable them to work efficiently for the good of the

country. In that case it would equally be our clear duty to reject all offers of Ministerial portfolios. It is not the pomp and power of a Minister that we covet; it is the opportunities for national service that might go along with Ministerships that we dare not overlook. Inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing as the Reforms admittedly are, it would be mere affectation to deny that the work of village reconstruction could never be taken in hand on any adequate scale except with the support of the State exchequer. If we are to drive out Malaria and Kala-azar from the villages of Bengal; if we are to contruct roads, canals, and bridges in rural areas, if we are to clear jungles, sink wells and excavate tanks for the benefit and use of villagers, if we are to make primary education compulsory and vocational education effective, if we are to promote agricultural and industrial development and thus cut at the very roots of the middle-class unemployment that has become the bane of our social life; if we are to do all these things—at least attempt to do them. I ask you, will you prefer to have the work done or the attempt made under the auspices of an I.C.S., official or a Government nominee rather than under the directions of one chosen by you and amenable to you and liable to be removed from office by your vote? This is an aspect of the question to which I draw your attention and the implications of which I trust you will fully consider.

"Communalized Politics."

One more point and I have finished. I feel I have to remind you also of the unhappy state of affairs that has arisen both in this and in other provinces as a result of the acute communal dissensions which prevail in the country from one end to the other. This unfortunate development has a vital bearing on the question of accepting offices; and I wish you to ponder over it. Some of you may have heard Mr. Jayakar speaking a few days ago at the Albert Institute Hall in this city. He told us experience of what may be called communalized politics in the Bombay Presidency. The Ministers there have been elected on communal principle and are retained in office on the strength of communal votes. Mr. Jayakar who headed the Swarajist block in the Bombay Council found himself helpless against a combination of the official and nominated members with the communalist members in the legislature. The result is that even the reactionary measures of the Ministers are supported on communal grounds and the administration of the Transferred Departments is becoming more and more communal in spirit—with disastrous results on the general progress of the people. State patronage and other forms of State encouragement are being lent on communal grounds—irrespective of all other considerations. I request you to consider whether this is a desirable state of affairs for us to bring about or acquiesce in; and how far there is in our province a risk of such a development in the near future.

Congress Politics in Central Provinces.

By the end of July 1926 serious differences among the Congressmen that had been brewing in the Central Provinces for some time past culminated in the secession of the most influential section of the existing members of the Legislative Council. The following statement was issued under the signature of Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao, leader of the Swaraj Party in the Central Provinces Legistative Council and several others associated with him both inside and outside the Council:—

"We the undersigned Congressmen in the Hindi districts of the Central Provinces, being of the opinion that the present political situation in the country warrants a modification of the programme chalked out by the Congress at Cawnpore within the Legislative Councils with a view to secure more effective co-ordination between the different shades of opinion in this province and secure the largest representation of Congressmen in the local Legislative Council, do hereby declare as under

(1) That the policy of obstruction in the Provincial Councils should be pursued having regard to the verdict of the electorate throughout the country and not as a result of the return of a majority of Congressmen in this province alone. We are of opinion that unless and until Congressmen are returned in a majority in at least two of the major provinces of

Bengal, Madras, Bombay and United Provinces, the Central Provinces alone should not be harnessed to an obstruction programme, as we consider that any isolated pursuit of that policy in a minor province is not likely to advance the objective of the Indian National Congress.

(2) We do not agree ourselves to accept offices as a part of our political creed. If, after election, should the response made by the Government be satisfactory and if power or responsibility and initiative necessary for the effective discharge of their duties are secured to Ministers, we shall consider the response on its own merits. The decision in our opinion should be left to a majority of the Congressmen in the country's Councils. It shall be our endeavour to convert the next Congress to this view. In pursuance of this declaration, we solemnly promise to stand as independent Congressmen in the forthcoming election to the local Legislative Council and will honestly carry out the objects, stated above, in letter and spirit".

Subsequently, in a letter addressed to Pandit Motilal Nehru as President of the Central Swarajya Party, Mr. Raghavendra Rao stated that opinion was against the Central Provinces alone being harnessed to the obstructive programme in the Legislative Council against the weight of the verdict of the electorates in the rest of India. Mr. Raghavendra Rao therefore resigned his membership of the Executive Council of the Central Swarajya Party.

A Review of the Situation.

In this connection a review of the political situation in the Central Provinces at this stage will not be uninteresting. As is evident from the statement above, the cessation of the prominent members of the C. P. Hindustani party completed the split in the C. P. Swaraj Party and all attempts to bring about a compromise failed. In the 1923 Elections the Swarajists won their most sweeping victory in the Province and had the pleasure of "killing" dyarchy there. But now they were practically reduced to hopeless impotency. Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao, Chief whip of the Hindustani Swarajists formed his own party of Independent Congressmen on the lines of Responsivists taking his stand on the broken Sabarmati Pact. He was setting up candidates of his own party in opposition to Congress candidates. The Responsivists counted upon the support of Mr. Rao and his new party, for the programmes of both the parties were similar in many respects and the points of differences were almost negligible. For, though Mr. Rao and his following had broken the Swarajist vow, they did not reconcile themselves to the acceptance of offices. But if, after the election, they said, the response made by the Government was agreeable and if powers necessary for the effective discharge of their duties were secured to ministers, they would consider the question afresh on its merit.

The Liberals, too, were not lagging behind. They were setting up their candidates for the various constituencies. The Non-Brahmins had also put an organised fight. Of the seventeen Berar seats the Non-Brahmin Congress decided to fight for seven seats. The Non-Brahmin election board of Wardha announced their candidates to capture seats in the Council on the "Non-Brahmin Congress" ticket.

In the meantime help from outside was also sought to impress the electorate. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya came to the province on Mr. Rao's invitation and addressed meetings at Bilaspur, Raipur, Nagpur, Seoni and Jubbulpore.

The Bengal Congress Committee Affairs.

In pursuance of one of the clauses of the compromise* which had been arrived at between Mr. J. M, Sen Gupta and Mr. T. C. Goswami (See Vol. I, p.99) the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee met on the 25th July 1926 to elect 30 members to the Executive Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in place of thirty members who had been nominated by Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta in exercise of the powers granted to him by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee at its stormy meeting of the 13th June, when Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and Mr. Nirmal Chunder Chunder walked out of the meeting as a protest against such reconstitution of the Executive Committee.

The thirty nominated members, at the request of Mr. Sen Gupta, had resigned their seats and on this day thirty new members were elected, the new list including Messrs. Goswami, Sarat Bose, Nalini Ranjan Sircar and two leaders of the Congress Karmi Sangha, namely, Mr. Amarendra Nath Chatterjee and Mr. Upendranath Bannerjee.

The second item on the agenda was taken up first. It was for suggestion of name for the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress to be held at Gauhati. But as the Reception Committee had already issued the names suggested by other provinces for final selection of one name from them, it was settled that in the month of August the final selection would be made and that there was therefore no need of sending any suggestion now.

Then the first item was taken up. It was to elect 20 members of the Executive Council of the B. P. C. C., in place of those whom Mr. Sen Gupta, the President nominated according to the decision of the B. P. C. C. meeting held on the 13th June last. Mr. Sen Gupta explained to the members that in order to make Congress work easy he agreed to this position and therefore he asked all the members to help him in this matter. Then he asked Mr. T. C. Goswami to propose 30 members.

Mr. T. C. Goswami on proposing 30 members informed the house that the list of 30 members that he was proposing was prepared in consultation with the President and other important members. He also said that he consulted Mr. Upendra Nath Banerjee and Mr. Amarendra Nath Chatterjee though they did not agree to the entire list. He asked the members to accept the list.

Before he finished Babu Anil Kumar Roy Chowdhury raised a point of order stating that he had given notice of a resolution in which he questioned the legality of the Executive Council made on the 13th June last. So that resolution should be brought first. The President ruled that as the meeting had been called to consider only two items on the agenda he would not allow any other matter to be brought up and further that when no notice of that resolution had been sent to the members it could not be moved. Then Mr. Lalit Mohan Das rose on a point of order to the effect that as the nomination of the members of the Executive Council made by Mr Sen Gupta as President was valid and no election of 30 members could take place unless they resigned. Thereupon the Secretary explained that those 30 members

* The following is the text of the Compromise :—That the resolution of the B. P. C. C. empowering Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta to nominate 30 members of the Executive will be rescinded and a fresh election will be made to fill up these vacancies.

had already resigned. Then Mr. Goswami read the list. After the names were read Babu Suresh Chandra Mazumder asked some members to go out and this they did. Then Sj. Kiran Sankar Roy seconded the resolution and the list was unanimously accepted. As there was no other work the meeting was dissolved.

The Karmi Sangha's Statement.

Sj. Satish Chandra Sarkar, Officiating Secretary, Congress Karmi Sangha issued the following statement in pursuance of a resolution passed at a meeting of the Sangha on 7th August. The statement is interesting in as much as it has some bearing on the clash that the Sangha had with the B. P. C. C. Executive :—

It has been brought to our notice that a systematic and persistent campaign of vilication and misrepresentation are being carried on against the Karmi Sangha by such responsible leaders of the Congress to lower it in the estimation of the public. We, have, therefore, thought it desirable to make a clear statement or our position and try to explain the kind and careful attention paid to it by the Congress leaders.

The Congress Karmisangha has been founded to carry on the Congress work specially the constructive programme which has been sadly neglected by the present leaders and to bring about a cordial and harmonious relation between the workers of different groups, so essential for the real and solid work of the country. It stands for the Congress programme as its name unmistakably implies. It wants the Congress organisation to put to function, all round the year, and does not think its duties ended with the election to the different legislatures. The Karmisangha wants to push the constructive programme which has been sadly neglected by the leaders. It thinks that communalism and nationalism will go hand in hand and therefore wants to have nothing which seeks to perpetuate the spirit of communalism. Now-a-days it has become a common practice with our leaders to accuse a person of being a spy whom they want to remove from public life but cannot bring any definite charge against him. It is easy for the accusers, for it does not require any proof but it is impossible for the person accused of to clear himself. When Mrs. Naidu brought that charge against so large a number of the members of the Karmi Sangha she totally forgot her exalted position and also totally forgot that the success of Congress-work and of Swaraj-Party was, not to a small measure, due to the devotion and hard toils of these now much maligned workers and the triple crown on the head of her host was mainly put by the exertions of those whom she now is pleased to call spies.

When the Calcutta Corporation was captured by the Congress the question of the appointment of the Chief Executive Officer came to the fore front. Some persons who are now members of the Karmi Sangha and their friends now under detention pressed for appointing Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose as the Executive Officer and he was ultimately appointed as such. Mr. Sasmal was also a candidate for the post and he tried his level best to got it. This was too much for the selfless Sj. B. N. Sasmal ; his patriotism could not brook it, and he took it as an insult and non-recognition of his sacrifice and service. He ultimately cut off his connection with the Swaraj Party and resigned the membership of the Bengal Legislative Council in spite of repeated and earnest entreaties and requests from Deshbandhu. Deshbandhu tried every possible means to pacify him but all in vain. Then it came into the head of Mr. Sasmal that owing to the opposition of the workers he could not get the much covered post. From that time Mr. Sasmal began to bear a bitter grudge against them which he unburdened at Krishnagar. In this connection it may not be out of place here to mention that when Sj. Subash Chandra Bose was mysteriously spirited away for unknown reasons, Deshbandhu did not think it necessary to call Mr. Sasmal to take up the duties of the Chief Executorship and we know he had good reasons not to do so.

After Deshbandhu's death there was an acute difference inside the Bengal Swarajya Party about the appointment of the Mayor of the Corporation. Some prominent men of Calcutta wanted that either Sj. Nirmal Chandra Chander or Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose should be the Mayor but others thought that the President of the B.P.C.C., Bengal Swarajya Party and the Mayor should be the one and the same person. Mahatma Gandhi who was then at Calcutta, supported this view. Mr. Sen Gupta sought the help of the persons whom he is now pleased to call disloyal to the Congress and therefore undesirable and his friend Mr. Sasmal and his guest Mrs. Naidu are pleased to call spies. He came out

successful only because of the effort of the workers. This caused heart-burning in many quarters. Sj. Tulsi Charan Goswami returned from England and joined the opposition party to Mr. Sen Gupta. Thus the group now styled Karmi Sangha made themselves obnoxious and undesirable to these influential and wealthy persons of Calcutta and drew their careful and kind attention. Mr. Sasmal joined them and various rumours were spread against those who worked for Mr. Sen Gupta. At the time it seemed he actually felt pained that false insinuation were made against innocent and sincere workers for no fault of theirs.

Mr. Sasmal entered the Bengal Council after Deshbandhu's death and was a candidate for the presidentship of the Bengal Council. But this time also be had to be disappointed. Srijut Kiron Sankar Roy, the power behind the throne in Swarajya Party, was in close friendly touch with the members of the Karmi Sangha at the time but not even on speaking terms with Mr. Sasmal. So Mr. Sasmal thought that Sj. Kiron Sankar with the help of the members of the Karmi Sangha influenced the Swarajya Party not to adopt him as their party candidate so he got himself again defeated.

Then in November, 1925 came the general meeting of the B.P.C.C. for the election of office-bearers and the Executive Council. The opponents of Mr. Sen Gupta tried to have Sm. Basanti Devi as President and Mr. Sasmal as Secretary. But Sm. Basanti Devi refused to be the President and Mr. Sen Gupta came out successful only with the help of the now much-maligned group. Sj. Kiron Sankar Roy, the power behind the throne, arranged the personnel of the Executive Committee and other office-bearers in consultation with the undesirables. Just before the Cawnpore Congress a compromise was effected with Sj Tulsi Charan Goswami and his friends as a result of which Sj. Harendra Nath Rai Chowdhury and Dr. B C. Ray were elected members of the A.I.C.C.

Fresh troubles again appeared about the election of the selection board for the nomination of candidates for the different legislatures. At a general meeting of the B.P.C.C. held in January Sj. Goswami proposed 14 names for the election board and would not have any addition or alteration while Mr. Sen Gupta proposed 30 names taking persons from all groups. The amendment electing only Sm. Basanti Devi, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and Moulana Azad on the board was carried by the support of the Karmi Sangha at the advice of Sj. Kiron Sankar Roy, for it virtually made Mr. Sen Gupta the absolute master of the whole election affairs. After some time Mr. Sen Gupta as a result of the negotiations with Mr. Goswami's group asked the Executive Council to co-opt some members and Mr. Goswami and others were elected as such, the members of the Karmi Sangha who were on the executive supporting Mr. Sen Gupta. The Karmi Sangha urged that the District Congress Committees should be reorganised first and nominations of candidates be made afterwards and funds be raised for the purpose. The election board slept over the question of reorganisation of the District Congress Committees, though repeatedly their attention was drawn to the matter and a resolution in the Executive Council to reorganise the District Congress Committees before nomination of candidates was defeated by the casting vote of the President Mr. Sen Gupta. At this some members of the election board who did not like the suggestion resigned and those resignations were not only not unwelcome to Mr. Sen Gupta and Kiron Babu but rather they were a great relief to them.

Then came the fateful Krishnagar Conference in May last. Mr. Sasmal would not allow the opportunity to slip away, he hurled wanton abuses against the ex-revolutionaries and "marked men of the Government" and wanted them to get out of the Executive in his Presidential address. Mr. Sen Gupta himself felt constrained to move in the Subjects Committee a resolution deprecating Mr. Sasmal's utterances, though later on he put Mr, Sasmal's sentiment into action. Mr. Sasmal left the Subjects Committee at once and refused to preside over the conference. When the delegates assembled in a meeting they discussed whether there should be any sitting of the conference then and there. The question of Hindu Moslem pact was hanging like fire, Mr. Sen Gupta and his followers, who wanted to keep the pact as it was, left the meeting after breaking it lest the pact should be, with the help of a Moslem delegate, rescinded, signs of which they had seen in the Subjects Committee meeting. Somehow or other Mr. Sen Gupta now began to feel that he was losing his influence over the Karmi Sangha with whose help he captured the triple crown and maintained his position. He now joined hands with Mr. Sasmal with a view to get rid of his old friends whom he now imagined his opponents. Then came the memorable meeting of the B.P.C.C. on the 13th June in which Mr. Sen Gupta appealed to the members to dissolve the Executive Council and re-elect a new executive in its place as the majority of it were members of the Karmi Sangha who wanted a modification of the Bengal Pact and to refer it to the A.I.C.C. and as such, according to him, disloyal to the Congress. He appealed to the B.P.C.C., to elect such a Council that will

always blindly follow him without asking why and wherefore. This trick succeeded but the recent compromise with Mr. Goswami's group over the pact question and the election of the Executive Council that took place on the 25th July speaks for itself. All these dissolutions and elections lead to one thing and one thing only that it is against the spirit and letter of democracy and the present leaders have utterly forgotten that the Indian National Congress is a democratic body and it is their sacred duty to democratise it more and more.

The Karmi Sangha, therefore, resent such unconstitutional, undemocratic and autocratic action of the leaders of the Congress and want to see the provincial organisation purged of autocracy and unconstitutionalism and run on national and democratic lines.

The Karmi Sangha will devote its energies to the re-organisation of Congress Committees and villages wherein dwelleth the true soul of the nation and hope the country will co-operate with them in this endeavour.

Compromise with Karmi Sangha.

Subsequently at a meeting of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee held on the 29th August, a compromise was arrived at between the Karmi Sangha and other members of the B.P.C.C. on the basis *inter alia* that twelve members of the Sangha would replace a similar number who had resigned from the executive council of the Committee and that the present Congress returning officers would be substituted by presidents of District Congress Committees. The following is the official report of its proceedings :—

"The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee requisition meeting held on the 29TH AUGUST was very largely attended, over 200 members being present. From the very beginning it was noticeable that an attempt was being made by the President, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, to bring all parties together in order that a united front might be presented at the next election. In opening the proceedings the President observed that it was the duty of the members of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to forget all differences. If there had been any irregularities or mistakes no party could say that they were all on the other side. He made an eloquent appeal in the name of the Congress to all present to sink their differences and to work together. They had only two months more to get ready for the elections and the President felt no doubt that if all parties within the Congress joined hands no other party outside would have any remotest chance at the elections.

After the President's speech Mr. S. C. Bose moved the following resolutions :—

That all matters raised in the resolutions of which notice has been given and to consider which this meeting has been called, having been settled to the satisfaction of all concerned, this meeting resolves as follows :—

(a) that the following members of the B. P. C. C. be elected as members of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in the places of (Here 12 names are mentioned against a similar number resigned.)

(b) that the Presidents of the District Congresse Committees will be the returning officers of their respective districts and in case any of them declines or is unwilling or unable to act as such, he will nominate a member of the District Congress Committee as such returning officer in his place. The Presidents or their nominees will take charge as such returning officers immediately and the old returning officers who have been elected do make over charge to the new returning officers immediately.

(c) That all acts done by the old returning officers up to the date of the new returning officers taking charge will be generally treated as valid,

but if any questions of validity of their acts be raised in future, such questions will be decided by the Elections Disputes Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

(d) that the following members of the B. P. C. C. be elected additional members of the Election Disputes Committee which has been elected viz :— Babus Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, Kiran Sankar Roy, Jitendra Nath Mitra, and Sarat Chandra Bose ;

(e) that the time for filing nomination papers election to the B. P. C. C. be extended up to the 7th September 1926 and that all consequential changes regarding the dates of scrutiny and other dates be made by the executive committee of the B. P. C. C.

1. That having regard to the above resolution, all the resolutions of which notice has been given stand withdrawn."

Babu Amarendra Nath Chatterjee seconded the resolution in a feeling speech and Babu Provash Chandra Bose supported it.

Babu Basanta Kumar Mazumdar said that neither he nor his friends had any objection to twelve members of the Karmi Sangha coming into the Executive Council of the B. P. C. C. but he saw no necessity for the addition of any members to the Election Disputes Committee or for appointing the Presidents of the District Committees as returning officers in their respective districts,

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in supporting the resolution made a powerful appeal to all Hindus and Moslems present for unity. He impressed on the meeting the necessity of closing up the ranks for the purpose of effectively fighting the elections.

The house adjourned for half an hour for an informal discussion and after the proceedings were resumed the resolution was put to the vote and carried by an overwhelming majority, about one hundred and eighty voting for and about 25 against.

After the requisition meeting was over a Special Meeting of the B. P. C. C. to consider certain proposed changes in the Rules was held. Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy moved that the rules regarding requisition meetings be suspended till election to the legistatures was over. Mr. S. C. Bose moved an amendment by adding the words " unless the requisition stating the business to be transacted is signed by not less than sixty members of the B P. C. C." Mr. Roy accepted the amendment which was put to the vote and carried by more than three-fourths majority.

Election of B. P. C. C. Members & Executive.

An unpleasant incident took place at a meeting held on the 4TH DECEMBER, of the newly elected members of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to which admission was by cards. Recently a new 24 Parganas District Committee was formed disqualifying most of the old members. The latter demanded admission at the meeting holding the disqualification invalid, but men at the gate opposed their admission. Hot words passed between the parties, but before they came to blows, leaders interfered and on the assurance that their grievances will be considered next day flourishing of sticks and splint bamboos ceased.

The meeting commenced with Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, President, in the chair. The only business transacted was co-option of 56 members by election including fourteen Mahomedans and ten ladies. After the election of co-opted members, the meeting of the Committee was adjourned.

Next day serious disturbance was created again when the adjourned meeting of the Committee was held. A crowd consisting of some rowdies wanted to enter the hall of the meeting without admission cards and they were prevented by men at the gate. As a result quarrel ensued and the mob became furious. Regular fusillade of brickbats and stones were pelted from the streets and the volunteers were belaboured with sticks, glass windows were smashed and the business of the meeting stopped for a considerable time. The situation became so menacing that the Police were at once phoned for and but for their timely arrival, the situation would have gone out of control. Four men were seriously injured including one press representative. The Police arrested five men.

The general meeting of the Committee was then resumed Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, the out-going President, presided. Mr. Sen Gupta, at the outset, remarked that for private reasons he did not offer himself for re-election as President for the forthcoming year. Mrs. C. R, Das was unanimously elected President, Nirmal Chander Chander and Wahid Hussain were elected Vice-Presidents and Mr. Anil Baran Roy who was recently released from the jail was elected Secretary. Sixty members were elected to form the Executive Committee including 20 elected and uncontested including Messrs. J, M. Sen Gupta, T. C. Goswami and S. C. Bose.

Ban on Pt. Malaviya and Dr. Moonjee.

In the beginning of August the country heard with surprise the news from Allahabad and Calcutta about the ban on Pandit Malaviya to enter Calcutta under Section 144 Criminal Procedure Code. That the Acting Governor of Bengal had more or less yielded to the influence of the party of Sir Abdur Rahim was the general comment on the prohibition order. Pandit Malaviya's reply to the Chief Presidency Magistrate refusing to submit to his "illegal and unjustifiable" order and his decision to proceed to Calcutta was now the chief topic in both official and non-official circles.

Pandit Malaviya's telegram to the Chief Presidency Magistrate was considered in non-official circles as the only reply which that veteran Congressman and politician of forty years' experience could have given to the sensation-longing action of Sir Hugh Stephenson.

The Prohibition Order.

The following order under Sec. 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code under the signature of the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta was served on Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at his residence in George Town, Allahabad, on the 4th August:—

"To Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of Allahabad.

"Whereas it has been made to appear to me you intend to enter the town of Calcutta on or about the 4th day of August 1926, that considering the present state of communal feeling in the town of Calcutta between Hindu and Mahomedan communities, your presence in the town of Calcutta is likely to lead to a disturbance of public tranquility, that since the outbreak of communal riots in the town of Calcutta on 2nd April 1926, you have

made public utterances in Calcutta which were likely to excite the feelings of the aforesaid communities and that in the present circumstances your presence in Calcutta and your addresses to different bodies of men are likely to lead to a disturbance of public tranquillity, therefore, I do hereby prohibit you under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code from entering the town of Calcutta or remaining therein and I strictly warn and enjoin you not to disobey the said order."

Pt. Malaviya's Reply.

In reply Pandit Malaviya addressed a letter to the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, in which he submitted that the order was based upon misrepresentation of his public utterances in Calcutta. The Pandit further wrote :—" It is entirely wrong to say that those utterances were likely to excite the feelings of Hindu and Mahomedan Communities in Calcutta. On the contrary, I claim that they were calculated to smooth those feelings and did have the effect of subduing them to some extent and of easing the tension that unfortunately existed between the communities. I am surprised to learn that anyone should have suggested to you in the present circumstances that my presence in Calcutta and my addresses to different bodies of men there, are likely to lead to a disturbance of the public tranquillity. The speeches I made in Calcutta, were reported in the public press and a perusal of them will show that they do not support the view you have been led to form of them. If official reports of my speeches submitted to you are different from those published in the press, I should like to see them. I have been in public life for over 40 years and I claim to be able to avoid saying anything which is likely to lend to a disturbance of public tranquillity or to incite communal feuds. If, however, my speeches were such as you have described them, it was and is open to the Government to prosecute me for having made them. If I make any such speeches in future, it will yet be open to the Government to do the same. But I submit that the Legislature did not intend that a Magistrate should curtail the right of speech and action of any individual in the manner you have sought to do in my case by an order under Section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. In the circumstances of the case I consider your order to be both illegal and unjustifiable and in the cause of freedom of speech and action, I consider it my duty not to obey it. Consequenty, I beg to inform you that I hope to reach Calcutta by the Punjab Mail on the morning of the 7th instant and intend putting up at Birla Park in Ballygunje."

The Pandit's Arrival.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya arrived at Howrah by the Punjab Mail on the 7th August and motored straight to Birla Park, the residence in Ballygunge of Mr. Ghanshyamdas Birla. In spite of his message to Mr. B. Chakravarti that there should be no demonstration, there was a large crowd of Hindus to receive him at the station. The Pandit addressed them in Hindi and asked them always to keep peace.

Police Precautions.

The Police authorities had taken elaborate precutions to prevent any untoward incident and armed European Sergeants and Gurkhas and foot-police with lathies had been posted at both ends of the Howrah Bridge. The Pandit alighted from the train and after addressing a few words in

Hindi to the crowd on the platform, drove off at a high speed towards the bridge en route to Birla Park, followed by a running and cheering crowd. The Police at the Howrah end of the bridge allowed the Pundit's car to pass and immediately blocked the entire breadth of the Bridge holding up the crowd and all vehicular traffic for a quarter of an hour, after which the crowd was allowed to enter the Bridge. This effectively prevented any demonstration on the route.

The Pandit's Address.

In the afternoon the Pandit addressed a very largely attended public meeting in the Albert Hall on the present situation. He laid special stress on the Hindu-Muslim differences and suggested as a remedy that if only the so-called educated men should decide to contribute their shares to the solution of this important question by taking up a right attitude and proclaiming it to their fellow countrymen, they would cease to quarrel in a day. He advised all political parties to sink their differences and merge themselves into the large Congress Party in order that the Government might yield to their reasonable demands. The Pandit advocated the adoption of one common policy which was the policy of what was called Responsive co-operation.

Dividing his subject into three heads namely the present situation as it was affected by relations of the two principal communities, the differences that divided the political parties at present and the attitude of the Government towards public question of vital importance, the Pandit said that every one of them was aware how deplorably sad the relations between the Hindus and the Mahomedans had been during the last two or three years and particularly during the past few months. The events that had happened in India within the last few months and which had exposed them to the ridicule of the world were nothing but temporary outbursts of evil passions fanned by utterances of some so-called educated men and they would cease to quarrel if the so-called educated men decide to contribute their share to the solution of this question by taking up a right attitude and proclaiming that attitude to their fellow countrymen.

He did not agree that the solution of the political question was to be made a condition precedent to the settlement of communal quarrels. He had no desire to minimise the gravity of the situation in regard to this matter, but he felt that the situation would be best handled by adopting a correct attitude and by having courage to speak out what they felt to be right. The Government of the country had also its contribution to make to the solution of the question and wherever the authorities were just and firm and had the courage to act correctly, the situation was easily handled. It was, therefore, essential that the Government should adopt a correct and firm attitude and should not show partiality to one community.

With regard to the second part of his subject, the Pandit said that at the present moment, they were in the midst of many parties. The Swaraj Party had adopted a policy which was inherently unsound. The Pandit begged of the members of the party to consider whether in their present frame of mind any one of them could render right service to the country. It was high time that they should definitely decide to abandon this attitude. Those who wanted to go to the Councils must go there with the determination that they would use them to promote the establishment of full responsible

Government and, at the same time, offer the stoutest resistance to the Government's proposals when public interests demanded it. It was no good saying that they were bound by the Congress resolutions. He was a member of the Congress for many years and hoped to remain so all his life and die as such, but he claimed that his love for his country was greater than the reverence he owed to the Congress. It would be a calamity if they could not compose their differences and agree that they should see that the right type of men were returned from all parties at the coming elections.

Turning to the last point, the Pandit said that the attitude of the Government towards public questions had changed for the worse during the time they had been divided and in many places the Government had taken undue advantage of their division. The remedy lay in their own hands and if only they could create intelligent, united and determined public opinion, he was sure that the Government would climb down and show greater regard for their views and rights and privileges than they did at present. He was at one with the Swarajists that the constitution of the Government of India Act should be modified as early as possible, but that opportunity would not arise so long as they were divided.

The Pandit concluded :—" Every consideration demands that we should make up our differences and sit down together to adopt one common policy. I submit that in regard to Councils, the common policy that can be adopted is the policy of what is called " Responsive co-operation."

Dr. Moonji's Arrival

On the next day, the 8th August, Pt. Malaviya left Calcutta for the Central Provinces on election campaign. On the 9th August Dr. Moonji arrived in Calcutta and was received at the station by a small crowd, as many were not aware that he was coming. Elaborate police arrangements were also made as on the occasion of the arrival of Pt. Malaviya, but the Doctor was not arrested. He left Calcutta for Bilaspur in the same afternoon.

On the same day, the 9th August, summonses were issued against both of them for disobeying the order and asking them to appear before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, either in person or by legal representative.

On the 19th August the Standing Counsel and Public Prosecutor appeared and applied before Mr. Bivar, Additional Presidency Magistrate, for the withdrawal of the cases against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. B. S. Moonji. The Standing Counsel said that when the application for original order was made, communal tension was very high and the Pandit, on the occasion of his last visit, had addressed a meeting to a community which had taken a prominent part in the last riot. But the Government had now seen the full speech delivered by the Pandit on the 27th August and found it was conciliatory and that there was nothing objectionable in it. About 15 days had since passed and there had been no disturbance. Under these circumstances, the Standing Counsel, under instructions from the Government, asked leave to withdraw the case.

Regarding Dr. Moonji, the Standing Counsel said that since his visit, there had been no riot or tendency for a riot and so he applied also for withdrawal of the case pending against him.

Mahatma Gandhi's Comment.

Commenting upon this Mahatma Gandhi congratulated the Government of Bengal upon the courage it has shown in retracing its steps and dropping

the proceedings against Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonji for their civil disobedience. He however added :—"But one could wish that there was a grace about the withdrawal of these proceedings. The Standing Counsel for the Government of Bengal made a statement which I think was highly offensive. There is no regret shown on behalf of the Government, no apology offered to the distinguished patriots, but on the contrary a veiled suggestion that there was possibly some connection between Panditji's presence in Calcutta and the riots that took place. Although the Standing Counsel is obliged to admit that there was nothing offensive or provocative in Panditji's speech on the strength of which the prohibition order was taken, surely it was up to the officials who took the proceedings to see the full text of the speech before applying for an order under Section 144 especially when the order was to be against persons so well-known in public life as Panditji and Dr. Moonji. If it was a private party that had acted so hastily as the Government of Bengal seem to have done in this case, that party would have rendered itself liable to an action for damages. If public opinion was well organised and strong, it could bring to book the Government that acted so rashly and recklessly as the Bengal Government have done. In the face of these proceedings, is it any wonder that the complaint is often heard that proceedings are often thoughtlessly, hastily and sometimes even vindictively taken against innocent persons in virtue of arbitrary powers by the Government under laws in the framing of which they have had most part?"

Lala Lajpat Rai's Resignation from Swaraj Party.

'Lala Lajpat Rai up to the time of the Cawnpore Congress had been an unsparing critic of the policy of the Swarajya Party. Even in the Subjects Committee of the Cawnpore Congress, he fought tooth and nail some parts of the walk-out programme which they were trying to have passed by the Congress. But pourparlers were in progress even at this time on behalf of the Swarajists to net the Punjab Lion. And it is now an old history how the wily Pundit of Allahabad with the help of the sharpwitted politician of Madras, we mean Mr. Srinivasa Iyenger and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu succeeded in capturing him. The public were simply astounded to hear that Lala Lajpat Rai had agreed at last to become a full-pledged Swarajist. But there was more surprise in store for them. This they had when they found Lalaji in March last at the Lahore Bradlaugh Hall supporting the Swarajist programme with all the zeal of a new convert. But the patriotism and sincerity of Lalaji are unquestionable and this action, therefore, was explained on the supposition that the Sun of the Punjab was under a temporary eclipse.

This temporary eclipse or the cloud over his vision and intellect was now passing away and Lala Lajpat once again revealed himself in his full splendour not as a follower of a particular political party but as an apostle of unity. His letter to Pandit Motilal Nehru, the full text of which is given below, shows that he has now recognised the mistake he had committed in lending his weight to the policy of the Swarajists'.

The letter was published at a time when conversations were proceeding at Simla between Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Motilal Nehru on one side and Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on the other for the

purpose of finding a formula in order invite all the parties within the Congress, with the object of bringing about unity for fighting the elections. The following is the text of the letter addressed to Pandit Matilal Nehru, President, Swaraj Party and is dated the 24th August 1926 :—

Lala Lajpat Rai's Letter.

"My dear Panditji :—I thank you for the message you sent me last night through Mrs. Naidu and Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar asking me to see you at your Hotel at 10 o'clock and to attend the party meeting at 11 A.M. to-day. They informed me that the Swaraj Party Executive Council had decided not to attend the rest of the session of the Legislative Assembly. Mr. Ranga Swami Iyengar told me that even if the party does not accept my proposal of attending the rest of the session they may permit me to do so as a special case for certain purposes. I have been considering the matter ever since these friends left me and have come to the conclusion that though no good purpose is likely to be served by my seeing you or attending the meeting of the party, but out of respect for you and the party, I should attend the party meeting and explain my position. Differences between us are too radical to be removed by any patch up and it shall not be honourable on my part to accept special permission of the party to attend the rest of the session if the party were to grant me such a permission (which assumption is purely problematic). I feel that while I can remain a member of the Congress inspite of my differences with the majority of its executive, I cannot remain a member of a party from whose executive I differ so radically. It is true I gave my support to the Cawnpore resolution. I did so with the best of motives in what I considered to be in the best interests of the country and the Congress then, but after experience of the last eight months I have come to the conclusion that my hopes were not well founded. Firstly, the resolution was changed in one important particular, at least against my protest in March last, thereby ceasing to be binding on me at all. At Cawnpore I insisted on my amendment relating to the Budget Debate being accepted as a necessary condition of my supporting the resolution. The party accepted this, though reluctantly, but 2 months later, the amendment accepted at Cawnpore was again negatived by a lesser authority than the Congress. I voted against this change and questioned the jurisdiction of the All-India Congress Committee to do so, but I was over-ruled. Still in the interests of discipline I walked out alone with the rest of the party. Secondly, the ostensible object of the resolution so far as it related to "walk out" had failed to realise. No constructive work in the country was either undertaken or accomplished and exceptions were so many that it lost all its value. The fact that I was not in full agreement with either at Cawnpore or at Delhi has more than once forced itself upon me but in my desire to remain with you as long as possible I brushed it aside until it has become quite clear that to continue a member of the party is neither fair to you nor to myself. There are certain matters on which my differences with you are almost fundamental. The angle of vision with which we two look at the questions relating to matters on which Hindus and the Muslims differ is entirely different and often brings us into a conflict. Slowly and gradually I have come to share the belief of many other Hindus that the Swaraj party as at present constituted is distinctly harmful to the Hindus not so much in the matter of

their differences with Muslims as it is intrinsically in matters between the Government and the Hindus. The "Walk out" has positively been more harmful to the Hindus than to any other class or community. Assuming that the Swaraj party in the Legislative Assembly consisted of 40 to 50 members, their "walk out" has deprived only 5 or 6 Muslim constituencies of the services of their representatives, while in case of Hindus it has deprived the latter of about 6 or 7 times that number.

"The result is that by the "walk out" of the Swarajists, elected Hindus are in much smaller minority in the Assembly than they otherwise would be, thereby rendering their representation in the Assembly entirely ineffective. There is a lot of business transacted in the Assembly which mainly affects the Hindus and does not so much affect other communities. Hindu constituencies which returned us are thus deprived of the services of their representatives to a much larger extent than any other class or community has been. I consider this to be a breach of faith with the constituencies and I cannot any longer be a party to such breach of faith. I know, you cannot agree with me in that point of view. You say you came to the Assembly to wreck the reforms and everything that it implied. Although you have not acted in that spirit and have attended the Assembly for one purpose at least even after the walk out, I however, did not come to the Assembly with that object or on that principle nor did I stand for election on the Swaraj Party ticket. In the matter of Council work I made my position quite clear in the letter I wrote to the Secretary at the time of joining the party.* Under the circumstances, I feel that I am out of place in such a party. That explains the difference in the way we look at the agenda of the rest of the session. To my mind all resolutions relating to communal quarrels or communal proportions in services are of national importance and all members of the Assembly should attend when they are considered whatever the result may be. Similarly in my judgment the proposed change in the Criminal Procedure Code is a serious matter deserving the consideration of all representatives of the people in the Assembly. It is an encroachment on the liberties of the people. I am mentioning these two points by way of illustration.

"In my judgment it was a mistake not to have confirmed the Sabarmati Pact. On the question of accepting offices my views remain unchanged, but all the same I consider that the Sabarmati Pact was a very honourable settlement of differences between the two wings of the Congress and the failure to confirm it has been a disaster.

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* The following is the text of the letter which Lala Lajpat Rai wrote on the 20th January, 1926 in accepting the membership of the Swaraj party :—My Dear Panditji—, I have to thank you for the invitation you have extended to me to join the Swarajya party in the Legislative Assembly. The last time when I met you I said that personally I had made up my mind to accept your invitation, but that before giving my final consent I would consult my Lahore friends and would give you a final answer on Monday next. Since then I have consulted my friends and this letter is the result of that consultation. While joining the Party I would like to make my position quite clear so that there may be no misunderstanding about it now or hereafter. As I read the rules of the Party I do not think my position is in any way inconsistent with them. (A) I believe in the Council work. I am opposed to boycott of Councils and Assembly ; I am not in favour of the Swarajists accepting offices in the gift of the Government. (B) I do not believe in wholesale obstruction and have never believed in it. (C) I wish to retain my freedom of action on communal questions. I understand that communal questions shall not be decided by a party vote. (D) In disputes between Labour and Capital I am a Labour man and I understand the majority of the Swarajya party is also of the same way of thinking. Subject to these observations I shall be glad to be a member of the party. Yours sincerely, Lajpat Rai.

"In the light of what has happened during the last eight months, I consider that the decision of the Congress to run elections in its own name and by its own agency was a mistake and sooner that mistake is rectified the better for the country. This view is strengthened by a recent resolution of the Provincial Congress Committee of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

"I do not agree with the resolution of the Working Committee regarding the right of one community to block legislation on matters on which 3-4ths of its members in a particular legislature desire that there should be no legislation, nor do I consider that the refusal of the Congress to concede freedom of action in communal matters is right. Again the honest truth is that at present at least I cannot think on party lines. I am of opinion that the present crisis in our national life should be met by a joint effort of the most competent and most trustworthy of the Indian nationalists regardless of party affiliations. I am conscious of the practical difficulties that lie in the way of my such scheme being carried out, but, I do not consider them to be insurmountable. Under the circumstances, I am unable to work in the interests of the party as such and give my support in the coming elections to mere party candidates as against persons who in my judgment may be abler, more competent and more reliable from a political standpoint than mere party candidates.

"Taking all these things into consideration you will, I presume, agree with me that I should not remain in the party. I do not presume to sit in judgment on the party. They are acting with the best of motives in what they consider to be the best interests of the country. I respect them for their view and I am anxious to maintain the friendliest possible relations with them. I value the privilege of your and their friendship—if you and they will allow me, inspite of our differences, continuance of that privilege. This I think is only possible if I sever my connection with the party at this stage. To accept a concession for attending the remaining sittings of the Assembly will be neither honourable nor dignified. Subject to these remarks I am and shall always be at your beck and call for any service that I may be fit to render to you personally or to the party or its members consistently with my principles. I hope we are parting in the best of spirits and as friends in full recognition of the fact that each is actuated by the best of motives in the action he is taking. I am grateful to the party for personal consideration they have shown me from time to time for reason of my past services."

Pt. Nehru's Reply.

In reply to the above Pt. Motilal Nehru sent a long letter in which he dealt seriatim with all the points of difference mentioned in there. The following is the text:—

"Dear Lala Lajpat Rai:—Your typed letter dated August 24, was handed to me on the 26th, with the following note added in manuscript: 'This letter was read in the party meeting held on the 24th and was at my request given back to me for some corrections and for retyping. It is sent to Panditji to-day, the 26th. No copy or copies have been given to the Press or to any one else so far."

"After receipt of this letter Mrs. Sarojini Naidu gave me to understand that you were reconsidering the position and would probably withdraw the letter. It was only last evening that I was informed that you had handed it to the Press, and I find it to-day published in the 'Pioneer' with an editorial note under the caption 'A Formidable Indictment.' It is not now necessary to delay my reply any longer but I must at the

outset congratulate you on the well-deserved compliment paid to you by such a friend of Indian rights and aspirations as the "Pioneer."

"The action you have taken was not entirely unexpected, as it is well-known that you have for some time past been preparing the public for it through a section of the Press controlled or inspired by you. But what has come upon me as a painful surprise is the reasoning by which you seek to justify that action. If you had only sent in your resignation without expressing any opinions, it would have been enough to accept it with an expression of regret, but as you have thought fit to attack the party which has honoured me by electing me as its president and leader, it becomes my duty to defend it.

"Before I come to the points you have raised, let me remind you of the circumstances in which you secured your election to the Assembly and subsequently joined the party. You say in your letter that you did not stand for election on the Swaraj party ticket. It is true that you were not announced as a Swarajist candidate and did not sign the pledge. But the question is whether, in the events that have happened, you are not bound to the party in precisely the same manner as if you had been elected on the party ticket. The facts, as I have been able to ascertain them, are these :—

"In compliance with your wishes Raizada Hans Raj handed to you his resignation from the Assembly. After this an understanding was arrived at between you and him that you would support the Swaraj party in the Assembly and help me in carrying out the policy and programme of the party. In consequence of certain action that you took later, difficulties arose between you and Raizada Hans Raj, who thought you were not acting in strict accordance with that understanding.

"Your difference with him on more occasions than one became so acute that the only alternative before you were either to accept the policy of the Congress or retire from the Assembly. Pressed to accept the draft resolution of the Cawnpore Congress relating to Councils, you eventually agreed to do so if certain alterations suggested by you were accepted. On the final consideration of the draft, the majority of your suggestions were accepted and the resolution thus altered was subsequently passed by the Congress with your full concurrence and strong support.

"In January last you formally joined the party. You say: 'In the matter of Council work, I made my position quite clear in the letter I wrote to the Secretary at the time of joining the party." That letter is now before me, and I find that it only contains a repetition of the more important principles of the party without any reservations. You said in that letter: 'As I read the rules of the party, I do not think my position is in any way inconsistent with them.'

"It will thus be clear that you secured your election on assurances as binding as any formal pledge could have been, and that you actually joined the party unreservedly. From a gentleman of your great abilities and wide experience of public life it is only fair to expect that you did so after fully realizing the consequences of your action. You say: 'I did so with the best motives in what I considered to be in the best interests of the country and the Congress then, but after the experience of the last eight months I have come to the conclusion that my hopes were not well founded.'

"I have carefully read and re-read your letter but have failed to find anything in it which needed the experience of the last eight months to be realized and was not quite apparent at the time you subscribed to the policy and programme of the Congress.

First Complaint.

"I shall now take your points and deal with them 'seriatim.' Your first complaint is expressed in these words: 'The (Cawnpore) resolution was changed in one important particular, at least against my protest in March last, thereby ceasing to be binding on me at all'. I am surprised at this statement coming as it does from an eminent public man and lawyer of your standing. In all well regulated associations of men the resolutions passed from time to time are liable to alteration or rescission as circumstances may require. I am not prepared to concede that such alteration or rescission by a majority against the will of a particular member can under any circumstances set that member free from the obligations he owes to the association to which he belongs. Assuming, however, that you had a right to renounce your allegiance to the party on that ground, you did not choose to exercise that right and deliberately waived it in what you call the interests of discipline. In any case it did not need the experience of six months which have since intervened to bring home to you that a necessary condition of your supporting the (Cawnpore) resolution had been broken.

'Ostensible Object.'

Your next point is that the ostensible object of that resolution, so far as it related to the walk-out has failed to realise. I do not know what you mean by the expression

'ostensible object,' as I only know the real object which was declared by me in no uncertain terms in my speech in the Assembly just before the walk-out. From your next sentence, however, it appears that you regard 'constructive work in the country' as the ostensible object of the walk-out, and complain that it was neither undertaken nor accomplished. If that be so, may I be permitted to ask what help you as a member of the party offered in undertaking or accomplishing that work, and is it open to you to blame your co-workers for an omission for which you were equally responsible with them? You went away to Europe, leaving them to face the music of the Responsivists and other hostile parties, and the first thing you do on your return is to throw them to the wolves.

"The unkindest cut of all, however, is to be found in the sentence: 'The exceptions to the walk-out were so many that it lost all its value.' You know that you were the author of the exceptions, that you pressed them in spite of being forewarned of the very consequences of which you now so bitterly complain. And yet you make it a ground for leaving the party!

Remarkable Passage.

"Then comes a passage in your letter remarkable not only for the truth it contains but for the refreshing candour with which it is stated. It runs as follows:—

'The fact that I was not in full agreement with you either at Cawnpore or at Delhi has more then once forced itself upon me, but in my desire to remain with you as long as possible I brushed it aside, until it has become quite clear that to continue as a member of the party is neither fair to you nor to myself. There are certain matters on which my differences with you are almost fundamental.'

"May I in all humility ask you at what point of time during the last eight months you made this wonderful discovery? Were you not aware, both at Cawnpore and at Delhi, that you were not in full agreement with me, and did you not, in spite of the knowledge either support me or acquiesce in what I did? If you will pardon my saying so, the real trouble is that in the conditions prevailing in Cawnpore and Delhi you were compelled to act in the way you did, and under what you believe to be the compelling force of the altered conditions prevailing to-day you think you are free to change your tactics.

"Equally remarkble is the next passage in your letter which runs: 'The angle of vision with which we two look at questions relating to matters on which the Hindus and the Muslims differ, is entirely different and often brings us into conflict."

Conflicting Views.

"This again is a matter which you need not have taken eight months to discover and can hardly furnish any ground for the action you have taken. Our respective views are thoroughly well-known and have formed a subject of discussion between you and me for years past. The wonder is that, in spite of this great difference in the 'angle of vision' with which we look upon the Hindu-Muslim question, you managed to persuade yourself to work with me to the common good of both communities, though the way your own inclinations lay has been an open secret.

"The next passage in your letter is a most characteristic contribution to the electioneering propaganda of the Hindu Sabha. You say, 'Slowly and gradually I have come to share the belief of many other Hindus that the Swaraj party as at present constituted and led is distinctly harmful to Hindus, not so much in the matter of their differences with the Muslims as it is intrinsically in matters between the Government and the Hindus. Walk-out has positively been more harmful to Hindus than to any other class of the community. Assuming that the Swaraj party in the Legislative Assembly consisted of 40 to 50 members, their walk-out has deprived only five or six Muslim constituencies of the services of their representatives, while in the case of Hindus it has deprived the latter of about six or seven times that number. The result is that by the walk-out of Swarajists, elected Hindus are in a much greater minority in the Assembly than they otherwise would be thereby rendering their representation in the Assembly entirely ineffective.'

"Remarkable indeed must be the 'slow' and 'gradual' psychological progress which at the end of eight months discovered the true proportion of the Hindu and Muslim members in the Legislative Assembly. I am sure you are not doing justice to yourself if you mean to convey that the simple arithmetical calculation you rely upon in your letter in the above passage did not strike you when you gave your assent to the walk-out actually participated in it. It is needless to point out to you that you have entirely missed the real point of the walk-out, though you mechanically participated in it. The Hindu-Muslim question has nothing whatever to do with it. The very next passage

shows that all the time you were acting as a Swarajist you were really thinking as a Moderate. You say: "There is a lot of business transacted in the Assembly which mainly affects Hindus and does not so much affect other communities. The Hindu constituencies which returned us are thus deprived of the services of their representatives to a much larger extent than any other class or community has been."

"Without subscribing to the statement made in the first sentence of the above passage, it is only necessary to remind you that the Swaraj Party never undertook to render the kind of services you have in mind. It is only the Moderate or the Liberal who attaches any value to such services in the present condition of India. The task which a true Swarajist has laid out for himself is very different as you must have fully realized before you threw in your lot with him.

"I am afraid you are very much over-doing it when you say: 'I consider this to be a breach of faith with the constituencies and I cannot any longer be a party to such a breach of faith with mine'.

"Every Swarajist has a clear conscience as to how he has kept faith with his constituency to which he promised nothing but a determined stand for full Swaraj. I cannot answer for those who believe that they have been guilty of a breach of faith with their constituencies and only make up their minds after eight months not to continue that breach of faith any longer.'

"You make certain remarks about the necessity of our attending the remainder of the present session of the Assembly to take part in certain debates which you think are of 'national importance.' We have now witnessed the end of one of those debates, namely, the Criminal Procedure Code (Amendment) Bill which you call 'an encroachment on the liberties of the people' In this connexion I have only to call your attention to the speech of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, your present comrade in arms in the battle of India's freedom. He has ungrudgingly given his blessings to the object, the propriety and the necessity of the measure which has since been passed into law with the votes of large number of elected representatives.—I put it to you to say what place a Swarajist can possibly have in company like this.

Sabarmati Pact.

"The points I have dealt with above are all compressed in the first paragraph of your letter, which extends over three typed pages, and I have naturally had to devote greater time and space to answer them, The remaining paragraphs of your letter require very brief notice. Para 2—regarding the Sabarmati Pact:—You say it was a mistake not to have confirmed it but have not favoured me with your own interpretation of the terms agreed upon. What was it that, in your opinion, should have been confirmed? If the agreement was as I take it to be, who was in the wrong in not confirming it?

"I am glad to note that on the question of accepting offices your views remain unchanged and trust you will adhere to them at least for some time to come. If those views are sound, as you must believe them to be, the taking of offices in the present circumstances cannot but be detrimental to the true interests of the country. How then can any settlement be "honourable" which sacrifices those interests?

"Para 3, Running the elections by the Congress:—Up to the time you left India you were a stout champion of Congress candidates and put up a brave fight for them in the Hindu Sabha. You do not say what particular incident in the history of the last four months has revolutionised your ideas on the subject.

Communal Subjects.

"As for the resolution of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee you refer to, you are now fully aware that it was the result of permitting a number of non-members to attend the meeting and vote for the resolution. The fraud has since been exposed and the Working Committee of the Congress has refused to look at the resolution.

Para 4, Blocking Legislation by one community:—You know that the resolution of the Working Committee referred to by you was passed in Calcutta in my absence under misapprehension, and is being recognised. As it stands, it only comes to a pious wish that all the Hindu Muslim members of the Legislature will agree not to bring up any communal subject, if three-fourths of the members of either community object to it. Members of the Congress party are asked to do their best to help in bringing about such agreement. You have seen the views I expressed at the Sabarmati meeting of the Working Committee on the subject and have expressed your full concurrence with them.

"Para 5, Freedom of Action in Communal Matters:—The Congress has never refused such freedom and is not likely to do so. There are at present no rules on the subject but the Congress manifesto shortly to be issued will make the position clear.

"Para 6. The honest truth is that at present at least I cannot think on party lines :— The statement would be unexceptionable if, instead of 'party lines,' you had said 'Swaraj party lines,' You will agree with me that when it comes to stating the 'honest truth' after proclaiming it as such, one has to be very accurate in the language one employs. That you are to-day thinking on Hindu Sabha and Responsive Co-operationist lines admits of no doubt. I hope therefore you will agree to the small correction I have suggested in your statement of the 'honest truth.'

"These are all the points you have raised. Out of respect for you I have dealt with them as fully as it was possible in a letter. I do not expect you to change your mind in a hurry but am hopeful that 'slowly and gradually' you will find the faith that is in you and proclaim it to the world in no uncertain terms. For when all is said and done the central fact remains that you are as strongly opposed as I am to the taking of offices in the present circumstances. That is the one question which is now proving a stumbling block in the way of all the political parties coming together. The rest can be easily settled as the differences are more apparent than real.

"It only remains for me to thank you for the personal note you have struck in the concluding part of your letter and to assure you that, whatever our differences of opinion may be, it will be my constant endeavour to maintain the friendly relations which have subsisted between us in the past."

Lala Lajpat Rai's Rejoinder.

My Dear Panditji—, On the 30th of August at about 8 P.M. Lala Girdhari Lal of Amritsar delivered to me your reply to my letter of resignation (bearing date 29th August). The reply is full of insinuations, and inuendoes half truths and misstatements which I cannot let go unnoticed and unanswered.

First 2 paragraphs deal with the circumstances of my letter of resignation and contain the following unwarranted insinuations that while I wrote to you that no copy had been given to press and assured Mrs Naidu that I was reconsidering my position and would probably withdraw the letter, I actually sent a copy to the "Pioneer" and obtained that journal's approval. The facts are as follows :—I tendered my resignation on the 24th August but took back the letter of resignation from you to make some verbal changes and to get it properly typed after it had been read in the party meeting held that day, On the 25th began conversations between me and Pandit Malaviyaji on one hand and Mrs. Naidu and yourself on the other. On the 26th I sent you the document with a note which you have reproduced in your letter under reply. The same day I consulted Mrs. Naidu and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the conference room at Hotel Cecil, both being present at the time, if I should give a copy to the press (Mrs. Dumasi M.L.A., and others having asked me for it several times). Both of them said "wait.' I never told Mrs. Naidu that I was considering my position and would probably withdraw the letter. On the 27th I told Mrs. Naidu that I could not withhold my letter of resignation any longer as my act was liable to misconstruction. She raised no objection and I gave a copy to a representative of the "Associated Press" who happened to be there. After that day's converstions were over, I told Mrs. Naidu that in the copy I had given to the Associated Press I had omitted words so as to remove the only offensive expression I had used. She approved of it. I sent no copy to the "Pioneer" nor gave it to any one else. As Mrs. Naidu was on her way to your room I had good reason to presume that she would inform you the step I had taken. The sting in your congratulation on the "Pioneers" comment is only an electioneering tactics. It does not come with good grace from a gentleman who had been the recipient of many praises from that and other Anglo-Indian journals for his level-headed moderate politics in the Assembly. You have followed a course which was a judicious combination of moderation and extremism, a very proper thing to do as was evidenced by your speech relating to the desirability of Indian appeals being decided by the Privy Council in London rather than by an Indian Supreme Court in India and also by your support in the first stages of the Contempt of Courts Bill. Both these actions I presume had the approval of the 'Pioneer" and the Government. I would rather avoid introduction of matter which may add bitterness to this controversy and so will say nothing more on this question for the present.

Distortion of Facts.

Next four paras of your letter deal with the circumstances in which I secured my election to the Assembly and subsequently joined the party Statements made in these paras and the conclusions drawn therefrom are distortion of facts. You say 'in compliance with your wishes Raizada Hansraj handed to you his resignation from the Assembly'. After

this an understanding was arrived at between you and him that you would support the Swaraj Party in the Assembly and help me in carrying out the policy and programme of the party. This is not the correct statement of what happened. There was no such understanding about the policy and programme of the Swaraj Party either before or after the resignation. In the announcement which Raizada Sahib made in his resignation in the press, he never mentioned it but even if an understanding was arrived at, as you say, after the resignation had been handed, it shows that the resignation was unconditional and that subsequent understanding did not amount to a promise to join the Swaraj Party.

Support to Swaraj Party.

As for helping you, you know that I had been doing so all through 1923, 1924 and 1925 even when I did not agree with you in full nor was a member of your party. I carried on conversations with the Labour Government to advance your proposals. I was elected a member of the Assembly on the 9th December. I received the news at Bombay where I had gone to preside over the Bombay Hindu Provincial Conference. You were also there and to the best of my recollection I attended the conference that was being held there between the responsivists and yourself for a compromise. There was no talk of my joining the Swaraj Party. Then came the Cawnpore Congress. You say " pressed to accept the draft resolution of the Cawpore Congress relating to Councils you eventually agreed to do so if certain alterations suggested by you were accepted on the final consideration of the draft. The majority of your suggestions were accepted and resolutions thus altered was subsequently passed by the Congress with your full concurrence and strong support." This statement would be quite correct if you omitted the 'words full and strong'. The speech that I made at Cawnpore is the best evidence of it. But then the question arises as to why you accepted the changes suggested by me if you did not approve of them. However, we will leave this matter here. You have passed over the subsequent delay in joining the Party. The Assembly was opened on the 19th of January and it was not till the 25th of January that I joined the Party.

No Formal Pledge.

The terms on which I joined the party are given in the letter which I addressed to you at the time. In the letter under reply you are pleased to remark that it contains repetition of the principles of the party without any reservations. That letter has now been published in the press and I leave it to the country to judge if I have in any way acted against the letter or the spirit of the statements contained therein. I expressly said therein that I believed in Council work and did not believe in wholesale obstruction. Under the circumstances your statement that I secured my election on the assurances as binding as any formal pledge could have been and that I actually joined the party unreservedly is entirely unwarranted. The truth is that you wanted my support and I promised to give it on certain terms. You accepted the terms then, but deliberately violated one of them at Delhi. But you are law in yourself as is proved by various actions you have taken since the elections of 1923 beginning with your manifesto and ending with your acquiescence in Mr. Patel not walking out with you in compliance with the Cawnpore resolution. I personally think that Mr. Patel was right in not walking out and it would have been a breach of faith to compel him to do so after the support the party had given him in his election as such. But you did not think so. Consistency or inconsistency of a certain conduct is a varying item differing with an amount of legal acumen and intellectual cleverness possessed by a man who pronounces on it. The reason why I supported the Cawnpore resolution and subsequently joined the party was that of all parties then existing it was on the whole the party with which I most agreed. Even at Cawnpore I was in favour of eliminating the clause relating to office and thus preventing walk-out of the responsivists from your party but on your insisting on keeping it, I gave in inasmuch as it did not involve any violation of the principles. In the matter of consistency and inconsistency and changes in political practice, I am quite prepared to leave my record as compared with anyone else to the judgment of the people, nor am I ashamed of the lessons I have learnt from experience and consequent changes in my opinions. You say 'in all well regulated associations of men resolutions passed from time to time are liable to alteration or rescission as circumstances may require'. I am not prepared to concede that such alterations or rescissions by a majority against the will of a particular member can under any circumstance set that member free from the obligations he owes to the association to which he belongs. I do not accept the full validity of this principle but whatever validity it does possess lasts only for the period one retains the membership of the association. Otherwise it would be impossible for any man to validly

sever his connection with any association with the decisions of which he did not agree The whole burden of your criticism lies in the fact that I did not join with you in walking out inspite of the alterations in the resolution made against my wishes at Delhi. I have already said in my resignation letter that I did so with the desire of pulling on with you as long as it was possible for me to do so. You say nothing has happened since then which I did not know or could not know beforehand. You have ignored that this was my first experience of a legislative chamber and I did not know many things which I have learnt since. You are not quite correct about the clause relating to exceptions. It is not right to say that that clause was put in for my sake. I did no doubt support it strongly but so did the representatives of Bengal, United Provinces, Madras and Bombay. They insisted on having that clause. All walk-ins took place in my absence from India and I did not participate in any decision relating to them. I am of opinion that these exceptions should have convinced you that further "walk-out" from the Assembly on the 23rd August was not necessary. I have not advanced the fact of many "walk-ins" as a ground for my resignation, but as against your refusal to attend the Assembly for the consideration of matters which were even more important than those for which permission had been granted.

On page 6 of your letter you remark that "all the time you were acting as a Swarajist, you were really thinking as moderate." If thought is evidenced by action then all I can say is that most of the time your party have been acting in the Assembly and the Councils as moderates while camouflaging all the time that you were not. The whole record of the Assembly proceedings shows that the work of the Swaraj Party in the Assembly was as I have already said a judicious combination of 'moderate' and 'obstructionist' mentality and that was the right thing to do. Yet, in your anxiety to avoid the charge, you have tried to show yourself off perhaps for electioneering purposes as consistent and persistent obstructionist.

Hindu Sabha Mentality.

Your observation about my attitude towards the Hindu Sabha are a curious patch —patch of truths and half truths. In one place you condemn or take exception to my Hindu Sabha mentality and point to it with a finger of scorn. You allege that I have said certain things in the letter which are a most characteristic contribution to the electioneering propaganda of the Hindu Sabha. In another place you say that up to the time I left India I was a stout champion of Congress candidates and put up a brave fight for them in the Hindu Sabha. Both these statements are overdone. In the Hindu Sabha I fought for a principle. I stood for Hindu Sabha running no candidates, leaving to different political parties in the country to do so. On the Hindu Sabha platform I made no distinction between one political party and another. As regards the change in my attitude I am not the only person who has found out that it was in an unfortunate moment that we voted for Congress running elections in its own name and by its agency. This opinion is shared by some of the most important members of the Congress. Their list is growing.

Your remark that you 'could not answer for those who believe that they have been guilty of a breach of faith with their constituencies and only make up their minds after eight months not to continue that breach of faith any longer' is only a quibble. The breach of faith is involved in continued absence from Councils and Assembly and the 8 months reference has nothing to do with it. All parties are agreed that the events of the last 4 or 5 months (since the walk-out, though not owing to it) have changed the whole aspect of things in the country and we could not assume the same indifference to work in legislatures now as 'walk-out' in March involved. I thank you for the correction you suggest in my paragraph 6. I would adopt it with a slight alteration. Instead of party lines, I should have said 'such party lines as are laid down by Pandit Motilal' but on the merits of my suggestion I still think that it would be the best to agree that candidatures of some persons should not be opposed to whichever party they may belong.

As for the fling on Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya for his speech on the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill I am sorry you should have thought it fit to indulge in it. I never asked you or your party to follow Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the Assembly. What I asked you was to attend the Assembly to defend the liberties of the press and the people. What is your own opinion about the Bill? Do you differ from Malaviyaji on that point and how is your fling consistent with the conversations you are having with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for an understanding? If you have no place in a 'company' like this, then why have you been trying for a compromise with him? As for myself, I have always felt honoured by associating with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. I do not agree with him in all matters. Sometimes I differ from him radi-

cally, but I consider him to be one of the two greatest personalities in the country. The only regret is that you cannot share that sentiment.

The most important fact that has happened since the 'walk-out' in March last was the Sabarmati Pact. The essence of that pact was that the question of offices be kept open in terms of a pact to be decided in the first instance by members of the party in the legislature concerned and afterwards confirmed by you and Mr. Jayakar. When occasion arose, conditions mentioned by you were to be accepted for the purpose of negotiations, but were not binding in every detail, so far as I was concerned. What mattered to me most was your agreement with the Responsivists. I considered and still consider that an agreement to work together is the most essential and most desirable thing to bring about in the interests of the country at the present moment.

In the end let me assure you what I have always acted on 'faith in me' though at times I have felt that faith in me had led me into the paths which I now consider were unpractical in the circumstances of the country. I have always been frank in my statements and hope to be so in future. I am not ashamed of the changes. I am not a 'die hard' in any sense of the term and I do not put my personal opinion over every one else. Let me appeal to you in the best interest of the country not to allow personal bitterness to enter into our political differences. We are fighting for a sacred cause. We may differ in methods, but our goal is same. However apart we may remain we are one in essence and god willing, we shall join hands in many a fight for the good of the country. Let me in all humility tell you that words are sometimes sharper and more piercing than arms and weapons. Wounds caused by the later are easily healed but not so by the others. Let us not use biting language against each other. Let us fight a clean fight, if fight we must. It is with the greatest regret that I part from you and hope, we shall maintain our personal relations untainted by feelings of bitterness."

Pt. Nehru's Second Letter.

On the 4th September Pt. Nehru sent a reply to the rejoinder of Lala Lajpat Rai which he concluded as his last unwilling contribution to the unbecoming controversy. The following is the text:—

Your letter of 1st September was handed to me yesterday. It is obviously not in the interest of the cause we both have at heart to prolong this correspondence. I should therefore have remained content with merely acknowledging your letter, had it not been for the fact that you have accused me of insinuation and inuendoes, half-truths and misstatements. I should have thought that if I erred at all, it was in extreme directness of statements I made and am not a little surprised at the classical phrases you have used. I hit straight when I do, though not always as hard as I should. The full texts of our letters have been published and it will be easy for the discerning public to pick out the insinuations and inuendoes, half-truths and mis-statements, wherever they are to be found. I shall only deal with the charges you bring against me in your last letter, though they are hardly germane to your resignation, which is the one subject we are at present concerned with. You have read an insinuation in a simple explanation for the delay that took place in my replying to your letter of 24th August delivered to me on 26th. If you carefully read the second paragraph of my letter of the 29th again, you will see that there is no suggestion that you had actually sent a copy of your letter to the press on or before the 26th. All I then said was that I was informed only on the evening of the 28th that you had handed your letter to the press which was the absolute truth. I made no point of the exact time and relied only on the fact of your letter having been given for publication which made it unnecessary to delay my reply any longer. As for your remark that my reference to the comment of the "Pioneer" was only an electioneering tactics", all I need say is that I do not build my hopes on such a slender foundation. Our own weighty utterances of recent date afford sufficient material to support my election campaign and will be thankfully used when necessary. I am not aware of having received any praises for my "level—headed moderate politics" by Anglo-Indian journals during the last 20 years or more. If you will refresh your memory by looking up back numbers of the journals you refer to, you will, I am sure, find that praise, if any, was given for something else. There are many subjects on which I agree with my European and Anglo-Indian friends but I am afraid, politics is not one of them. It will be a happy day for India when they begin to see eye to eye with me on that subject also.

Moderation and Extremism Combined.

You see a combination of moderation and extremism in my speeches in the debates on the establishment of a Supreme Court of Appeal in India and the Contempt of Courts

Bill. It does not strike you that I refused to play to the gallery on those, as I have done on many other occasions. My remarks were based on 40 years' experience of the working of the courts in India and it is only necessary to add that there is not a word in the speeches you refer to that I need withdraw now. Yot have characterised my statement of the circumstances attending your election to the Assembly as a "Distortion of facts". Those facts were stated by me on the authority of Raizada Hans Raj. I have no personal knowledge of them and am open to correction.

But my difficulty is that you have evaded the real issue and do not deny the central facts of my statement, viz, (1) that Raizada Hans Raj resigned at your request to make room for you (2) that there was at some time an understanding betwen you and him as to your attitude in the Assembly: (3) that differences subsequently arose between you and him and in consequence there was a talk of your resigning your seat in the Assembly; (4) that when alterations in the Congress resolution suggested by you were accepted, all differences were removed. It is possible that I misunderatood Raizada Hans Raj in some particular and if you deny these central facts I will readily accept your denial and humbly apologise to you for my mistake. You do not say that there was no understanding at all between you and Raizada Hans Raj but simply deny that there was any understanding about the policy and programme of the Swaraj Party. You then advance the legal argument that even if there was the understanding mentioned by me after the Raizada tendered his resignation, it "did not mean a promise to join the Swaraj Party and then casually say, "As for helping you, you know that I have been doing so all through 1923, 1924 and 1925." The only inference I can draw from this is that the understanding between Raizada Hana Raj and yourself was that you would help me in the Assembly. It is obvious that the only way in which you could have helped me was by helping the policy and programme of the Swaraj Party. It is therefore clear that whatever were the words used the true intent and meaning were what I stated in my letter of the 29th. You will agree that the help which a member of the Assembly undertakes to give to the leader of a party in that Legislative Assembly is in its nature very different to what an outside critic does in supporting the party generally. Besides, during the years 1923 to 1925, your politics did not follow a uniform course and your hostility to the Congress was ever on the increase. As for the legal argument you have advanced I can only express my surprise at your urging it. In legal phraseology, it can only amount to this that the understanding being 'ex post facto', it was bad for want of consideration, but you forgot that though the resignation of Raizada Hans Raj had been tendered, he had set himself up for re-election and that the want of any understanding might possibly have affected his withdrawal from election, which I am informed only took place after an understanding had been arrived at. However that may be, I should have thought that the plighted word of a public man did not need legal consideration to be binding on him. I have been led into these consideration by your legal argument, but as I have said I shall take your denial of the four central fact I have mentioned above as conclusive and throw myself entirely on your mercy. I thank you for the conversations you carried on with the Labour Government to advance my proposals without fully agreeing with me or being a member of my party, but I fail to see what bearing that act of disinterested service has on your resignation, after becoming a full-fledged member of the party.

Mr. Patel Brought in.

You drag in Mr. Vithalbhai Patel into the controversy and indulge in other recriminations which are wholly foreign to the subject of this correspondence and I must decline to enter into them. I cannot, however, pass over your interpretation of my reference to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as a "fling" on him You know very well that all I meant was that there was no place for any Swarajist in the company of politicians of the school of thought to which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya or the elected members who voted for the Criminal Procedure Code (Amendment) bill belonged. There was no personal reflection either on Panditji or others, all of whom are honourable men acting according to their best lights. All the same no Swarajist has any place among them. You are entirely wrong when you say that I do not share with you the sentiments of respect and esteem which you have for Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

It is a course of Indian politics that political opponents allow their personal relations to be affected by their political opinions. I am thankful to say that the curse has not fallen upon me and that I am at this moment in the happy position of counting some of my bitterest political opponents as my best personal friends. As for Malaviyaji, I do not even call him my political opponent, for we are working for the same goal though we have taken different roads to reach it. But while I do not yield to you or to any one else in my

high regard for the character and personality of Malaviya, the fact remains, that I cannot bear his company on the road he has chosen. I hope and trust that during the long years we have known each other, Malaviya has come to understand me better than you have done. I do not know what is your authority for suggesting that I did not differ from Malaviya in the view he took of the Criminal Procedure Code (Amendment) Bill. I have had no consultation with you, Malaviya, or for that matter, any one else on the merits of the Bill. I remember that I once made a casual remark in his presence and perhaps also yours that the Bill sought to extend the powers already possessed by the Executive. If that observation conveyed the impression that power already vested in the Executive or the further extension of it aimed at by the Bill was right and proper, I can only say that it is thoroughly unwarranted. I see no inconsistency in my agreeing to take part in conversations arranged by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and yourself. There would be no need of such conversations if we did not materially differ with each other. The remainder of your letter contains nothing but special pleading in which I do not wish to follow your example. I am content to have the judgment of the country on what I have already placed before it.

The Actual Position.

The actual position in regard to the resignation, as I find it to-day, may be stated in a very few words. You first put your decision to leave the Swaraj Party on the ground of experience gained during the last eight months, when I showed in my reply that nothing had happened in this momentous period of eight months which did not know already or could not reasonably have foreseen you. You shifted your ground and pleaded inexperience of the Assembly presumably to justify your inability to anticipate the necessary consequences of your being there as a member of the party.

You were hardly able to adjust yourself to this position, when if I may make a shrewd guess, the phantom of Bradlaugh Hall rose before your eyes and made it impossible for you to hold it, for had you not delivered a great speech in that hall after you had learnt "the many things" which you did not know before entering the Assembly, and had you not in that speech put in a vigorous defence of the policy and programme of the Swaraj party? You felt that the plea of inexperience was of no help at all and quickly retraced your steps, but found no shelter except in the still-born Sabarmati Pact and tried to infuse life into its dead remains. Finally, you blamed even the faith in you as a guide which had led you into unpractical parts. I leave the matter at that. Before I close let me congratulate you on the opinion you have expressed of yourself in the concluding portion of your letter and thank you for the advice you have so kindly given. But let me remind you of the old saying that "example is better than precept."

This is my last unwilling contribution to the unbecoming controversy started by the publication of your letter of resignation. I am not yet aware that your second letter has been published in the press. If I see it in the papers, later on, I shall send this letter also for publication.

The Independent Congress Party Formed.

The efforts at a compromise with the Swaraj party made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya having failed, an informal meeting of prominent Congressmen from the Punjab, United Provinces, Central Provinces and Bengal and prominent members of the Responsive Co-operation party from Bengal, Maharashtra, Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar was held at the Birla House, Delhi on the 11th and 12th September 1926. Those present on the first day included Pandit Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai (Panjab), Mr. B. Chakravarthi, Mr. D. P. Khaitan, Mr. Ranglal Jajodhia and Mr. S. C. Bhattacharya (Bengal), Mr. Raghavendra Rao, Dr. Moonji, Dr. Cholkar, and Mr. Aney (C. P.), Raja Sir Rampal Singh and Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru (U. P.) and Mr. B. Das (Orissa). Mr. Jayakar, the leader of the Responsive Co-operation party attended the meeting on the second day.

Pandit Motilal Nehru did not attend the Conference, but sent through Messrs. Girdhari Lal and Asaf Ali, replies which he had received from a number of prominent Swarajists in response to his recent message communicating the terms of Pandit Malaviya for the United Congress party. The replies received were all confidential, but it appeared that Pandit Motilal's party wanted both Responsivists and Independent Congressmen to sign the Congress pledge and thereby enable the forthcoming elections to be run by one united party leaving the question of policy and programme to be adopted in the legislatures for decision by the Assam Congress in December. This reply from Pandit Motilal was considered by the conference as forming no basis for an expected fusion of all parties. The conference, therefore, proceeded to discuss the coalition between Responsivists and Independent Congressmen.

After a prolonged deliberation it was decided to form a central board consisting of the members of both parties which would shortly define a common policy and undertake to run candidates for the elections to the Assembly and provincial legislatures. Lists of candidates proposed for Bengal, United Provinces and one or two other provinces were then examined and some alterations made. Final discussion as regards both policy and selection of candidates was held on the next day, the 12th September when after seven hours' discussion, at which Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Joseph Baptista were present, it was resolved to form an Independent Congress Party as a separate organisation within the Congress. The Responsive Co-operation Party was to fully co-operate with it at the forthcoming elections to legislatures, though continuing to function independently wherever it existed, namely in the Central Provinces, Bombay and Bengal. The following resolutions were adopted :—

RESOLUTIONS.

" Whereas the opinion of the country in matters political has undergone a considerable change since the Indian National Congress held its session at Cawnpore, and whereas the general trend of opinion seems to be opposed to the policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction in the legislatures, and whereas the said policy of wholesale obstruction has failed to bring about the expected result and has led the Swarajya Party into futile and harmful paths, and whereas the policy of walk-out has been a complete failure, and whereas the present executive of the Indian National Congress is not prepared to call a special session of the Congress to obtain the mandate of the country on the questions now agitating the public mind, and whereas all efforts made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to arrive at harmony and unity between the two wings of the Congress have failed, and whereas, under the circumstances, the only course left open to such members of the Congress as do not agree with the Swarajist policy and programme is to form themselves into a separate party within the Congress with a view to (a) obtain the mandate of the country at the forthcoming elections to the legislatures, and (b) to obtain the mandate of the Congress at its next session at Gauhati.

" It is hereby resolved that a party to be called the Independent Congress Party be formed of those members of the Congress who do not agree with the policy and programme laid down by the Congress from time to time in respect of work within the legislatures ; (2) that the policy of the party

will be to work the legislatures, defective though their constitution is, for all they are worth and using them for accelerating the establishment of full responsible Government and for protecting and promoting in the meanwhile the interest of the people and strengthening their power of resistance to injustice and misrule; (3) it will be open to this party to accept offices provided the power, responsibility and initiative necessary for the effective discharge of their duties are secured to the Ministers, sufficiency of such power, responsibility and initiative being decided by a majority of the members of the party within the legislature concerned; (4) this party will work in full concert and co-operation with the Responsive Co-operation Party leaving, however, that party further to function independently wherever it exists; and (5) in all cases of council discord it will be the duty of the members of this party to bring about reasonable agreement between the contending sections; but, in cases, where such an agreement is not approved every member of the party will be free to vote in the legislature in any manner he may think right and proper".

Prominent members of the Responsive Co-operation Party who were present at the discussion expressed their willingness to fully co-operate with this party and in token thereof will join as members of that party after a resolution to that effect is passed by the Executive Committee of their party.

The Cause of the Breakdown.

Pandit Motilal Nehru, before leaving Delhi on his election campaign sent the following to the Associated Press. With reference to the negotiations between Pandit Malaviya and himself which, however, had broken down, the Pandit said :—

"There were informal conversations at Simla, between Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai on the one side and Mrs. Naidu and myself on the other, to explore the possibility of an understanding to run the elections on a joint ticket. No such understanding could be arrived at, but as I was leaving Simla on the 4th September to start the election campaign at Meerut, certain suggestions were made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya which I agreed to communicate to some of the prominent members of my party to ascertain their wishes. It was understood that the election activities on either side were not to be affected. Accordingly, I wired to various provinces and opened my election campaign at Meerut on the 4th September under the mandate of the Cawnpore Congress without any reference to the suggestion of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on the action I had taken. By the time I arrived in Delhi on the 9th, replies to my telegrams had been received. These were shown to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on his arrival on the 11th. He was informed that having regard to the nature of the replies and my opinion about his suggestions, no useful purpose could be served by continuing the conversations. I have received several enquiries on the subject and have come to know that there has been slackening of election work on the part of the Congressmen on account of these conversations. I am sorry that this has been so and take this opportunity to request all Congressmen to apply themselves to the work before them with their usual energy and assiduity. No compromise has been arrived at or is likely in the near future".

The Party's Manifesto.

The following is the manifesto of the Independent Congress Party issued from Allahabad on the 28th September 1926 :—

" Whereas the opinion of the country in matters political has undergone a considerable change since the Indian National Congress held its session at Cawnpore, and whereas the general trend of public opinion seems to be opposed to the policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction in the legislatures, and whereas the said policy of indiscriminate obstruction to the extent it was followed has failed to bring about the desired result and has led the Swaraj Party into futile and harmful paths, and whereas the policy of the walk-out has been a complete failure, and whereas the present executive of the Indian National Congress is not prepared to call a special session of the Congress to obtain the mandate of the country on the question now agitating the public mind, and whereas all efforts to bring about harmony and unity between the two wings of the Congress have failed and whereas under the circumstances, the only course left open to such members of the Congress as do not agree with the Swarajists' policy and programme is to form themselves into a separate party within the Congress with a view (a) to obtain the mandate of the country at the forthcoming elections to the legislatures and (b) of the Congress at its next session at Gauhati as regards the policy which should be pursued by the representatives of the people in the legislature, it is hereby resolved (1) that a party to be called the Independent Congress Party be formed of those members of the Congress who do not agree with the policy and programme laid down by the Congress at Cawnpore in respect of work within the legislature ; (2) that the policy of the Party will be to work the legislatures, defective though their constitution is for all they are worth and to use them for accelerating the establishment of Swaraj or full responsible government and for protecting and promoting, in the meanwhile, the interests of the people and strengthening their power of resistance to injustice and misrule ; (3) that it will be open to this Party to accept office provided the power, responsibility and initiative necessary for the effective discharge of their duties are secured to the Ministers, the efficiency of such power, responsibility and initiative being decided by a majority of the members of the Party within the legislature concerned, subject to such general conditions as the All-India Executive of the Party may lay down ; (4) that this Party will work in concert with the Responsive Co-operation Party leaving, however, that Party free to function separately wherever it exists ; (5) that in all questions of a communal character, it will be the duty of the members of this Party to promote a reasonable agreement between the contending sections. Where such an agreement is not arrived at, such member of the Party will be free to act in the legislatures as he may consider best in the interest of the community to which he belongs ".

The Nehru—Malaviya Negotiations.

In view of the breakdown of the negotiations between Pandit Malaviya and Pandit Motilal Nehru, resulting in the formation of an Independent Congress Party, it will be interesting to know the details of the terms proposed by Pandit Malaviya for acceptance by the Swarajists. The terms run as follows :—

Terms of Pt. Malaviya's Offer.

"(1) In provincial legislatures, no member of the Congress Party will accept any office under the Government unless the Government release or bring to trial those who are detained in prisons under the Bengal Ordinance and unless the other conditions for the acceptance of offices are considered satisfactory by a majority of the elected members of the party in the legislature concerned and approved by a Central Committee of the party of not more than 9 members.

"(2) The policy to be pursued by the Congress Party in the Council will be one of utilising the Councils for securing an early establishment of responsible government in India and for protecting and promoting in the meanwhile, the interests of people so far as this can be done under the present defective constitution, i. e., a policy of discriminating obstruction.

"(3) In the Central Legislature, the policy to be followed will be the same as that laid down in para 2 with this addition that until the national demand is granted to emphasise the Congress Party's continuing protest against the existing constitution and its insistence on the national demand, the party will throw out every year the item of the budget relating to the Executive Council of the Government of India. Here Pandit Malaviya adds: 'I think it may be possible further to agree to throw out the Finance Bill as a protest against the existing high expenditure of the Government until that expenditure is brought down to what the party considers reasonable. When this can be done without injury to the interests of the people of the country at least, I will try to bring about an agreement if it can unite the two parties'.

"(4) When an agreement is not arrived at on any communal question every member of the party will be free to vote as he may think right and proper.

"(5) Candidates will be put up as Congress candidates.

"(6) A joint committee to revise the names of candidates for election to the Legislative Assembly and the Councils, the committee to consist of Pandit Motilal, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mr. T. Prakasam, Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Jayakar, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. B. Chakravarthi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu".

Pandit Motilal's Statement.

Apropos Pandit Malaviya's statement, Pandit Motilal Nehru issued the following statement to the Associated Press on the 15th September:—

"I am surprised to see that the details of the terms proposed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for acceptance by the Swarajists have been published inspite of an understanding that the conversations held at Simla were to be treated as strictly confidential. The various press messages which preceded the publication of these terms created the impression that there was to be a further meeting between the Responsivists and the Swarajists in Delhi and that it was wrong on my part to leave Delhi on the very day of the meeting without attending it. As these messages, taken with the publication of a part only of the conversations, are calculated to prejudice the public mind against the Swarajists, I am no longer bound by the understanding referred to above and must put all the facts before the public.

At the very first meeting at the Hotel Cecil in Simla, I made it quite clear to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai that I regarded

two points as essential; (1) that there was no question of accepting offices without some advance being made by the Government and (2) that the conditions upon which it would be possible to accept offices should be clearly specified in writing and not left to any committee. I also insisted that such conditions should be widely published. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai thought they could not accept these essentials without a reference to Messrs. Jayakar, Kelkar and others which they promised to make by telegraph or telephone without delay. Meanwhile, it was agreed to discuss the conditions which should be fulfilled before acceptance of offices. I was ready with these conditions and at once handed copies of a typed draft to those preset. This draft ran as follows. The essential conditions are :—

I.—GENERAL.

(1) The general principles and policy laid down in resolution 7-B. passed by the Cawnpore Congress shall be adhered to.

(2) Substantial compliance with the national demand contained in the resolutions passed by the Assembly on the 18th February, 1924 and 8th September, 1925 shall be insisted on.

II.—PROVINCIAL COUNCILS.

(3) No office under the Crown shall be accepted by any member of the Party unless and until the Government agrees to take the following or other steps having substantially the same or similar effect. (a) The release or trial according to law of all political prisoners who are at present detained without being tried and convicted in due course of law; (b) the repeal of all repressive laws; (c) the removal of all disqualifications now imposed on persons who have served the sentences passed on their conviction of any offences for standing for election to elected bodies in the country; (d) the abolition of non-official nominations to membership to the Councils and throwing open the seats of nominated non-official members to election: (e) giving ministers full control over the Transferred departments subject only to the Governor's constitutional right of veto and making the ministers fully responsible to the legislature in the administration of their respective departments; and (f) fixing a minimum proportion of the revenue of the province for the development of nation-building departments under the charge of ministers without imposing additional burden on the people.

(4) Until the Government agrees to take the steps mentioned, the Party in every provincial legislature shall be bound to resort to a policy of refusal of supplies in the manner and to the extent that may be decided upon at a party meeting.

III.—THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE.

(5) The Party in the Assembly shall, until there is a sufficient response to the national demand as contained in the resolutions of the Assembly referred to above, (a) resort to a policy of refusal of supplies and put it into operation in the manner and to the extent that may be decided upon by a meeting of the Party; (b) throw out all legislative measures which tend to curtail the rights of the people; (c) move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth o national life and the advancement of the economical, agricultural, industrial

and commercial interests of the country ; and (d) generally protect the rights of labour, agricultural and industrial, and adjust the relations between landlords and tenants and capitalists and workers.

IV.—SUPPLEMENTARY.

(6) The Party shall adhere to the Lucknow Pact until there is a general agreement between Hindus and Mussalmans to abandon or modify it.

(7) No Bill, motion or amendment relating to any communal matter shall be moved by any member of the Party in any legislature, if a majority of three-fourths of the Hindu or the Muslim members of the Party in the said legislature are opposed to the introduction of such bill, motion, or amendment.

(8) If any such bill, motion or amendment of a communal character is moved by a member of the legislature not belonging to the Party, all members of the Party, shall have full freedom of speech and vote.

(9) Constituting a Committee to determine what is and what is not communal.

At an early stage it was agreed to delete the first paragraph which had reference to Civil Disobedience as it did not properly come within the Council programme. The remaining conditions were discussed at two or three subsequent meetings, but no agreement was arrived at and eventually the conversations were dropped as Messrs. Jayakar, Kelkar and others did not agree to the publication of all the conditions. When at Mahasu, taking a few days rest, I was asked by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu on the telephone to spare time for a final talk with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on the afternoon of the 4th September, just before leaving Simla, I agreed and met Malaviyaji in the Assembly building at 2 p.m. He then dictated the terms now published to a friend. I told Malaviyaji that he knew my opinion, that the conditions for acceptance of office must be clearly laid down and I pointed out to him the impossibility of a general revision of the lists of candidates at that stage. Thereupon, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu suggested that I might consult some of the leading Congressmen on Pandit Malaviya's suggestions to which I agreed. Accordingly, I sent the following telegram to a number of friends in the United Provinces, Bengal, Central Provinces, Bombay, Maharashtra and Madras and promised to let Malaviyaji know their replies :—

Text of Pandit Nehru's Telegram.

"Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya offers the following terms of compromise :—

"Provincial Legislature—Firstly no acceptance of office unless Bengal detenues released or tried and such other conditions fulfilled at a Joint Committee of nine consisting of four Swarajists, four Responsivists and the Congress President may determine. Secondly, adoption of a policy of discriminate obstruction. Thirdly, the same Joint Committee to revise the list of candidates already nominated. Fourthly, liberty to vote on communal questions unless members of both communities agree. Fifthly, all candidates to be put up as Congress candidates.

"The Central Legislature :—The policy of discriminate obstruction and throwing out the budget demand relating to the Executive Council as a

protest against no response to the national demand. Pandit Malaviya also considers agreement possible to throw out the Finance Bill where the interests of the country do not suffer. Please wire your independent opinion to Hotel Metropole, Agra by 8th at the latest. I reserve my opinion till your reply. Please consider the bearing of these negotiations on our relations with Mussalmans and the advisability of entertaining these proposals, at this stage without prejudice to our election campaign."

All replies were received by me before the 10th and I sent them to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for his perusal asking him to treat them as confidential. On reading them, Pandit Malaviya said that it was no use carrying on the conversations any longer, but desired to have my own opinion on his suggestion. This I conveyed to him by my letter of the 11th September which has since been published in the press. I was never asked to attend any meeting or take part in any consultations with the Responsivists and the Independents. My programme, giving the time and date of my departure from Delhi as the morning of the 12th had been published a week before and I left Delhi accordingly without receiving any suggestion from any quarter to postpone my departure.

These facts should be read with the terms now published by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. It will be clear that I was anxious all along not to repeat the history of the Sabarmati Pact and insisted on the conditions for acceptance of office not only to be clearly stated, but also widely published. This was not acceptable to Pandit Malaviya and his friends and the negotiations came to an end. When Pandit Malaviya made his suggestions on the 4th which are now published, I gave my reply to him then and there and the reference to my friends was made at the suggestion of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to find out their views. I undertook to show the replies to Malaviyaji as a matter of courtesy and I fulfilled my undertaking. The Responsivists are at liberty to make such election capital as they like by publishing a part only of the negotiations. It will, however, be clear to the public that after the unfortunate differences which arose on the true interpretations of the Sabarmati Pact the position I took in regard to the publication of the conditions of taking office was the only reasonable one. As regards the revision of lists by a committee, the Congress had at the time approved the nominations of about 400 candidates for the Assembly and the various Councils and the candidates so approved had begun their election campaign. In some Provinces, the last date for filing the nominations was the 15th September. It will thus be seen that the general revision of the lists suggested by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was wholly impracticable. In case the other terms were agreed to, I was willing to find places for selected men from the Pandit's Party in the Assembly and also in the various Councils. All those I consulted were unanimously opposed to any general revision of the lists. My proposal was, therefore, the only reasonable course to be followed in the circumstances".

Pandit Malaviya's Statement.

In a statement to the press on the 17th September Pandit Malaviya denied the responsibility for publication of the terms of compromise between the Swarajists and Responsivists and said tha he never gave a copy of the terms to any press representative, nor did he authorise anyone to publish

them. He admitted that the conversations carried on between Pandit Nehru and himself were certainly confidential and they should not have been published as he was all along of opinion that to publish the terms upon which the United Congress Party should be willing to accept the offer would be untimely and impolitic; but he maintained there was no justification for the insinuation made by Pandit Motilal that the Responsivists desired to make election capital by publishing only part of the negotiations.

Proceeding, Pandit Malaviya said that at the end of the first stage of the conversations at Simla, they came to the conclusion that there was no hope of a compromise. He agreed that the final talk on the subject with Pandit Nehru on the 4th September and the last effort at unity proposed the terms which had been published. In conclusion, Pandit Malaviya said that, in his opinion, if there was a will to compromise, it would not have been difficult to find a way for it.

The Punjab Leaders' Manifesto.

The following manifesto was issued in the beginning of November 1926 under the signatures of many members of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee and other Congress workers in the Punjab :—

"Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai are two amongst the most prominent personalities in our country. Their association with the cause of the Congress is a life-long one. By their continued efforts to propagate its aims and ideals, they have both earned for themselves a unique position in the hearts of the people. The signatories of this manifesto in common with the public have on various occasions expressed deep appreciation of their services in the fight for the freedom of the country. We take this opportunity to reiterate our respect and regard for both Malaviyaji and Lalaji.

"But it is with feelings of pain, we find that for sometime past the activities of both these respected leaders have been such as to retard the progress of the struggle for the liberty of the motherland. The result of their energies lately has been the spread of a spirit of hostility between the different sections of the people. Instead of the high aim of one nation, they have become votaries of the cause of communalism. It is with sorrow that we have to refer to these matters. But we do so in the hope that before long our revered leaders may realise the error of their ways and begin to carry on the battle of Swaraj under the banner of the Indian National Congress alone.

"The latest present to the country by Pandit Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai is the formation of the Independent Congress Party, We are constrained to say that the new party is undesirable not only in the manner of its creation but its objects are also against the interests of the country. It has been started at a time when it was the duty of every Congressman to carry on faithfully the mandate of the Cawnpore Congress and to offer a united front to the Government. Lala Lajpat Rai himself supported the resolution in the Congress in Cawnpore, and subsequently participated in the walk-out decided upon in Delhi by the All-India Congress Committee. It was expected that he would continue to follow the policy in the adoption of which he had a prominent hand. But he has preferred to act differently. No arguments have been advanced as to why the changed course is taken up now. No

incidents have happened in the country which support his contentions. The Government has shown no signs at all of responding to the wishes and demands of the Congress and the Assembly. On the contrary in every possible way the Government is taking advantage of the differences in our camps. The campaign of communalism carried on by both the great leaders and their followers has not only caused bitterness between the two great sections of the people but has also resulted in numerous bloody feuds and fight. The life of no man is safe. The spirit of uneasiness and anxiety has affected the trade of the country considerably. Where unity and goodwill prevailed some years back there is discord and bad-blood. We are emphatically of opinion that besides other causes the main responsibility of the present state of affairs lies on the shoulders of these two leaders. It may be construed from this that the prominent men amongst the Mahomedans are free from blame in these matters. We condemn equally strongly the activities of Dr. Kitchlew and Ali Brothers, Sir Abdur Rahim and others who have fanned the fire of communalism in this unfortunate country. The cry of Hindus versus Mahomedans is most reprehensible. We consider such a propaganda very dangerous and poisonous. The sooner this evil is rooted out from amongst us the better it would be. But it will never be done along the road pursued by Lalaji and Malaviaji.

"Who does not know that for years Malaviaji has not agreed with the plans and policy of the Congress? He is temperamentally differently constituted. He has honestly followed his own ideas and views of slow and constitutional methods. But it is a surprise to us to see Lala Lajpat Rai, the avowed apostle of extremism go hand in hand with Malaviaji. Why is this done? How long will the combination last? These are questions which the public is asking. Up till his leaving from Geneva Lalaji was of opinion that the Congress is the only supreme body that should run the elections. After his return to India we find a sudden change in his views. He is not sure yet if Hindu Sabha alone should run elections. It may be perhaps that to so declare would mean a too pointed and awkward position for him to take up and totally inconsistent with his oft-repeated decisions to the contrary. The general impression is that as usual with Lalaji he brooks no opposition He wishes to have the sole control of the elections somehow. The result is the strange combination of Lalaji with Malaviaji and Raja Narendra Nath which is neither milk nor water. The wisdom of a known reactionary, coupled with the sagacity of a deep and law abiding constitutionalist, combined with the waning ardour of the comrade of Tilak who abhorred all such compromises, will decide the fate of the people in our ill-fated province. The "Bandematram" was loud in criticising a recent action of the Provincial Congress Committee for the association of a gentleman in the address to Sir Michael O'Dwyer. What an irony of fate that Lalaji who is the power behind the "Bandematram" now openly declares it fit that the fortunes of the candidates for the coming elections should be decided by one who was amongst the originators, if we are not mistaken, of the famous address to the fountain head of the cruelties of Martial Law days in the Punjab. Necessity knows no law. Nemesis has no mercy. We have to examine this "Trinity" critically. Raja Sahib is too good-natured and is never taken seriously. Malaviaji not likely to be in the Punjab, having to fight his battles in his own province. The only guiding hand left therefore is Lalaji, and this is exactly what the "Lion" aimed at and has achieved so wonderfully. All

this is done in the name of democracy. Such a propaganda besides weakening the national cause strengthens the hands and power of the Government in various days.

"Let every well-wisher of the country consider these matters carefully and see for himself whether the lead given under such combinations of heterogenous matters can ever be fruitful for the country. Lalaji was offered a seat in the Election board by the P.B.C.C., in which he disdained to work. Why? Because therein no single man can do what he likes. He was offered to have the whole machinery of the Congress under his charge which he refused if his terms of either summary dismissal or lowering of the positions of some of the most prominent workers of the Congress were not agreed to. Now the attempt is being made indirectly to get what was directly offered to him. For the ways and means to gain his object Lalaji has to resort to the procedure followed by the Government in crushing one of the finest set of sacrificing workers, the Akalis. Even the name has been borrowed. The Government put up men to start the "Gurdwara Sudhar" Committee. Lalaji finds people to create the Congress "Sudhar Committee." We hope the upshot of the latter will not be that of the first as it would be such a keen disappointment to the founders of the "Sudhar Committee." We deprecate strongly the methods adopted by this latest "Sudhar Sabha."

"Capital is made of the dignity of the Congress having been reduced. Every institution is the result of the energies and work of its component parts. If the very limbs of the body begin to decay, naturally there will be lowering of activity. But does it lie in the mouth of those who themselves begin to work against the ideals of the parent body and decry it in season and out of season though outwardly keeping up their past attitude, to now turn round and complain about the state of affairs which is of their own creation? The whole responsibility is theirs alone. All credit to the few humble workers who inspite of great odds against them still kept aloft high the flag of the National Congress.

"Why are the founders of the Independent Congress Party afraid to stand on their own legs? The attitude of the responsivist friends in not joining the new party is honourable and clearly understood. They are fighting on the merits of their cause. Unlike the new party they do not need the cloak of the word "Congress" to get support to their views from the public. The new party being a shadow only needs the sun of the "Congress" word to lighten its dark and fleeting constitution. What difference is there now between the ways and means of this latest still-born child of the Congress and those of our moderate friends, whom one of the founders of the former wrongly characterised as "traitors" to the country. The composition of the new party is also peculiar. Such persons are flocking to its banner who never had the courage to stand by the nationalists in their hours of trial when they were unselfishly braving all the hardships and rigors of the non-co-operation campaign. Let the people beware of such rigmarole permutations and combinations.

"Great stress is laid on the point of ability and reliability of the candidates to be proposed and to be supported. We can't imagine if there was ever any time when we did not need the best men in Councils when we meant business. What is the significance of this new slogan is beyond our comprehension. In our views it is another hoax perpetrated on the public. Perhaps only such persons who are acceptable to Lalaji are "able and reliable'

and not the rest. It is an open secret that Lalaji and his group have decided to oppose some of the most reliable, tried and able workers of the Congress in the name of the above cry of "reliability and ability." We shall leave it to the people to judge for themselves whether the candidates put up by the Congress or the new party bear this test.

"In the end we would earnestly request the public not to be led away by big names and new cries. The Congress, the creation of the best minds of the country, sustained with the blood and sacrifices of the martyrs for years, is the only and supreme body—capable of giving a real fight to the Government. Swaraj Party is admittedly the only strong, compact body which had led successfully in the past the battles of the nation. Friends, gather together under the banner of the Congress and thus prove to the world that true ideals is what you are after and not great personalities. As long as the spirit is untarnished—enthusiasm, courage and sacrifices are our watchwords- we need never despair even if we have to carry on the burden of the fight on young shoulders. Young men of the country are the backbone of the nation".

The Akali Leaders' Case.

The long drawn out Akali leaders' case, which had been dragging on before the court of a special magistrate, first at Amritsar and later inside the Fort at Lahore for three years, at last came to an end, the Punjab Government having decided to withdraw the prosecutions against the remaining undertrial prisoners, now that the Central Gurdwara Board, for which the Sikh Gurdwara Act provided, has been duly constituted.

The following announcement was made by the counsel for the Crown in the Akali leaders' case before the special magistrate on the 27th Sept. 1926 :—

I am instructed by the Government, with your permission, to withdraw from the prosecution and I have been directed by the Government to make the following statement regarding the reasons for withdrawal. When the Sikh Gurdwara Act was passed the Punjab Government announced that as soon as the Central Board for which the Act provided had been duly constituted by the election of representatives, the notifications directed against the Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akali Dal, under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, would be withdrawn. The Board has now been constituted and the notifications have been withdrawn. The prosecution in the present case, which has been under trial before a special magistrate for sometime past, have largely been connected with certain aspects of the activities of these associations which the Government has held to be unlawful, and now that a constitutional body has been duly instituted under the statute to deal with the management of gurdwara property, the Local Government have decided to withdraw from the prosecution of the accused still remaining before the court."

This marks the end of a long chapter of the struggle between the Akalis, the Mahants and the Government for the reform of the Sikh Gurdwaras.

It is interesting to recall that 59 Akali leaders were arrested in September 1923 at Amritsar and that, after preliminary trials, 21 were acquitted and the remaining 38 charged witht various offences under the Penal Code. They stood their trial for more than two years before the court of special magistrate. Some months ago 23 leaders, including Sirdar Bahadar Mehtab Singh, were released on their giving a verbal undertaking that they would not take direct action in future in the matter of Gurdwara. This action

of the leaders was strongly criticised by the Extremist Sikh Press, as well as by a section of non-Sikh Press, and a controversy raged over this subject till very recently, when Sardar Bahadar Mehtab Singh's party were defeated during the elections to the Central Gurdwara Board, and the Akali Dal came into power with the election of Sardar Mangal Singh as President of the Board. Of the remaining 15 Akali leaders, who refused to recognise any sort of undertaking, written or verbal, Sardar Teja Singh Samandri died in jail, and the remaining 14 leaders continued to be prosecuted although several appeals were made in the meanwhile to the Government by Sikh members in the Punjab Council. The Punjab Government had given a hint sometime back that, as soon as the Central Gurdwara Board, which was a constitutional body under the Gurdwara Act had been duly constituted, the notifications which declared the S. G. P. C. and the Akali Dal to be unlawful associations would be withdrawn. This was done only a little over a week ago, and prominent Akali leaders outside were expecting the release of the remaining under-trial leaders.

The news of the withdrawal of the prosecution of the Akalis, was therefor hailed with great joy. They said that their struggle with the Government, unfortunate as it was, had happily ended from this date so far as the management of Gurdwara property was concerned. Many offered their sincere congratulations to the Governor for his statesmanlike and just action. Among the 41 leaders who were released on this day was Sardar Kharak Singh, whom the Akalis regarded as their jathedar, or foremost leader.

Result of General Election.

In the general election that followed the dissolution of the 2nd Reformed Councils in December 1926 the Swaraj party scored a signal succes in Madras as there they fought against class domination. Their success in Bengal was due to the repressive policy of the Government. Not much importance could be attached to the Congress success in Bihar and Orissa as most of the men who were returned were frank Responsivists though they had been elected on the Congress ticket. The co-operation of the No-Changers contributed considerably to the success of the Congress candidates. In fact, it will hardly be fair to call the Bihar Congressmen Swarajists except in the technical term. In the C. P., U. P., and the Punjab the Swarajists were almost routed. In U. P., they lost all the Hindu seats for the Assembly except that of Pandit Motilal Nehru whose election was not contested. In the Punjab no Hindu or Muslim Swarajists succeeded for the Assembly. The Sikh Swarajists were not Swarajists at all, because they had signed the Sikh League Pledge before they signed the Congress Pledge. They were primarily bound by the former. In the C. P. the Swarajists secured only one seat, in Bombay and Sind they had only two. Coming to the Provincial Council, they had only two members in the Punjab both of whom were elected by a narrow majority. The President and the Secretary of the Punjab Congress Committee were defeated by overwhelming majorities. One of them forfeited his security. In U. P. their number went down from 31 to 19 and in C. P. from forty four to fifteen, while in Bombay they were reduced to eleven.

The Tide of Communalism.

The Hindu-Moslem Riots.

Since the Kohat Riots of September 1924 the growing Hindu-Muslim tension took a very serious turn in July 1925 when a trouble arose between the two communities out of the celebration by the Muslims of a festival usually known as the Bakr Id which fell this year on the 2nd July.

The principal places affected were Delhi, Calcutta and Allahabad. In Delhi, the Muslims had for long been accustomed to lead the sacrificial animals along a particular route called the Pahari Dhiraj route. In 1924, owing to the dangerous state of communal relations, this route was closed by the authorities and no animals were taken along it. It was recognised, however, that such a restriction was felt by Mohammedans to be irksome, and, therefore, the local authorities announced that the route would be open on the occasion of the Bakr Id festival this year. Negotiations were undertaken by certain Hindus and Muslims of Delhi with the object of coming to an amicable agreement. However, owing partly to the attitude of certain fire-eaters on both sides, the negotiations broke down and the authorities had even to arrest a number of leading agitators of the two communities. The tension by the beginning of July had become very acute, and there was an appreciable exodus of Hindus to neighbouring places and until after the festival. On the actual day, elaborate police and military arrangements were made. Police pickets, both mounted and foot, were posted at appropriate points and armed policemen were stationed on housetops commanding the route. A squadron of cavalry patrolled the city and there was a small detachment of British Infantry in the danger zone. Owing to these precautions the day passed quietly in Delhi.

Calcutta, however, was less fortunate, for there a riot occurred between Hindus and Muslims near Garden Reach. It was alleged by the local Hindus that a cow was slaughtered in front of a Hindu house, whereupon large numbers of men of both communities assembled with sticks and stones. About three hundred Mohammedans and six hundred Hindus are said to have been concerned in the affray. Thirty-eight Muslims were admitted into hospital, of whom one died immediately after admission, while others remained in a precarious condition. Another riot took place during the Bakr Id celebrations at Humnabad in the dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad, about 40 miles away from Gulbarga, where a very severe communal riot had taken place the year before. At Allahabad the authorities took special precautions against communal disturbances. Shortly before the celebrations, British and Indian troops marched through the city and the police strictly enforced an order issued by the District Magistrate regulating the size of sticks which might be carried during the festival. Later in the month there were Hindu-Muslim riots in Rangoon and at a small place called Patdi near Ahmedadad, where it was alleged that a Hindu boy had been taken away by certain Mohammedans for sacrifice. The better known Mohammedan celebration of Muharram fell at the end of July necessitating once more extraordinary precautions by the authorities in various places. Happily, no serious disturbances were reported during

the ceremony. In Lahore, the capital city of the Punjab, an unpleasant situation seemed to be developing during the greater part of July between the Hindus and Muslims owing to rumours which were current there that Hindu boys were being systematically kidnapped by Pathans. However, wise and timely action on the part of the District Magistrate and Senior Superintendent of Police, who conducted immediate enquiries into all reports of kidnapping and took the leaders of the Hindu community into their confidence by showing them the results of their enquiries and associating them in these enquiries, revealed the utter lack of foundation for these reports, and the anxiety of Hindus died down.

On August 1st 1925, in the famous town of Panipat, not far from Delhi, what would undoubtedly have been a very bloody communal riot was averted by the plucky action of certain magistrates and police officials of the Karnal district in which Panipat is situated. A Muharram procession was proceeding through the main bazar of the town when it was met by a large mob of Hindu Jats estimated to number not less than one thousand, who had armed themselves with staves, scythes, pitchforks and other weapons. Some of the Jats are said to have climbed on to houses in the Bazar, taking stones with them. The Muharram procession was speedily reinforced by large crowds of Muslims armed with sticks. The local Magistrate and Deputy Superintendent of Police, with 15 or 20 constables, had forced themselves in between the rival mobs. At this point the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police arrived from Karnal. The Superintendent took charge of the small body of police and at once charged and dispersed the Jats.

Very significant features of the Hindu-Muslim rioting, which took place subsequently are its wide distribution and its occurrence, in some cases, in small villages. Calcutta, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and the Bombay Presidency were all scenes of riots, some of which led to regrettable losses of life. Certain minor and local Hindu festivals, which occurred at the end of August, gave rise to communal trouble in Calcutta, in Berar, in Gujarat in the Bombay Presidency, and in the United Provinces. In some of these places there were actual clashes between the two communities, but elsewhere, notably at Kankinarah—one of the most thickly populated jute mill centres of Calcutta—serious rioting was prevented by the activity of the police. In Gujarat, Hindu-Muslim feeling was running high in these days and was marked by at least one case of temple desecration. The Important Hindu festival of Ramlila, at the end of September, gave rise to acute anxiety in many places, and at Aligarh, an important place in the United Provinces, its celebration was maked by one of the worst riots of the year. The riot assumed such dangerous proportions that the police were compelled to fire to restore order, and five persons were killed, either by the police or by rioters. At Lucknow the same festival gave rise at one time to a threatening situation, but the local authorities prevented actual rioting. October saw another serious riot at Sholapur in the Bombay Presidency. There, local Hindus were taking a car with Hindu idols through the city, and when they came near the mosque, a dispute arose between them and certain Muslims, which developed into a riot.

In the beginning of April 1926 a fierce and deplorable rioting took place in Calcutta. It started in an affray outside a mosque between Muslims and some Arya Samajists and continued to spread until April 5th, though there was only one occasion on which the police or military were faced by a crowd

which showed determined resistance, namely, on the evening of the 5th April, when fire had to be opened. The firing was strictly controlled and did not exceed the barest requirements of the situation. It was significant that the bulk of the press had no complaint against the firing, some newspapers even declaring that a severer handling of the situation by the police had been called for. Apart from this incident, the rioting was confined to sporadic street fighting and isolated attacks. There was also a great deal of incendiarism and in the first three days the Fire Brigade had to deal with 110 fires. An unprecedented feature of the riots were the attacks on temples by Muslims and on Mosques by Hindus, which naturally led to intense bitterness. There were 44 deaths and 584 persons were injured. There was a certain amount of looting and business was suspended, with great economic loss to Calcutta. Shops began to re-open soon after the 5th, but the period of tension was prolonged by the approach of a Hindu festival on the 13th of April, and of the Id on the 14th. The Sikhs were to have taken out a procession on the 13th, but Government were unable to give them the necessary license. The apprehensions with regard to the 13th and 14th of April, fortunately, did not materialise and outward peace prevailed until the 22nd April when it was abruptly broken as a result of a petty quarrel in a street which restarted the rioting. Fighting between mobs of the two communities, generally on a small scale, accompanied by isolated assaults and murders continued for six days. During this period there were no attacks on temples or mosques and there was little arson or looting. But there were more numerous occasions on which the hostile mobs did not immediately disperse on the appearance of the police and on 12 occasions it was necessary to open fire. The total number of casualties during this second phase of the rioting was 66 deaths and 391 injured. The dislocation of business was much more serious than during the first riots and the closing of Marwari business houses was not without an effect on European business firms. Panic caused many of the markets to be wholly or partially closed and for two days the meat supply was practically stopped. So great was the panic that the removal of refuse in the disturbed area was stopped. Arrangements were, however, made to protect supplies, and the difficulty with the municipal scavengers was overcome as soon as the municipality had applied to the police for protection. There was a slight extension of the area of rioting, but no disturbances occurred in the mill area around Calcutta. Systematic raiding of the portions of the disturbed area, the arrest of hooligans, the seizure of weapons and the reinforcement of the police by the deputation of British soldiers to act as special police officers had the desired effect, and the last three days of April, in spite of the continuance of isolated assaults and murders, witnessed a steady improvement in the situation. Isolated murders were largely attributable to hooligans of both communities and their persistence during the first as well as the second outbreak induced a general belief that these hooligans were hired assassins. Another equally persistent feature of the riots, namely the distribution of inflammatory printed leaflets by both sides, together with the employment of hired roughs, encouraged the belief that money had been spent to keep the fight going. The Calcutta riots, have, unfortunately, greatly aggravated the communal tension. This new intensification of communal antagonism has found full expression in subsequent meetings of the Khilafat Committee and the All-India Mahasabha. The Khilafat Conference on the 9th May, decided to change its

creed. In future, while keeping in view the aim of ridding the Holy Places and Jazirat-ul-Arab of non-Muslim control, it will promote the welfare of the Muslims of India in matters religious, educational, social, economic, and political. A resolution was also passed at the Conference calling upon Khilafat organisations to safeguard the lives and the property of Indian Muslims and to render them all material and moral support including the conduct of cases in courts. Feeling ran so high at the Khilafat meeting that when a member referred to Hindus as "brethren." there was an outburst from a considerable section of the audience who demanded the withdrawal of the word "brethren" and objected to its application to "Kafirs." On the the other side, the working committee of the A. I. Hindu Mahasabha, which met at Delhi on the 10th May under the Chairmanship of Raja Narendra Nath condemned as utterly unwarrantable and unjust the attacks made by certain Muslims upon the procession of Arya Samajists, upon Hindu and Sikh temples and Gurdwaras and upon unoffending Hindus. The Committee also attributed the outbreak in Calcutta to the inflammatory utterances of certain educated Mussalman speakers and publicists' (From India in 1925-26.)

The Rawalpindi Riots.

After the second phase of the Calcutta Riots in April, another riot of a serious nature took place at Rawalpindi on the 14th June 1926. The following statement was issued by Raja Narendranath and Dr. Gokal Chand Narang who visited Rawalpindi on the 16th June on behalf of the Lahore Hindu Sabha :—

The news of a serious riot at Rawalpindi in which many casualties had taken place and property of considerable value belonging to Hindus and Sikhs had been destroyed owing to incendiarism by the rioters was received by us on the morning of the 16th. We left for Pindi on the evening of the 15th, and reached there on the morning of the 16th.

As far as we were able to ascertain facts, it appeared to us that the whole trouble arose from the recent demand of our Muhammedan fellow countrymen about music before mosques, a demand which has received encouragement from the recent one-sided order of the Government of Bengal. For sometime past a storm was brewing over the erection of a cinema behind the Jumma Musjid of the city, which we also saw in course of our visit. Over the land owned by Sardar Mohan Singh, President, Municipal Committee, a Sikh gentleman has built a Cinema to which Muhammedans objected on the ground that there should be no place of amusement or public entertainment in the vicinity of a mosque. The Sardar naturally paid no heed to this unreasonable demand of the Muhammedans. Feelings had been aroused by speeches delivered by some Mullahs and Muhammedan public men at public meetings during the last three weeks or so. On the 13th of June in celebration of a Gurupurb a procession of the Sikhs passed in front of the Jumma Musjid with ordinary music. In taking the procession through the streets and not stopping the music before the mosque, the Sikhs were acting in conformity with law. It was stated before us that whilst nearly the whole of the procession had passed and only the tail end of it was in front of the mosque, some brickbats were thrown by Muslims at the women who formed part of the procession ; but, on the Sikhs' remonstrance, the mischief-mongers dispersed and nothing untoward happened there. On the 14th a Dewan was held in the Singh Sabha. In course of the day, a Muhammedan is said to have come to the Singh Sabha and given a challenge for the Sikhs to take out a procession again and see the consequences. The Sikhs replied that they would take out the procession, only on another Guru Parb day. In the evening whilst the Dewan was being held some Muhammedans gathered outside the Singh Sabha and molested the visitors. Some Sikhs arrived outside the Singh Sabha Gurdwara and there was an altercation between them and the Muhammedans which resulted in a fracas, but as far as we were able to ascertain no one was killed or seriously wounded there.

A band of Muhammedans, possibly reinforced by those who had taken part to the quarrel before the Singh Sabha, went to the Grain Market and set fire to the shops. The

extent of the fire supports the allegations that petrol was freely used in setting fire to the shops, etc. The police prevented the owners of the shops and houses in the market from having access to the property and doing what they could to save it. Fire Brigade was not procured to extinguish the fire, with the result that it went on unchecked and caused much tremendous loss of property. Serious allegations were made as to the complicity of the subordinate police with the incendiaries; but until the evidence on this point has been properly collected and examined, we refrain from expressing any opinion about them at the present stage. The extent of the fire and the enormous damage done, however, lend strength to the complaint that the police did nothing to prevent the arson. It may be noted that an overwhelming majority of the police consists of Muhammadans.

Information obtained from various sources leads us to believe that on the 14th crowds of Muhammadans armed with 'lathis' and hatchets were collecting in different parts of the city and there was an unusual influx of the villagers to the town. The police did not make adequate arrangements to prevent the tragedy. Up to the 15th the number of casualties known was 14 killed (Muhammedans 11, Sikhs 2 Hindus 1) and about 50 wounded.

It is difficult to estimate the value of the property destroyed. It has been stated to range between two crores and three crores. It certainly amounts to lakhs and lakhs. Many flourishing merchants have been utterly ruined. It was reported to us that goods were taken away in lorries to neighbouring villages and no one interfered and no efforts are being made to recover the looted property.

We heard conflicting accounts as to where the casualties took place. It appears that the fracas before the Singh Sabha was a minor affair and that probably a number were killed whilst committing arson by the resident owners or by owners who had access to their properties, whilst others were wounded or killed by way-farers of the opposite creed. We are unable to apportion the number of casualties to the various places where conflicts occurred. The whole misfortune is due to the extreme communal sensitiveness of our Muhammedan fellow countrymen, which assumes new forms and makes new demands amounting to encroachment on the liberty of their fellow citizens. The situation is apparently quiet, but feeling runs high and the danger of recrudescence is not over. It is, therefore, desirable that military pickets should be continued and section 144 enforced for some time longer.

Since our return a similar tragedy has occurred at Saidpur where several Hindus have been murdered and a large number of Hindu and Sikh shops and houses burnt. The need of taking prompt and adequate precautionary measures is obvious. Flying columns of cavalry sent round within a radius of fifty miles of Pindi, will not be out of place.

The Pabna Riots.

The Pabna riots can be divided into two main categories. One pertains to occurrences in the town of Pabna following: he discovery by the Hindus of broken images on the 1st July and the other relates to attacks on Hindus' person and property in villages and mofussil towns in the Pabna district following the occurrences in Pabna town on July 1.

In Pabna town there was a Hindu procession on the evening of July 1, a fracas in front of a mosque and an alleged invasion of town by Moslem crowds from villages and mobrule for about two days thereafter during which it was said the Hindus lived in terror within doors and stray cases of assaults on Hindus took place. The Commissioner and the Deputy Inspector General of Police arrived at Pabna with reinforcements on July 3. As far as Pabna town was concerned a moral situation could be said to prevail from July 4. An order under Section 144 Cr. P. C. prohibiting carrying of "lathies" and assembly of more than 5 persons was however in force. About 13 Hindus and amongst them prominent citizens were arrested on charge of causing grievous hurt and rioting.

Since the occurrence of July 1 rumours spread in villages and mofussil towns of Pabna district that Hindus of Pabna wantonly attacked a mosque and d secrated it. In consequence Moslem feelings were excited and angry crowds of Moslems marched from village to village and town to town inciting local Moslems to attack persons and property. The authorities commenced to receive at Pabna from the 2nd instant reports of looting and attacks on Hindus. Investigation of the first reports showed that they were unfounded and that there had been no attacks up to the 3rd instant, but from the 4th instant attacks on Hindus' persons and property in the mofussil centres commenced and continued incessantly till the 8th instant, when firm action by the authorities in sending reinforcements arresting rowdy elements and resorting to fire

(on four occasions) began to have a quietening effect. About 280 Moslems were arrested up to the morning of the 11th instant in the mofussil areas. Barring a few cases of attempted looting, no serious case of attack was reported since the 9th instant.

An attempt to trace the communal activities of the two communities showed that the Moslems had an organisation known as the Anjuman Islamia which was established several years ago but which, it was said, was not functioning until recently when the communal rivalries in the matter of representation in public services and local bodies became acute. This body was said to own allegiance to Sir Abdur Rahim.

On the Hindu side, a branch of the Hindu Sabha was established about 1921 or 1922 and it was claimed, it concentrated chiefly on the removal of untouchability. There was no communal or anti-Moslem propaganda traceable to the Hindu Sabha or the Hindu leaders. There was in June a Hindu Conference presided over by Pandit Shyamsunder Chakaravarty but the proceedings were in no way communal. The Conference adopted a resolution protesting against restrictions on music before mosques; but, it was not a live issue as far as Pabna was concerned, although since then the Hindus claimed that music was always played before the mosques and the Moslems that music was always stopped before the mosques.

The Calcutta riots, however, appeared to have intensified the communal tension in Pabna. Both the Hindus and Moslems followed closely the reports of the riot occurrences and developed comunnal antipathies. The Calcutta riots were accompanied by the desecration of a number of Hindu images in the Pabna district in centres like Serajgunge, Ahmedpur, Salop and Faridpur. The culprits were detected in only one place and that was at Salop where a Moslem was fined Rs. 50 The report of desecration of images embittered Hindu feelings and there was much agitation in the Hindu mind. After the Calcutta riots, an Arya Samajist was said to have visited Pabna and made communal speeches.

On the other hand, it was alleged, that the Moslems issued inflammatory leaflets reviling Hindus and inciting Moslems to violence, and that efforts were made to secure the sacrifice of a large number of cows and in as open a manner as possible. The Hindus also alleged that in the last year criminal assaults on Hindu women had increased considerably.

The incident occurred in the following way:—Hindu images were found broken near the house of Sj. Jogendra Nath Maitra, a leading Hindu citizen of Pabna and the zemindar of Sitlai. The images were discovered at about 8-30 a.m. on the 1st July Of the images, three were of Sashti, one of Kali and the other of Saraswati. The images had been taken from three different places in the Pabna town and placed near Sitlai Babu's house. Intimation of the discovery was sent to the leading Hindus and three of them consisting of Sitlai Babu, Mr. I. J. Mazumdar, the chairman of the Municipality and Kabiraj Srish Chandra Vidyaratna complained of the desecration of the images to the Sub Divisional Officer and at 10 a.m. the District Magistrate and the S. D. O. visited the place where the images were found. The Sub-Divisional Officer, it was said, suggested that the images should be in police custody to be produced as exhibits when the culprits were found. This suggestion was opposed by the Hindus on the ground that it would be an outrage on their religious feelings. They claimed that the images should be immersed in the river. The District Magistrate, agreed to the proposal about immersion and only suggested that the immersion be done unostentatiously especially as Sitlai Babu's house near which the images were found was situated on the bank of the river Padma.

The news of the discovery of the broken images spread in the city and the Hindus of Pabna visited the scene of discovery in numbers and the prominent amongst them conferred as to what should be done. One view was that the images should be immersed unostentatiously without any procession and another view was that not only the broken images but also other unguarded images in the town should be immersed after being taken in procession. The Hindu images, came under two categories; one in which the images were worshipped daily and the other in which the images were renewed yearly to be worshipped only once in the year on specific occasions and was kept to be immersed when the time came for renewing it. The Hindus held that the images which were worshipped only on specific occasions and were placed in thatched sheds or other kutcha structures were unprotected and by that reason invited sacrilege and that in view of the desecration that had taken place it would be better to immerse them before any harm was done. It was also decided that the Hindu shop-keepers should observe a hartal for the day.

A procession started from Sitlai Babu's house at about 6 p.m. with the broken images in the midst, a Sankirtan party in front and some drummers accompanying it. The Hindus were positive that the Hindus who accompanied the procession were all

unarmed and also barefooted as a mark of mourning. This the Moslems denied and this was supported by police testimony according to which, it was said, lathis were carried. About 3,000 would be approximately the correct estimate of the crowd that accompanied the procession.

The procession which started at about 6 p.m. reached that part of the bazar where the fracas of the day took place at about 7 p.m. Before reaching this place it passed along two mosques with music without any objection. The Moslems claimed that no objection was raised to the music as it was not then prayer time. The scene of the fracas was on a bazar road in which the Moslem shop-keepers chiefly tailors abound. The processionists entered the road by another route which abuts into that road in the middle, near which was a mosque. A free fight took place at this juncture in which a section of Moslems who were in the alleged mosque and the front section of the procession took active part. One Moslem was wounded by a dagger. A few Moslems and Hindus were hurt. Brickbats were freely used The Moslems used "lathis" while the Hindus made use of logs of fire-wood which were lying near by. While the fracas was in progress, the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police arrived on the scene, restored order and the procession terminated without any untoward incident by about 7-30 p.m. after the images were immersed. The Moslem view was that considering the route taken by the procession and the large numbers that accompanied it, the processionists had come prepared for a fight and to provoke one. The Hindus alleged on the contrary that the Moslems had premeditated the fracas.

In this connection, the Hindus dispute the title of the place in front of which the fracas took place, to be called a mosque. Inspections showed that a passage leading from the bazar road led to a small open space behind the shops adjoining which there was an oblong shed with thatched roofing, bamboo fencing and cemented floor. There were no facilities in the place for ablutions nor were there any sacred books or other articles kept excepting a few mattresses said to be used by Moslems when offering prayers. According to the Moslem view one batch of shop-keepers had offered their prayers and another batch commenced offering their prayers. The batch that had concluded the prayers asked the processionists to stop music and the melee started.

The news that the Hindus had wantonly attacked a mosque and desecreted it spread immediately to the neighbouring villages. The Hindu procession terminated at 7-30 p.m. By 9 p.m. it was said thousands of Moslems advanced with lathis and other weapons and poured into the Pabna town. The Hindus shut themselves in their houses, and it was said, the Moslem crowd roamed through the streets of Pabna reviling at the Hindus and threatening reprisals. Large Moslem crowds gathered round Sitlai Babu's house and openly shouted that they wanted his life and that of Mr. Ranjit Lahiri and other prominent Hindus. Sitlai Babu had license for arms and was prepared, to defend himself. The crowds were however pursuaded by the officials to disperse; armed police patrolled the streets. According to the Moslem view which found favour with the officials, on the 2nd instant the crowds from surrounding villages, made an attempt to enter Pabna but were prevented from doing so by persuasion and other means. According to the Hindus, the Moslem crowds invaded Pabna on the next day armed with lathis and continued to be in possession of the streets assaulting the few Hindus who ventured to come out on this day. About seven to eight cases of assaults of Hindus and amongst them of some leading men took place on the 2nd instant. On the 2nd, an order under Section 144 was passed prohibiting carrying of lathis and assembly of more than 5 persons but it was said it was obeyed and enforced only in the case of the Hindus. The Moslem crowds melted away on the 3rd as soon as the higher officials and reinforcements arrived. Looting in muffasil areas commenced on the 4th. The leading Hindus did not attribute any motive to the District Magistrate or any official for resorting to persuasion instead of rigid enforcement of Section 144. But there was a strong feeling that Section 144 should have been enforced on the Moslems as it was enforced on the Hindus and that omission to do so encouraged the Moslem crowds to transfer the field of their operation from the town to the villages.

The Allahabad Riot.

Two people were killed and 27 were injured during a Hindu-Mahomedan riot which occurred on the 12th September in the Chowk, the centre of Allahadad city. The disturbance arose during the progress of a Hindu procession on the occasion of the Dadkhando festival which usually takes place eight days after the Janmastami.

The Dadkhando procession was timed to leave Kydganj at 4-30 p. m., but owing to rain, the start was delayed by about a quarter of an hour, with the result that it

reached the Clock Tower in the Chowk shortly before sunset. This was the principal danger point in the route of the procession, as near the Clock Tower there was a mosque facing the vegetable market. It was thought desirable, in order to avoid a disturbance, that the procession should pass this mosque before sunset. The alternative was to keep the procession waiting at the Clock Tower until after the sunset prayers. It was a dark and cloudy evening, and therefore it was impossible to observe the setting of the sun. Various watches and clocks in the city had, however, been synchronised with a view to avoiding any misunderstanding with regard to the actual time. Fifty armed policemen were drawn up in front of the mosque in order that the procession should be stopped, if necessary. Mr. Crosthwaite, the Collector and District Magistrate, and Mr. Hollins, the Superintendent of Police, and other officials and a number of sowars were on duty near the tower. When the procession reached the Clock Tower, the District Magistrate was informed by a Mahomedan Honorary Magistrate, who came down from the mosque, that there was exactly 20 minutes left before sunset. It was therefore decided that the procession should be hurried past the mosque before the evening prayers began. Nearly the whole of the procession had safely passed the mosque, and the rear ranks were being pushed forward and there was still five minutes in hand, according to the time given by the Honorary Magistrate already referred to, when a number of Mahomedans in the mosque began pelting the procession with stones and other missiles. This caused a panic and general confusion for a time, but the police and other officials present were soon able to restore order. The punitive police patrols, posted in the city owing to the June disturbances, effectively assisted in this duty.

The Dacca Riot.

A strained communal situation prevailed in Dacca on the 8th Sept. over the Janamasthami procession which were to be taken out later in the day, along routes where a number of mosques were situated. A dispute between the two communities had been in progress during the last few days over questions of the route to be followed by the processions, and the stoppage of music before mosques. Mahomedans insisted that music should be stopped before mosques and the Hindus asserted that they would follow custom and would take their processions to the accompaniment of music along the entire route.

A section of Mahomedans decided to boycott the processions, withdrawing Mahomedan labour and trade, usually associated with the processions. Picketting was started to enforce the boycott by about a thousand students who enrolled as volunteers.

In the Narindia quarter of the city there was a free fight between the Mahomedans and Hindu Volunteers with lathis and brickbats resulting in four volunteers being wounded. The Superintendent of Police proceeded to the affected area with a strong force, and brought the rioters under control. A number of Mahomedans, and two volunteers were arrested. An Armed force was posted to guard Narindia throughout the night.

Later in the day the Janamastami procession of the Nawabpur Party which was accompanied by music passed of smoothly under a strong police and volunteer-guard. There were, however several stray cases of assault at some distance from the route of the procession. Shortly after the procession had started a number of men attacked Hindu pedestrians with daggers at Islampur, near to the Nawab's residence and inflicted injuries.

Cases of assualt and free fight in the streets continued up the 13th when the situation became normal. A large number of shops were opened in the morning. Up to this day 172 arrests were made, 35 being Hindus. Over 70 people were reported to have been injured, of whom about 46 were admitted in the hospital. About 16 guns were seized by the police from Hindus and Mahomedans in different quarters.

The Delhi Riots.

The report of the Police Administration in the Delhi Province for 1926 shows that there were 5 true cases of rioting in Delhi. A serious riot occurred on the 24th June, when a large number of Hindus had collected in and round Naya Bana and Khari Baoli owing to a false rumour that a sacrifical cow was to be taken through Naya Bana Bazar, a prohibited area. Efforts were made to convince the crowd that there was no truth in this rumour, and the assemblage was beginning to decrease in number when confusion was caused by an unmanageable tonga pony. Such was the state of nerves that this confusion developed instantly into a fierce communal riot which lasted for some 20 minutes, in the course of which 69 persons were injured (including 11 policemen) and 3 killed on the spot or fatally wounded,

Another riot occurred on the 27th August, caused on this occasion by the abusive language of a bad tempered Bank Chaprasi to members of a Mahomedan firm with which the Bank had dealing. The verbal quarrel turned to blows and in a very short time a general riot was raging in the Chandni Chowk. The riot was promptly suppressed. Three Mahomedans and 12 Hindus were originally sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 each.

As the result of an appeal to the Sessions Court 6 Mahomedans and 2 Hindus were acquitted, while in the case of the remaining four Mahomedans and 10 Hindus the fine only was reduced to Rs. 50 each without any alteration in the sentence of imprisonment. The appeal to the High Court resulted in the acquittal of 2 more Mahomedans and 2 Hindus. In the case of remaining 2 Mahomedans and 3 Hindus the fine of Rs. 50 each was upheld, but the sentence of imprisonment was set aside in the case of 2 Mahomedans and 7 Hindus and the term of imprisonment in the case of 1 Hindu was reduced to 6 months.

The 3rd Phase of the Calcutta Riot.

The following are extracts from the report of the Calcutta Police Commissioner on the communal riots in Calcutta from the 11th to the 25th July 1926. The main disturbances during the period related to the Rath Jatra procession at Paikpara, Rajrajeswari procession at Burrabazar and the Muharram procession. After describing the incident of the disturbances, the Commissioner described the measures taken to quell the riots and the help rendered by the military authorities. Casualties showed 28 deaths, (20 Hindus, 8 Mahomedans) and 226 wounded, (94 Hindus and 132 Mahomedans) There were numerous cases of assault on the Police officers and men, but fortunately the injuries were in no case very serious.

From the fact that a large proportion of the disturbances took place during the holding of religious processions, it is self-evident that numerous conflicts between large bodies of opposing communities occurred and that the police were frequently faced with the necessity of immediately dispersing large crowds of persons who were keyed up to the highest pitch of religious and communal frenzy. In these circumstances, the only effective means of dispersing the mobs and avoiding more serious conflicts was to resort to the use of firearms. The first instance of firing by the Police was on the 15th July during the Rajrajeswari procession. The Police were forced to open fire four times in one day, the result being one man killed and several wounded. During the Rath procession, ten rounds of ammunition were fired with the result that four Mahomedans and two Hindus were wounded. On three other occassions, the Police had to fire to disperse the crowd. On the 21st July, during the Muharram procession the Police had to fire eight times with the result that three men were killed and 13 wounded. The Commissioner states there can be no question that firing was necessary in all the above instances and in each case, it was both sufficient to secure the object in view and at the same time strictly limited to the necessities of the situation. There were four instances of shooting by members of the public, in which two men were killed and five wounded.

With reference to the attitude of the Indian Press, the Police Commissioner says :— "After the April riots it was hoped that a better spirit and a greater sense of responsibility would develop among the editors of the Indian Press ; but this hope was not realised and journals of both communities continued to display a regrettably hostile spirit. The inflammatory articles which were published by both communities were greatly to be deplored and there can be little doubt that they contributed materially to the maintenance of the tension which led to the July riots. The disturbances in the Pabna District furnished ample material for bitter communal criticism and the Government were compelled to undertake a number of prosecutions for the articles. In this connection, 13 prosecutions were sanctioned. In ten of these cases, the offending journals were Hindu and three were Mahomedan. There is at present an improvement in the general tone of the vernacular press ; but it is difficult to say whether this is due to the above prosecutions or to the absence of rioting or other materials for communal criticism. Experience of the July riots has shown, however, that any communal disturbance in Calcutta are almost certain to be accompanied by a flood of inflammatory articles in newspapers of both the contending factions and during the riots a number of new journals were started which are definitely communal in tone. Ordinary law clearly provides no adequate check for the suppression of publication of this character and its limitations in this respect are manifestly fully appreciated by the offending journals."

As to the dislocation of business caused by the riots, the Commissioner states the effect on wholesale business was more material and the present riots have still further

postponed readjustment of the dislocation caused by the previous riots. The small dealers are not prepared to carry large stocks of goods and bigger merchants are, therefore, saddled with such heavy stocks that they do not feel justified in ordering further supplies. This fact was clearly brought out at a meeting of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce on the 28th July when it was decided that no Marwari merchant should order supplies of piece-goods for a period of four months under pain of serious penalties.

Govt. Communique on 'No Music Before Mosque'.

The following resolution was issued by the Government of Bengal on the 6th June 1926 :—

It is only in recent years that the controversy about music before mosques has become important in Calcutta. This subject is now attracting a great deal of attention, and, in fact, it was the immediate occasion of the disturbances in April, 1926. On the 17th May His Excellency the Governor convened a conference unsuccessfully to arrive as a conclusion which would be acceptable to both the Hindu and Mahomedan communities. In dissolving the conference His Excellency expressed a hope that the two communities would, after mutual discussion, be able to agree and inform him of their agreement. This hope has not been fulfilled.

In matters of religion the Government maintain an attitude of strict neutrality, and only intervene when the claims of one community clash with those of another, and when the persistence in mutually incompatible claims threatens to endanger public peace. Such a situation now exists, and it is necessary, therefore, for the Government of Bengal to announce, with as much detail as the circumstances of the case permit, the nature of the orders which will hereafter be enforced in Calcutta in this respect.

After referring to the law giving authority to the Commissioner of Police for regulating music at processions in Calcutta, the Resolution says :—

It was arranged at the conference on the 17th May that written statements regarding the personal experience of those who are acquainted with this subject should be received and considered by the Government. A large number of statements have been received, and they have been carefully considered. The Hindu community claim that music is an essential part of their religious observances, and is, therefore, a necessary feature at all their religious processions. They have claimed the right and asserted the practice of playing music before mosques without hindrance at all hours of the day. The Mahomedan community consider that music disturbs the devotions of those who are at prayer in mosques, and they claim the right and assert the practice of the stoppage of music before mosques at all hours of the day, and not only on the occasions of public worship.

There is, therefore, a definite conflict of statements as to the actual practice in the past, and it is clear to the Government that this conflict is largely due to the fact that very recently the subject has not attracted much attention in Calcutta, and the two communities have generally been prepared to accommodate one another. These conditions no longer prevail, and circumstances have arisen which make it necessary for the Government, in the fulfilment of their responsibility for the preservation of the peace to arrange for a clearer definition of the instructions which will in future be observed by those conducting processions in Calcutta.

The terms of the licence will remain unaltered ; but, in order to prevent uncertainty, it will be necessary in all doubtful cases for the Commissioner of Police to ascertain and lay down for the guidance of those conducting the procession what are the hours of public worship.

The Government interpret the word, "public worship" as meaning recognised congregational worship, and are not prepared to admit a claim which has been put forward that the time of public worship extends throughout the day. In the case of mosques the hours of the five recognised Mahomedan prayers will be specified. In other respects the Commissioner will, according to the law, be guided by the requirements of the public peace and convenience with due regard to established practice. In all cases it has not been established to the satisfaction of the Government that the general practice has gone beyond the terms of the licence. At the same time the Commissioner of Police will retain the fullest discretion to secure compliance with such orders as he may give in

accordance with the law. If, however, a particular procession exercises its privileges in a manner which is calculated to give offence that procession and others will incur the risk of having its privileges curtailed in future. On the other hand, the Government do not intend that such restrictions as may be imposed on those conducting Hindu processions shall be extended on account of the demand made by Mahomedans for the imposition of further restrictions. The Government have given special consideration to the case of the Nakhoda Mosque in Chitpore Road, and have decided that, in consequence of its size, importance and situation, an exception to the general rule will be made in the case of this mosque, and that all processions passing it at any time of the day will, when doing so, be required to stop their music.

These orders relate only to Calcutta. In other places different conditions have resulted in the establishment of different practices, and such practices will not be modified as a result of these orders.

The existence of this dissension is a matter of serious concern to the Government of Bengal. It is, in their opinion, damaging to the reputation of the people of Calcutta for good citizenship, and it is the earnest wish of His Excellency in Council that at an early date the two communities will show greater readiness to meet one another's wishes and will thereby restore the amicable relations which until quite recently have subsisted between them.

Feeling in the Mofussil.

The Government of Bengal, in a communique on the state of communal feeling in the mofusail, state :—It is true that during the past two months an intense state of anxiety has prevailed in many districts, especially in Eastern Bengal; that both Hindu and Mahomedan communities have been upset by rumours which they have heard, and that there are resultant feelings of irritation and distrust which constitute a danger to public peace. But it is also true that during this period there have been very rare occasions in the whole of the wide area affected in which a breach of the peace has occurred.

While the Government do not minimise the insult to religious feeling which is implied by the destruction of images, the public should be careful not to over-estimate the significance of many of those incidents. In numerous cases they have attracted far less attention in the places where they have occurred than they have done in the Press. There is abundant evidence of the success of the joint efforts of Hindus and Mahomedans in preserving peace and restoring confidence.

Instructions have been given to District Magistrates to reply promptly to requests to verify stories which are referred to them for verification by editors of newspapers. If hereafter false rumours are published in the Press without enquiry the Government will act on the assumption that those who publish them had not reasonable grounds for believing in their truth.

The Calcutta Hindus' Protest Meeting.

To protest against the above Government communique a mammoth public meeting of the Hindu citizens of Calcutta was held at the Town Hall on the 4th July 1926. The hall was fully packed and five overflow meetings were held outside. The Hindus evinced tremendous enthusiasm and were unanimous in their opinion that the Government's action was illegal and that it seriously interfered with their legitimate rights and, if occasion arose, they would not only disobey the illegal order but would even face death in the carrying out of their rights.

Mr. J. N. BASU in course of his presidential address, after reviewing the inter-communal relations in Bengal in the past and after recalling the recent events leading to the present situation, said that the communique issued by the Government of Bengal laying down the rules as to the playing of music before mosques in and about Calcutta, caused universal surprise amongt the Hindus. In strange contrast to the decision of the Govt. of Bengal stands out the decision of the Privy Council which is the highest judicial tribunal so far as the British Indian Empire is concerned. After quoting the reported decisions in the matter, the speaker said that it would thus appear that the

law required that the religious sentiments of the adherents of one creed who use a public highway, should not be over-ridden in order that the religious sentiments of another creed, worshipping in a place on the road-side, might not be ruffled. In the communique which the Government of Bengal has issued, it has ignored the function of an Executive Government. The Executive has to uphold the law. The upholding of the law may be unpleasant to certain individuals or communities, but the Government has no option. It has to see that the requirements of law are duly complied with. If the object of the Government is to prevent a disturbance, the Government should not penalise those that act lawfully, but those that seek to act unlawfully. The rule which the Government seeks to lay down prevents some persons from proceeding in a lawful manner and tends to encourage some who desire to act in an unlawful manner. If the Government is apprehensive that some men are likely to break the law, it is the duty of the Government to take every means in the power to prevent the breaking of law. The Government should also consider the logical outcome of what they were doing within the last few months. The Hindus of Calcutta have had to undergo interference with some of their ancient and lawful religious practices. The annual charak procession in April last was stopped. The Sikh procession was postponed and the Raj Rajeswara image, after being taken out, had to be put back. These processions were not even devices to embarrass the Government or to annoy another community. They were time-honoured institutions. The Government has not interfered with the use of the public roadway for prayers, though tension of feeling existed. Notwithstanding the fact that such use is a serious public inconvenience and is, in some quarters, regarded as a provocation, it is the Hindus alone that are required to give up their ancient social and religious practices, though such practices are within the bounds of law. The Hindus have felt that grave injustice has been done to them. They expected that the Government would hold the scales even and meet the situation with the strength of justice. They expect the Government to have as much regard for the upholding of law and order as the Government expects them to have. The Government should not do anything that might be construed as an indirect support to those that intend to break the law. The Hindu community does not desire to seek favoured treatment at the expense of any other community. The Hindus are confident that, if the Government stands up without vacillation to do what is right, the question of communal dissensions will, to a great extent, stand solved. The Hindus are passing through times of stress and anxiety. Apart from religious music and religious processions, we hear of abductions of women and desecration of images and temples. The Hindus must organise and take up their protection in their own hands, in order that they may effectively withstand the unlawful inroads made on them. I would ask the Hindus to have confidence in themselves and to work steadfastly for upholding those ideals which were kept alive by Buddha and Sankara, by Nanak and Ramdas, by Tulsidas and Chaitanya. In striving for those ideals, they will know how to weather difficulties.

The President then moved the resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and supported by Messrs. Tulsi Charan Goswmi, Padamraj Jain, Hirendranath Dutt and Sardar Hari Singh. Mr. Pal said that mosques abutted the highways and 1/39th part of the Mahomedans felt

disturbed by the playing of music in the highways, accessible to all under the law. Their duty was to remove their mosques. The Government of Lord Lytton, Mr. Pal added, had trespassed into the function of the civil court and had perpetrated an anarchy worse than any perpetrated ever before.

Mr. Goswami said that, when the communique was issued, he raised the cry that Lord Lytton must go. If this law was unjust, it was also wicked and he urged the Hindus to make up their minds to disobey it. Pact or no pact, it would not solve the Hindu-Moslem question. He characterised the Government's action, in issuing the communique, as being "pig-headed and perverse." That was his feeling, he said, when he first read the communique and he gave public expression to it to-day.

RESOLUTIONS.

After several speeches the President moved the following resolutions which were adopted :

"This meeting of the Hindu citizens of Calcutta and its neighbourhood places on record their emphatic opinion that the rules intended to be laid down by the Government regarding the issue of licenses for processions with music through the streets of Calcutta, as appearing in the communique recently issued by the Government, are not only subversive of the civil rights of citizens but amount to an interference with the religious rights and usages of the Hindus as laid down in the Shastras and as enjoyed by them from time immemorial.

"This meeting is further of opinion that the action of the Government is encouraging the view that, instead of upholding the civil rights of citizens, the Government makes concessions to those that break the law or interfere with the exercise of one's ordinary civil rights and thus encourage those that stand up against law and order.

"This meeting notes with regret the difference in the treatment, by the Government of Bengal of the situation that has recently arisen in the matter of playing music before mosques from the treatment of the same situation by other local Governments and executive authorities, such as the C. P. Government, the U. P. Government and the Magistrate of Delhi.

"This meeting urges upon the Hindus to take all necessary and legitimate steps in order that the interference sought to be put upon them may be removed and they may be allowed to freely and uninterruptedly exercise their time-honoured rights and privileges in the matter of the performance of their social and religious ceremonies."

The Bombay Meeting.

Closely following the Calcutta meeting another public meeting was held at Bombay on the 25th July in pursuance of an appeal of Mr. Bharucha to devise ways and means for putting a stop to communal feuds. Mr. BHARUCHA, referring to the suicidal communal struggles, explained how the bureaucracy and its agents who were styled friends and saviours of India were fanning the communal flame. Communal rioting had begun at Shahjehanpur in 1923 and had gradually developed to the stage when the whole of northern India and Bengal was affected. It was reported that Muslim Goondas of Bengal who had taken a prominent part in the recent riots in Calcutta, had said that they had nothing to do with the Hindus

but they only wanted to drive the Marwaris out of Calcutta. That showed that they were inspired by the commercial opponents of the Marwaris in Calcutta. Again, Bihar and Malabar were famine-stricken and there was so much poverty that even women covered themselves only with a small piece of cloth. There was unusual depression in the trades and industries of the country and if that state of affairs continued, Bolshevism would be fast coming to India because of the Government's policy. British imperialism and Indian communalism were the only two causes responsible for chaos in the country. Mr. Bharucha regretted the attitude of Dr. Kitchlew and Mr. Jinnah who favoured communal electorates. He was also grieved to hear that the Hindu Sabha was going to run the elections in the Punjab. He was glad to learn that the Khilafat Committee was not going to do so. He was more glad to read the recent announcements of Dr. Ansari and Moulana Mazrul Haque.

Mr. Bharucha then said that they all must rise above parties and communities and must consider the cause of the country above everything, if they claimed Swaraj as their goal. There was one common enemy of all communities and sects in India and that was British imperialism which would keep them in permanent subjection, if it could. It was their duty to fight it and to unite for fighting it. He, therefore, appealed to all the leaders to summon a round table conference and put their heads together in search of unity. It was only by unity and unity alone that India, their motherland, could be saved.

The president, Mr. J. K. MEHTA said that communal strife was the outcome of the political struggle for loaves and fishes and thought that the Hindu-Muslim problem was a very intricate question to be tackled. The important question to be solved was the political tension in the country. He had realized that the Swarajists had committed a great mistake in putting the Council-entry programme before the public. But there was no other alternative, as their leader was in jail and the situation demanded immediate action. But it was now time to consider avenues of unity. After Mr. Lloyd George's steel-frame speech which was resented strongly all over India, had come another speech from Earl Winterton, in which he had said that it was the British bayonets that protected the Indian peoples and communities. This was a serious challenge to Indian honour, but it was not much resented. That showed the spirit of resignation, if not indifference.

Referring to the rumour about the proposal to fix the exchange at 1s. 6d. to a rupee, the President said that, if that exchange was fixed, India would lose not less than Rs. 15 crores every year. All this demanded united action from Indians and he heartily supported Mr. Bharucha's resolution. He then put the resolution to vote which was unanimously adopted. The following is the text of the resolution :—

"That, in view of the increasingly intricate and exceedingly grave situation that has arisen in the country, a round table conference of the leaders of all parties should be held at the earliest possible date to decide on a common policy and present a united front to the bureaucracy and that this meeting further requests the president and the members of the Working Committee to convene an emergent meeting of the All-India Congress Committee to adopt such line of joint action as the round table conference may decide and as may be consistent with the present Congress creed."

The Bengal Presidency Muslim League's Views.

Mr. Qutbuddin Ahmad, Honorary Secretary. Bengal Presidency Muslim League issued the following circular for publication to the Press early in August 1926 :—

The question of playing music before mosques has come to the forefront only a few years back and no importance was ever attached to it by the saner section of the community. The League came into existence in 1905 and had to take part in the several burning questions of the day like the demolition of Wazu Khana of the Machlibazar Mosque at Cawnpore under the City Improvement Scheme when the authorities shot the Musalmans, the Laskarpur mosques and grave yards at Muminpur, the Calcutta Disturbances in 1918 as an outcome of sacrilegious language used by the Indian Daily News on the Holy Prophet's tomb, when the Military fired inside the Nakhoda Mosque and wounded those who had gathered inside the mosque for mid-day prayer and the blasphemous attack on our Holy Prophet, the Quran and Islam in the columns of the Epiphany of the 18th January, 1919, but never the League had to face a question of such minor importance followed with such grave results as the violent outburst of the Hindu and Mussalman masses and organised mob violence spreading fast all over Bengal. The Calcutta Disturbances of 1918 were ingeniously directed to the Marwari quarters and a Jain temple was desecrated for which the League passed a resolution of strong condemnation and forwarded it to the Mahabir Jain Samiti and the rioting then did not continue for more than three days. The prolongation of this riot started on the 2nd April, 1926, which continues to this day is a mystery which is baffling to us unless we go into the deeper significance of the trouble which may possibly be due to the intense exploitation of the pauperised masses by the traders or in the words of Lord Lytton due to the Indianization of the administration which has naturally led to rivalry and disturbances between the Mahomedan and Hindu elements which compete for power. It is a matter of greatest sorrow and despair that such a riot is possible in the 20th century and that a false cry of religion in danger is raised and the murderers slake their thirst of blood and glorify their nefarious work by the aureole of heroism? Pursued in cold blood an investigation of the roots of the trouble leads us back to a trivial squabble over nothing. A tiny fire on a little bit of straw, which might easily have been crushed between the fingers, has been blown into the haystack. The result is a conflagration which has laughed at all efforts to put it down.

The playing of music before mosques is of recent growth. The Mussalmans used to ignore it altogether as a matter beneath consideration. It is to the Hindus a spiritual tradition to regard every sacred place of any community as an object of worship and they used to stop music before mosques not at the request of Mussalmans but out of an inborn religious tendency of theirs to respect every sacred place, be it Christian, Buddhist or Mussalman, and this tendency has developed into customary usage and created mutual love and good-will to respect the religious susceptibilities of each other. You will still notice the Hindus prostrate themselves before mosques and offer "batashas" before a Mussalman tomb. The present deplorable situation has been undoubtedly created by the reactionary elements of the Hindus and their reactionary leaders.

I humbly submit that the playing of music before mosques should not be a religious issue when people of other denominations are concerned. Our Holy Prophet (may peace be on him) himself allowed the playing of music inside the mosque during the Id Festival and asked Hazrat Ayesha to witness the same (Sahib Bokhari). He even received the non-Muslim delegation of Yemen in the mosque and allowed them to stay there. The Khalifatul Muslims at Constantinople used to attend the Salam Alek ceremony on Friday at the St. Sophia Mosque accompanied by Turkish Bands. The Mahmel procession to Mecca was always accompanied by the Egyptian Bands. During the Moslem Rule Ram Lila used to be held in front of Jam-i-Masjid at Delhi and the Royalties used to gather at the mosque and garland the hero of the play. In Calcutta in a Mahomedan family musical marriage procession was started from the house in the compound of which a mosque was situated Certain Akharas with music start from a mosque even to this day and all other akharas visit the Mowlally Darga adjacent to the mosque and play music for hours together without any protest from any quarter.

I am therefore of opinion that it has nothing to do with Shariat and has been invented by self-interested persons or party as a counterblast to cow-sacrifice in order to cause wanton irritation among the ignorant section of the community: The cow-sacrifice was made a religious issue since the eighties of the last century just at the time the Indian National Congress came into existence. It has become a veritable hornet's nest to the

Hindu leaders who were anxious to find a like snub to the Mussalmans. They have now hitted the playing of music before mosques as a weapon to cause irritation to the Mussalmans. It has undoubtedly become a customary usage that the Hindus used to respect the religious susceptibilities of the Mussalmans out of mutual good will and fellow feeling and likewise the Mussalmans; and if the Hindus do not observe the same respect what we used to get before spontaneously and from a loving heart we cannot force them to do so. Have the Mussalmans any justification to force the Hindus to stop their religious music before mosques in a public thoroughfare, have we got any right to compel them to respect our religious scruples and, in case of their refusal, should we resort to violence and compel them to submit to our dictate?

The Indian National Union.

The extent to which the Hindu-Moslem communal tension was at this time exercising the minds of our foremost national leaders can be gauged by the important manifesto, in the shape of a circular letter, sent out by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and Pandit Matilal Nehru and the influential support which the proposal put forward there had already had. The manifesto which had been in circulation among the prominent Hindu and Mussalman leaders for the last two months was handed over to the Associated Press on the 31st July 1926. It bore the signatures of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Motilal Nehru. It was drafted by the signatories in consultation with each other about the middle of May last and was sent round to certain selected leaders for their approval. The delay in publication was due partly to the fact that Pandit Motilal Nehru took his holiday soon after the draft was prepared and partly to the time taken to reply by the gentlemen who were approached. The following expressed their entire agreement with the objects and principles stated in the manifesto and also agreed to join the movement initiated thereby: Pundit Nehru, Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir Zulfikar Alikhan, Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Messrs. Sen Gupta, Tassaduq Ahmed Sherwani, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Chowdhuri Khaliquzaman, Lala Dunichand and Dr. S. Mahomed and Maharaja Sir Mahomed Khan of Mahmudabad. The manifesto runs as follows:—

The Nehru-Azad Manifesto.

"Dear Sir,—You have no doubt realised the evident danger of the new phase into which the communal movements in India are now entering. The situation is going daily from bad to worse and we feel that if no immediate organised effort is made, this rising tide will soon overwhelm the whole field of our political and civic life. You will perhaps agree with us that in the main, our present troubles are due to the fact that by an indiscriminate mixing up of the political and religious issues, we have initiated a revivalist section which, because of the existence of heterogenous elements in our country, makes a cultural and social conflict inevitable, and it is clear that the only real remedy which can save us from disaster is the deliberate establishment in our midst of a national consciousness and a national atmosphere in which religious and communal conflicts and passions will be relegated to a subordinate and a lower plane.

A Non-Communal Association Essential.

"But the question which is troubling the best Indian minds to-day is how to achieve this object effectively. The attitude of general inaction and of passive disapproval which has so far been maintained, is an index not so much of our indifference to the dangers of the situation as of the complex and delicate nature of the problems involved and of the tremendous difficulties which have to be faced before reaching the resolution. Further inaction will, however, only multiply these difficulties and make it impossible to grapple with them even with such chance of success as we have at present. The new trend of the Hindu Maha Sabha movement on the one side and of the Muslim communal movements on the other threaten a crisis which makes some positive action imperative on the part of those who yet happen to retain their balance. Accordingly, we have decided to start a movement to rally to a centre and organise those sections of enlightened Indians who agree with us that communalism is a negation of nationalism and that continued communal conflicts will inevitably lead to our utter political, economical and social ruin. It is evident that a complete elimination of communal conflict from our national life must be preceded by suitable steps to organise our civic life in such a way as to make violent communal outbursts difficult, if not impossible and to establish points of contact between the two communities to prepare a way for the adjustment of mutual differences You will agree that by far the largest sections of the Hindus and the Mussalmans in India want to live together in peace, if not in unity. The peasants, the industrial classes and the wealthy are sure to welcome any movement for peace and unity and be ready to co-operate in the materialisation of its aims. Among the educated classes, the major portion would willingly help freeing civic life from the constant dread and evident dangers of violent communal outbursts. If, therefore, a movement for unity and peace is launched, it is bound to receive a ready and generous response from the people. On the contrary, if even at this stage, organised effort is not made in this direction, all these various sections would gradually drift towards communalism and ultimately get involved in struggle. It is time that we should make a determined effort to rally and organise these sections and, in this way isolate, weaken and discredit these mischievous elements in our society which are really responsible for the present crisis. A movement of this nature can be effectively carried on only by an highly organised body of men of all communities who are themselves absolutely free from communal bias of any kind, and are united together by a common bond of fellowship in the struggle against communalism. For the purpose of bringing together such a body of men, it is necessary to arrive at a clear understanding of certain principles which are to guide them in their relations to each other and the public at large. We are thus inevitably led to think of organising a new association or party. Our proposal may, at first sight, appear to be only an attempt to add one more to the numerous parties that came into being with the avowed object of evolving order out of chaos but only succeeded in making confusion worse confounded. But a little reflection will show that we are scrupulously eliminating the one element which, as experience has shown, was solely responsible for the failure of those parties, *viz.*, their purely communal basis. We claim no originality that ours is the first serious endeavour to carry out the idea in practice. We are, therefore, approaching friends whom we believe to be above all communal

prejudice to invite their help and co-operation in this important undertaking. Generally speaking, the following may be taken as the guiding principles we have referred to above: (a) full liberty of religious view and practices; (b) absolute tolerance of the views and practices of others; (c) adjustment of communal relations on the basis of strict legal rights of communities and individuals.

Proposed Indian National Union.

"We propose that the new organisation be called the Indian National Union. The immediate object will be to avoid communal conflicts in their present forms. The end ultimately in view will be to bring about a thorough understanding between the different communities on a solid and permanent basis. All Indians of whatever community who subscribe to the above principles, will be welcomed as members of the Union, provided they do not belong to any communal organisation. It is evident that the inclusion of those who belong to a movement, which seeks to enforce the rights of only one community against another, would defeat our whole purpose. We fully expect that the success of the national movement we are trying to start will, in due course, attract many members of the existing communal organisations and that they will find no difficulty in joining us by retiring from the latter. It is highly desirable that the proposed organisation should be truly national and wholly non-political, and that, except for the bar on members of communal organisations, no party shall be excluded so as to make it possible for all shades of political thought to join. It will be noticed that all of those who have agreed to join the proposed union, do not hold identical views on political questions. We have considered it necessary to make this point quite clear at the very start. The general attitude of such a party towards the various communities or towards those that may arise hereafter, will have to be determined exclusively by reason and justice, as our main object will be a persistent propaganda against all forms of communalism. The details of these and other cognate matters can only be settled at the preliminary meeting of the Union and it is unnecessary to deal with them at this stage.

Mixed Boards to Settle Disputes.

"It may, however, be noted that the old idea of establishing mixed boards for the settlement of mutual disputes has never so far been given a fair trial and it is time that serious effort was made to try this experiment on an extensive basis. We can gradually train panchayats to act equitably in the discharge of their duties and it may be possible to take the principles incorporated in the resolutions of the Unity Conference at Delhi as a basis.

A Proposed Preliminary Meeting.

"We are fully alive to the difficulties of carrying out the programme which we are putting before you, but we are doing so with the conviction that there is no lack of men and women in the country entirely free from communal bias who will only be too glad to help in overcoming all obstacles. We hope you will give to the matter the attention it deserves and will send your considered opinion at your early convenience. We propose to call a meeting of those who intimate their approval of our suggestions on an early date at some convenient centre, with the object of formally inaugurating the movement, the framing of the necessary rules and the

election of office-bearers. Meanwhile, the undersigned will act as a provisional committee and appoint a provisional Secretary. It is requested that all replies be addressed to the latter at Anand Bhavan, Allahabad."

The Preliminary Meeting at Delhi.

A preliminary meeting of those who expressed their agreement with the objects and principles stated in the manifesto was held at Delhi on the 10th September 1926. The following is a summary of the informal talk and decisions reached at the meeting and was issued by the Secretary after a week :—

"It was resolved unanimously that the Indian National Union was not intended to interfere with the work of internal reform, undertaken by different communities or to require any community to suspend its social or other reforming activities. The Union was intended to be a meeting place for all who regarded as undesirable the aggressive spirit fostered by mistaken activities directed by one community against another which were calculated to obstruct and retard the real progress and ultimate welfare of the country as a whole. It should further be a meeting place for those who believe that India's lasting salvation was to be achieved by united efforts and not by inter-communal struggle. It was not possible for a communal organisation to organise different communities along lines of self-help and by fitting them mentally and physically to contribute their best to the attainment of a united nation. But, unfortunately, with the best of intentions and the purest of motives, indiscriminate activities of certain communal organisations, orginally meant for the right kind of activities, had, in the hands of short-sighted followers, brought about a mentality which even the authors of the movement could not approve and were, therefore, proving detrimental to the cause of the country. It was, therefore, essential to bring together all those who had not become too inseparably identified rightly or wrongly, with such activities to act as peace-makers between the contending parties and to establish points of contact between the fissiparous elements, who should exert themselves on behalf of tolerance, peace and unity.

"There was a general agreement among all present that, in deciding the question whether certain existing organisations were objectionable from this point of view, their present activities alone should be the data for judgment. Some members brought before the meeting the names of certain organisations, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh, but, after the most careful consideration, it was resolved that the declaration of the names considered objectionable from the Union's point of view should be left to the central board.

A Sub-Committee Appointed.

"A sub-committee consisting of Mrs. Naidu, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Messrs. Girdharilal, K. Santanam, Asaf Ali and Shankerlal, was formed to draft the rules and regulations of the Union and to circulate a report of the informal meetings of the sub-committee for inviting criticisms. The present office of the Union was decided to remain at Delhi and Lala Shanker Lal is to act as provisional Secretary. The sub-committee met on the 11th and 12th, most of the members attending and drafted certain rules and regulations.

Draft Rules.

"The following are the draft rules and regulations of the Indian National Union :—Objects : To promote and foster the growth of a united Indian

nation and to remove all causes of inter-communal discord and separatist tendencies. To achieve these objects, the Union shall undertake a vigorous propaganda through the press and the platform and to foster a spirit of true nationalism and genuine patriotism among the people of India, it will try to create gradually such atmosphere in the country as would facilitate a settlement of all communal questions in a noble spirit of compromise and mutual good-will. Regarding the differences not settled within a reasonable time by common understanding, the Union will, with due regard to the equities of the situation, give its own finding and take steps to secure for it the approbation of the country.

"Membership :—Every Indian, not under 18 years of age who subscribes to the aims and objects of the Union, shall be eligible to become a member of the Union on signing a declaration form and pledge and every member shall pay Re. 1 as annual subscription. None who continues to be a member of any organisation declared communal by the Central Board of the Union, shall be eligible to become a member of the Union. (A communal organisation is one whose present activities are calculated to retard or obstruct the growth of a common Indian nationhood).

The Pledge.

"The following is the pledge :—"I do hereby solemnly affirm that (1) the only way to India's lasting prosperity and freedom lies in realisation by all communities of India of a common united nationality and harmonious co-operation between them all. (2) My sole objective shall be the good of the nation as a whole. (3) My guiding principles in regard to communal disputes shall be as follows :—(a) full liberty of religious views and practices : (b) absolute tolerance of the views and practices of others ; and (c) adjustment of communal relations on the basis of rights and mutual obligations of communities and individuals. (4) I will do all in my power to prevent communal disputes and never be a party to any of them. (5) I will spare no efforts to foster a spirit of true nationalism, patriotism and harmonious co-operation within the sphere of my influence. (5) I neither am nor will be a member of any organisation declared communal by the Central Board of the Union."

Its Reception by the People.

The inauguration of the Union was, however, received by the people of both communities with mixed feelings. Whilst there was a general approval of the excellent aims and objects set forth in the manifesto and it was even recognised that the authors of the document and their supporters meant well, the feeling was general that Pandit Motilal Nehru and his political supporters were the last persons to attempt a work of this kind with any chances of success. The Hindu newspapers in the Punjab which speak with authority in the name of their communal organisations wholly distrusted Pandit Motilal Nehru and those who shared his political opinions and endorsed his obstructive methods of political work. They maintained that incalculable harm had been done to the best interests of the Hindu community by the unwise and mischievous non-co-operation movement which was so fervently sponsored by Pandit Motilal and his co-adjutors, as also by the subsequent Swarajist activities of these people. The existing unsatisfactory

state of affairs in the Province was largely attibuted by the Hindus to the activities of the Congress from 1920 onwards. In condemning the manifesto the Late Swami Shradhanand said :—"I have gone through the Nehru-Azad manifesto carefully and do not see what it aims at . . . . . I consider that the Conference made a mistake in keeping itself clear of the political issues involved in Hindu-Muslim unity. The aims of the new party are unexceptionable, but the question is where to get people who do not belong to any communal organisation. I could understand the new party fighting shy of confirmed communalists, but if they exclude all those who belong to any communal organisation they shall have to work without the help of those who really have a hold on the masses. . . . . I find that Pandit Malaviya and several other prominent Hindus, who are the real leaders of the community, do not appear to have been consulted, because, forsooth, they belong to Hindu communal organisations ; while Hakim Ajmal Khan, who only lately made such a bigoted communal speech as chairman of the reception committee of the Khilafat Conference of Delhi, has been welcomed. I feel the new party may not prove an intolerant sect of non-communalists, which might defeat the very purpose for which it is inaugurated."

The Mahomedans were no less bitter in their emphatic condemnation of Pandit Motilal Nehru and his supporters. The "Muslim Outlook" of Lahore dealt with the manifesto in an article full of gall and wormwood entitled "The Latest Fraud,"

The Bengal Muslim Party.

Sir Abdur Rahim's Manifestoes.

The following manifesto was issued by Sir Abdur Rahim on the 6th September 1926 :—

"I am being repeatedly asked by many friends in Calcutta and the mofussil to issue an appeal to the Mahomedan Constituencies in view of the forthcoming elections. I have from time to time expressed my views in no ambiguous terms on the general political situation and the attitude which the Mussalmans should adopt and I am glad to find that the suggestion which I made in my speech at Aligarh that the Muslim members returned by the Muhammadan Constituencies in the Legislative Councils and the Assembly should form themselves into a party, has not been accepted with practical unanimity all over India. Even the Swarajists, who are still trying their best to entrap some Muhammadans to buttress their tottering organisation, are unwilling or unable to adopt a policy of toleration and genuine nationalism which would accept recognition as much of the rights and interests of the Mussalmans as of other communities. The Congress is equally dominated by militant communal Hindu politicians and the political attitude of the Responsivists whose high priests are Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Moonji and in Bengal Mr. B. Chakravarty towards Muslim interests hardly requires elucidation.

"I understand from what is appearing in certain newspapers and from what has been reported to me that the Congress, the Swarajists and Responsivists are all united in one thing and that is to keep me and the

party I represent out of the Council or to divide the Muslim members in the Council into conflicting groups. In fact, no secret is made of this, but what naturally is not disclosed by our political opponents is the method they are adopting to secure their object. They are relying on the services of two classes of men, (1) some Mussalmans who are so greatly indebted to the Congress or the Swaraj Party or to some of their important leaders that they find themselves obliged to work for them either openly or secretly, quite irrespective of any other consideration, (2) those Mussalmans who have personal ambitions of their own and are trying to form a group at any cost so that they may be in a position to bargain with any party that may emerge into power, whether that party be that of Pt. Malaviya and Mr. Byomkesh Chakravarty or of Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta. All these gentlemen for purposes of Election may even feel no hesitation in publicly professing dissatisfaction with the Swarajists or the Responsivists and vehemently asserting their independence and courage but always keeping their eye on the main chance. I wish to warn my community against the activities of both these classes of men.

"I am further aware that there are individuals, who, for one reason or another, are actuated by unfriendly feelings towards me personally. Nor is it possible for me to minimise the fact that those feelings are being sedulously exploited by the unscrupulous propaganda of some Hindu politicians who have been straining every nerve to oust me from the political arena on the alleged ground that my principles of action are 'communal' and anti-national. I need hardly observe that the allegation is wholly false and unfounded and is refuted by every record of my public life unless my political opponents base their allegation on the mere fact that I have been trying to impress upon my community the need for safeguarding its own political, religious and civic rights and interests by means of constitutional measure, while making its best contribution towards advancing India's cause. This, indeed, I regard it to be my obvious duty to inculcate, not only because self-defence is the first law of nature but because I believe that India can have no political future, without the hearty co-operation of the Muslims.

"It is well known that I am the President of the Bengal Muslim Party which was formed on the second day of the First Session of the Council held this year, and the political principles of the party are fully explained in the manifesto which has already been published in the newspapers and distributed in the various centres of Muslim population. All the non-Swarajist Muslim members with the exception of one or two free lances have hitherto acted together in that party and I recommend to the Muhammadan Constituencies those candidates who are willing to act as bonafide and loyal members of a United Muslim party based on those principles.

"I am willing to offer my services once again for the Council but if my services are to be of any use there, I shall expect the Muhammadan Constituencies not merely to return me but also men with whom as colleagues it will be possible for me to work in unision and harmony in those difficult and critical times."

(II)

Subsequently Sir Abdur Rahim issued another manifesto on the 18th September in the course of which he said :—

"I hold clear and definite views which I have never hesitated to express about the unwisdom of pursuing a policy of blind obstruction in Legislative Council, nor have I seen eye to eye with the Swarajists in many of their tactics. I do, however, strongly protest against the method that is being adopted in certain quarters in order to secure a body of legislators willing to make the best use of the present constitution, doubtless a laudable object. The Swarajists will take care of themselves and all that I wish to do is to dispel certain false and mischievous impressions that are being created with regard to my attitude and that of the Bengal Muslim Party which I represent. I am undoubtedly trying my best to bring all the Muslim members of the Council on the same platform, but I wish emphatically to repudiate the suggestion that is being made from day to day in some form or other that my object in doing so is, by capturing the Government, to secure the spoils and to injure the interests of the Hindus. I venture to think that the proper way of persuading the representatives of the people to make the best use of the present constitution, defective as it is, is not to excite communal passions of the Hindus or of the Muslims by telling each group in turn that, unless you consolidate your forces, your interests will be in jeopardy at the hands of the representatives of the other community, but to tell them both that if you act together you can do a fair amount of good work for the benefit of the people, such as, by instituting free and compulsory education among the masses, by improving their health conditions, by ameliorating the lot of the ryots and the labourer and by organising the right sort of secondary, technical and higher education along the lines which will help the economical development of the country as well as the interests of science and culture. That is the objective which the Bengal Muslim Party has placed before the country.

"We, of the Bengal Muslim Party, have, it is true, adopted a communal designation for our political organisation, but all political organisations in this country have in fact been of a communal character. I fail to understand why the representatives of each community, while fully undertaking to see that its special rights and interests are safeguarded, should not be able to combine and work together for the common cause of the country. That is the ideal which we have set before ourselves and that, I venture to think, is the only practicable ideal so long as there remain differentiated communities in India. We definitely set our face against the domination of one class or community by another. If it be possible after the next elections to work the transferred departments through Ministers, I for one would insist on the co-operation of Hindu and Muslim members on equal terms, inevitably excluding only the section which refused to utilise the present constitution. I must say, however, that if a sufficient number of Indian members of the Legislative Council apply themselves earnestly to constructive work, very good results may be achieved even without Ministers. In proof of this, I point to the Legislative Assembly which has to its credit very important achievements though there had been no Ministers there. Some might say because there had been no Ministers. No one will deny that the Ministers have to face very great difficulties which I pointed out in some detail before the Muddiman Committee and the prospect of being called upon to fill one of these offices cannot evoke much enthusiasm in the breast of any well-informed politician. Certainly, it would not in mine.

"I must also frankly state that if the representatives of the Mussalmans of Bengal are resolved no longer to be the dependents of any Hindu organisation, they are equally resolved not to be at the beck and call of the Government. They, along with the rest of the Mussalmans of India, are now determined to close their ranks and to stand firm on their own legs, while offering friendly co-operation to either in the case of India's political advance with a view to promoting the welfare of the general population. They will not flinch from offering stern opposition to the Government or to any political party in the country, whenever it is found necessary to do so in the interests of the country or for the protection and advancement of the interests of their own community which, in the present circumstances, require their unremitting vigilance."

The Viceroy on Communalism.

The Chelmsford Club Speech.

The speech made by H. E. Lord Irwin at the Chelmsford Club, Simla on the 17th July 1926 on the communal question was almost the first utterance of his, since his assumption of office, on a live topic engaging the attention of the Indian public. In the course of a long speech the Viceroy said that as in some quarters blame had been attached to communal representation as being the cause of friction, some advantage might be gained by stating the reasons for its existence and the present policy of the Government regarding it. He greatly hoped that the time might come when, with general consent, the necessity for such special representation would no longer be felt, but to-day statutory arrangements were in force. Representation in the Legislatures was the result of a compact to which Indian opinion at the time of the introduction of the reforms desired effect to be given. As regards local bodies the decision regarding them fell within the sphere of "Transferred" administration, with which the Government of India had no direct deal. The Franchise Committee found the opinion unanimous in favour of communal electorates. All communities were thus enabled and, indeed, action could hardly be justified on any other grounds, freely to take part in fashioning India's destiny and the opportunity was ensured against any community at the outset being impeded in making a joint contribution to a common task.

It was suggested that the hopes or fears of modification or extension of these special privileges were in part reasonable for the present discontent. These things could come within the purview of the Royal Commission, but the Viceroy made it plain on behalf of the Government of India, that in advance of the statutory enquiry, there is no intention of curtailing or of extending the present scope of these special statutory arrangements.

Proceeding, the Viceroy remarked that he had anxiously weighed the possibility of himself convening an All-India conference to consider the present situation. If he could think there was real likelihood, or even a real chance of such action effecting an improvement he should not be deterred from adopting it by the inevitable risk of failure. He trusted, however, that as time went on there would be a mutual disposition among those who could speak for their great communities to take such bilateral undertaking in the

cause of peace as would reflect the wishes of a substantial majority of the opinion of both communities. But there was much to be done before they reach this happier stage.

He recalled that the Unity Conference, held in October, 1924, had not succeeded in producing a calmer atmosphere which was hoped of it. It failed, and every similar attempt would fail so long as a conference was not preceded by any adequate change of heart and feeling throughout the communities. The two communities should first bring themselves to judge the matters in dispute with a far greater measure of toleration and restraint than unhappily prevails at present. The more he pondered over the problem the more clearly he felt that the first work to be done was by the leaders within their own ranks and the future of their community and the country alike demanded it. Let them throw themselves, into a nobler struggle, the fight for toleration. He saw before him two ancient and highly organized societies with able and esteemed public men as their recognised leaders. He could not conceive that a really sincere and sustained appeal by them to the rank and file of their co-religionists, sustained by active propaganda of the new gospel of peace, would go unheeded. In past centuries each community had made great contributions to the annals of history and civilization in India. He refused to believe that they could make no contribution now to rescue the good name of India from the hurt which their present discord inflicted upon it.

Finally, the Viceroy made a fervent appeal in the name of Indian National life and in the name of religion to all in each community who held positions in various spheres of public life to work untiringly for the new atmosphere of trust. He appealed in the name of national life because communal tension was eating into it as a cancer. It had suspended its activities and ranged component parts into hostile camps. He appealed in the name of religion because there could be no greater tragedy than that religion, which should be the expression and the support of man's highest instincts, should be prostituted by an alliance with actions through which those instincts are distorted and disgraced. Such a development, if it were unchecked, could only end in the infliction of a mortal wound upon human character, upon India and upon the cause of that religion in whose guise it was allowed to masquerade.

The Poona Speech.

Another happy pronouncement was made by His Excellency Lord Irwin on July 28th at Poona on the Hindu-Muslim question in which he reiterated his deep anxiety to ease the tension. "I am determined," the Viceroy told the Mahomedans who presented him with an address, "with your help and with the help of the Hindu community to remove this blot from the fair name of India." It was evidently in consequence of this earnest desire to do something towards the solution of the problem that he had asked his colleague, Sir B. N. Mitra, to interview the Hindu and Mahomedan leaders in Bengal. The exact nature of the conversations was not authoritatively stated in public, but immediate efforts were directed to the formation of conciliation and arbitration boards composed of delegates from both the communities. Replying to the deputation the Viceroy said :—

"You have asked me to safeguard the interests of your co-religionists from the evil effects of communal dissensions which unhappily are now so

prominent in Indian life. It is hardly necessary for me to speak at great length to-day on this question, as I discussed it fully when addressing the Chelmsford Club at Simla a week or two ago. I am blind to none of the disturbing possibilities which lurk in it and I am determined, with your help and with the help of the Hindu community, to remove this blot from the fair name of India. Peace and order must be preserved, but I cannot believe that it is beyond the power of the leaders of each community to bring home to their more hot-headed fellows the futility and the peril of these outbursts. Do not think that this means the surrender of any principle that are dear to you or the denial of a single tenet of your great religion. I ask that of no man. I think that, in no quarter where the facts of the situation are squarely faced, will there be a disposition to deny that many things are done to-day in the name of loyalty to religion, which falsify and betray the fundamental instincts of humanity from which all religion takes its root.

"The question of communal representation about which you have expressed anxiety is of great complexity. As I have said elsewhere its only justification is that it should be the means through which every community should feel free to give what it can to the common cause of the service of India. But if this ultimate purpose is obscured and if communal representation comes to be regarded as an end in itself and thus has the effect of narrowing the horizon of our loyalty, what was designed to promote the cause of unity quickly becomes the seed-bed of division. When different communities have to live together it is incumbent upon each to recognise that the cause of peace demands a wide measure of mutual toleration and restraint. That which we claim for ourselves, we must be ready to accord to our neighbours. This spirit, if it may but grow, will be found to be a better and more lasting solvent of the present discords than any artificial methods of representation. But, until we can reach this state, communal representation in some form is likely to be necessary and it is probable that any substantial modification of it must largely depend upon the general consent of all communities".

The Indian Christians on Communalism.

The All India Conference of Indian Christians presented an address to His Excellency the Viceroy at Simla on the 1st September 1926 under the leadership of the Hon'ble Raja Sir Harnam Singh Ahluwalia. The deputation was representative and influential. In the course of their address they stated :—

"We view with concern the increasing tension which marks the relations between the two great communities of India. In meeting this situation the Government has accepted the principle of communal representation in the Legislature, but in recent years this principle has been even extended to the services. As regards the first, our community, except in the Madras Presidency, have been merged in the non-Mohamedan constituencies. We have accepted this provision, not that we believe the system gives our community adequate representation, but because we have set our faces against any practice which will still further divide the voters along communal

interests. With the increasing friction, our chances in the political life of the country become more remote, as the non-Mohamedan constituencies tend to become the strongholds of communalism. This is not the occasion to place definite proposals before Your Excellency but we trust that the interests of our community will not be overlooked. As regards the second, we regret that the extension of the principle of communal representation to the public services has also been accepted. We would urge upon Your Excellency that merit should constitute the main condition for admission to, as well as promotion in, Government service In the case of the backward classes, in the opinion of our community, it is incumbent on Government to provide those educational facilities whice will enable their members to compete on equal terms. To us the efficiency and purity of the public services is a guarantee that the humblest of His Majesty's subjects in India can continue to live without let or hindrance, and we express the hope that high standard, irrespective of communal considerations, will be preserved intact."

Lord Olivier on Communalism.

The following is the correspondence between Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Olivier in the "Times" and the views of Lord Olivier in the "Times" concerning the communal trouble in India. Lord Olivier wrote on July 7 as follows:—

Sir,—The very interesting despatch from your correspondent which appears in "The Times" to-day confirms the correction which I have offered in your columns to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's contention that communal dissensions in India are due to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The causes, as your Correspondent points out, are anterior and wider and his references to them support what has been written by himself and Indian correspondents in your columns. But the scheme of franchises which was adopted on the recommendation of Lord Southborough's Commission in connexion with the new Constitution has certainly accentuated and extended the evil influences of the communal principle. That Commission itself deplored the necessity, which it deemed to be forced upon it, of creating new electoral communities in addition to the pre-existing distinction between Hindus and Moslems, and hoped it would be transitory. Until the communal principle for electoral franchises is eliminated ordered progress in constitutional Government will be impossible.

But there are other causes of the increasing faction fighting. No one with any close acquaintance of Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in British officialism in India in favour of the Moslem community, partly on the ground of closer sympathy but more largely as a make-weight against Hindu nationalism. Independently of this and its evil effects there has been vacillation in Police action and Police court practice sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, encouraging each side to take liberties. This is almost universally attested by responsible Indians, who impute it—I do not say justly—to a deliberate desire on the part of authority to maintain communal trouble as a testimony against the possibility of constitutional progress. Whether this imputation be unjust or not they point, as your Indian correspondents have done, to the absence of such troubles in Native States, where the purpose of maintaining public order and an even balance is untainted by any such mischievous arriere-pensee.'

Contray to the opinion of many Indians I consider that the regulations recently promulgated in Bengal with regard to processions, etc., are on the right line, if for no other reason, because they appear to me to follow the principle on which native rulers proceed. Mutual consideration is enforced; offensive demonstrations such as the killing of cows, are in some cases absolutely prohibited. Hindu processions with music, where there is a Moslem population may reasonably be prohibited in certain places and at certain times, but the Moslems have no right to expect that these religious rites shall be forbidden

at all times and in all streets, because they have mosques in every street and pray at all times of the day. Correspondingly, it is outrageous that Moslems to whom the killing of a cow is at best a mere purveying of butcher's meat, should be allowed, as they have been in some places, to make a public festival and demonstration of this exclusively secular feat by leading the poor beast through the streets wreathed with garlands, as in a religious procession, and as if they were about to make an idolatrous sacrifice wholly repugnant to their own religion. If Moslems must have beef it should, in Hindu cities, be purveyed through licensed abattoirs

Sir M. O'Dwyer's Reply.

To this Sir Michael O'Dwyer replied :—

Sir,—Lord Olivier in his letter in your issue of the 10th inst. prides himself on having with the authority of your Calcutta Correspondent, demolished "Sir Michael O'Dwyer's contention that communal dissensions in India are due to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms." I trust I am not too grievously ignorant of Indian conditions as to advance such a contention. What I said in my letter kindly published by you on April 12 and repeated in my reply to Lord Olivier in your issue of April 20 was that the traditional sectarian hostility has since the Reforms been aggravated tenfold by the political struggles of the rival religions and races to possess themselves of the power and place which the British Government is, to their minds, vacating

Does Lord Olivier deny the accuracy of this statement? It is a pity that in his efforts to explain away "the increasing faction fighting," he advances the unjust and unfounded statement that "there is a predominant bias in British officialism in India in favour of the Moslem community." If any refutation is required one is furnished in the dispatch of your Calcutta Correspondent in the very same issue, stating that the Mahomedan Deputy Mayor of Calcutta in the Legislative Council attacked the impartiality of the Police on the ground that they were preponderatingly Hindus This preponderance was officially admitted.

I am afraid that Moslem critics will detect an anti-Moslem bias in the late Secretary of State for India not only because of the above statement but also because of the extraordinary ignorance of Islam displayed in his confident assertion that the killing of kine at the great Mahomedan festivals is not an obligatory religious sacrifice but "at best a mere purveying of butchers' meat" and "an exclusively secular feat!" One wonders from what sources Lord Olivier derives his information. But those sources are obviously anti-British and also anti-Moslem.

Lord Olivier's Reply.

Lord Olivier concluded the correspondence with the following letter :—

Sir,—If by "since the Reforms" Sir M. O'Dwyer did not mean "in consequence of the Reforms" but was merely employing a descriptive form of chronology, I apologize for misinterpreting him His statement that the traditional sectarian hostility in India has been "aggravated tenfold" by the political struggles of the rival religions and races to possess themselves of power and place attributes, in my opinion and that of others of your correspondents, enormously exaggerated influence to that factor. Factors more potent have been indicated. The fault" says your Simla Correspondent, "is not in the Reforms" and explained why he says so.

I do not see that the accusation quoted by Sir M. O'Dwyer against Hindu Police of partiality for Hindus affects the question whether British officialism in India does or does not on the whole, feel more sympathy with Mahomedanism than with Hinduism and consider the Moslems a more "virile" community (to use Lord Birkenhead's word) and better qualified for dominion. The majority of the Englishmen I have met in the course of my life who have served in India have forcibly expressed such predilections which are very intelligible in them, but do not prove their qualifications for governing the Hindus.

Lord Olivier on "Official Bias".

Subsequently in another long letter to the "Times" on the 12th August 1926 Lord Olivier explained more clearly the meaning of the "official bias" which he had used in his letter of the 7th July last as given above. When he was challenged in the House of Lords on the 28th July by the Secretary of State and the late Viceroy, the Marquis

of Reading about the statement, all that he said to allay the suspicions of the officials was that he did not mean to impute any attitude of favouritism to the Government of India. But still he maintained his conviction of the existence of a kind of bias amongst the officials owing to the higher appreciation of the latter of the virtues of the Moslem section of the community. (For Lord Olivier's speech see page 131).

In this letter Lord Olivier digs up the official record of Lord Minto's time and on the basis of an interview between the Viceroy and a Moslem deputation writes: "The late Lord Minto was a most gallant and high-minded Englishman; he was not eaten up with that supposed discretion which is deemed to consist in dissembling opinions known to be held and imagining that if you do so, you will be trusted to act as if you did not hold them. When Lord Minto was approached on behalf of the Moslem community with a request for separate representation (by election) in excess of the proportion of its numbers, he answered: "you justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength, but in the respect of the political importance of your community and the services it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely with you." Lord Minto then expressed precisely that kind of predilection in favour of the Moslem community which is in my opinion prevalent amongst officials in India."

Continuing, Lord Olivier maintained that there has been no official repudation of this policy which is by implication assumed to have been the governing dictum of Lord Morley's policy. For he says; "But so far as I am aware, the government has not publicly expressed the view that such preferential discrimination, however unobjectionable it might be, under the merely representative institutions of the Morley-Minto Reforms, is quite incompatible with the idea of the Montagu-Chelmsford Councils and Ministries. Any expressions of such opinions may well have been deemed uncalled for, the constitution at present not being under revision; but would it be unnatural or unjustifiable for Hindu politicians to view with suspicion such unrepressed assumptions of claims to privilege?"

Lord Olivier then imagines what Moslems and Englishmen would have said if any Governor-General, impressed with the achievements of Aryan civilization in India had replied to a Hindu memorial in the terms employed by Lord Minto when responding to his Moslem deputation. He declares that it is much more dangerous to British credit in India that perfectly familiar truisms, like those to which he has given expression, should be greeted with bombastic abuse in British journals than that political convictions should be frankly expressed, as Lord Minto expressed his.

Continuing, Lorn Olivier holds that even the late Mr. C. R. Das was ill-advised when, on grounds of political expediency, he gave way to the demands of the Moslem Swarajists in order to secure the Bengal Pact. The price paid for that abortive agreement, as Lord Olivier says, could never be sustained in equity, and it was for this reason, among others, that the Pact came to an untimely end. Such one-sided arrangements can never be squared with the principles of the reformed Constitution, and it is unthinkable that they should find any place in the future proposals of the Government.

In so far as the Reformed Constitution has proved unworkable and has had the effect of exacerbating factious rivalry, Lord Olivier attributes this result to the working of the communal electoral franchise; but he wants to reduce that kind of representation to a minimum. The supporters of the Moslem claims like Sir Theodore Morrison are in favour of extending it further. These people talk as if the Moslems were the only minority in India. The Hindus themselves are in a minority in some areas. And obviously, as Lord Olivier points out, the rights of the lesser communities (Sikhs, Christians, Labour etc.) cannot possibly be protected by the Moslem prescription of over-representation all round. "If anything can be confidently foretold," he adds, "about the 1920 Constitution it is that it will recommend the supersession of the separate communal electorates by some other form of safeguard for minority rights."

As to the suggestion that the only remedy for the supposed irreconcilable differences of Indians is the permanent imposition of British rule, Lord Olivier observes that "from Lord Minto's time onwards every responsible British administrator or Minister who has had to control Indian affairs has recognized that that prescription is entirely impracticable and futile and has endeavoured, as we are most of us now doing, to contribute what he could towards assisting the evolution of fairly representative national Government. It is worse than useless to say this cannot be done. It only strengthens intransigient Indian Nationalists in their belief that Englishmen do not wish that it should be done."

The Allahabad Ramlila Procession.

A crowded meeting of Hindus was held on the 5th October 1926 at Allahabad to protest against the restrictions put by the District authorities on the Ramlila procession. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in the course of his speech, characterised the Magistrate's order to stop music before mosques at prayer time as not justified in law and he said that by passing such an order, the authorities have lowered the British prestige. The Pandit asked the Hindus to refrain from Satyagraha, advised them to bear everything patiently and exhorted them to keep peace and order and to adhere to constitutional means. Resolutions were passed expressing resentment at the Magistrate's order and begging H. E. the Governor and H. E. the Viceroy to intervene. The following telegram was sent by Pt. Malaviya to the Governor :—

Pt. Malaviy's Telegram.

" The Hindu residents of Allahabad, assembled at a public meeting, record the strong protest against the attitude of the district authorities in refusing licences even this year for the Ramlila procession in conformity with the long established local custom. The meeting invites the attention of H. E. Governor-in-Council to the deep and universal pain which the said attitude has caused to the Hindus. The meeting submits that protection of the just rights of Hindu citizens and preservation of the prestige of the British Government demand that licences for Ramlila processions be issued as used to be issued till last year without any restrictions as to time and music. It requests that His Excellency be pleased to direct the district authorities to issue licences for Ramlila as were issued till last year without the conditions mentioned above and further to direct the authorities to give the necessary protection to the Hindus in the exercise of legitimate rights and to take steps to preserve peace by such action as may be necessary to prevent any unwarranted attack on such rights. The meeting draws the attention of H. E. the Governor-in-Council to the address of H. E. the Viceroy to the legislatures in which His Excellency said 'It cannot be too clearly emphasised that the Government have no intention whatever to allow any unjust or unreasonable claims, still less any violence or threat of violence, to deter them from their clear duty of maintaining public peace and, so far as it is compatible with the rights of others, rights of individual citizens to pursue unhampered their lawful avocations.' The meeting requests the Government of the United Provinces to give effect to His Excellency the Viceroy's views and not allow apprehension of possible disturbance of peace on the part of some rowdy members of a community to deter the district authorities from protecting the Hindus in exercising their rights in conformity with established local custom. The meeting also appeals to His Excellency the Viceroy to be pleased to advice the local Government to carry out the policy which His Excellency laid down in this connection as the honoured head of the Government of India. The meeting hopes and trusts that both H. E. the Governor-in-Council and His Excellency the Viceroy will uphold the prestige of the British Government as permitting law-abiding citizens to exercise their legal and customary rights without being deterred by the apprehensions of violence on the part of rowdy elements in a section of the community."

The U. P. Government's Reply.

The reply of the United Provinces Government is as follows :—

"I am directed to reply to your telegram of the 6th inst. in which you communicate the resolutions passed by a meeting of the Hindus at Allahabad and request that the district authorities should be instructed to issue a licence allowing the Ramlila procession without any restrictions or conditions.

"The conditions imposed by the district authorities are designed to secure that music shall not be played in front of mosques at prayer time. The Hindus claim that no such restriction should be imposed and it has been sought to justisy this claim on two grounds viz., (a) custom and (b) that the Hindus have a legal right and that they should be protected in the exercise of it.

"As regards the first point, general orders were issued in 1911 directing that a record should be prepared of the customs observed in connection with religious festivals throughout the province. The record prepared in 1912 stated that there was no custom of stopping music before mosques in Allahabad, but that processions were so managed as not to be in front of mosques at the time of prayer. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of this record. And in 1915 the Commissioner of Allahabad reported that so far as could be ascertained, the processions in the past had been over by nightfall when the image of Rawan was burnt on the banks of the river about a mile beyond the last mosque on the route. Past practice, therefore, does not support the claim made in your telegram.

"The second contention rests on a misconception. It is for the civil courts to pronounce regarding legal rights and neither the Government nor the Magistrates have ever attempted to do so. All such rights, however, are subject, as has been repeatedly held by the courts themselves to such orders as may be necessary for Magistrates and police officers to pass for the prevention of disturbance The district authorities at Allahabad were convinced in view of the recent disturbances and the temper of the people that if no restrictions were enforced, serious rioting was not only probable but practically certain to occur. No police precautions that are practicable could suffice to ensure that rioting would not occur, since it is impossible to line every street and lane throughout the city with the police. There in no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of this view. The Government have always recognised that an unreasonable demand which would have the effect of seriously impairing any religious festival, rite of ceremony should be resisted even at the risk of a riot and the Magistrate has been instructed accordingly. But the alternative restrictions that have been imposed at Allahabad shall have no such effect. It is not in any way essential to the performance of the Ramlila that music should be played in front of musques at the time of evening prayer. This is shown both by the record of past practice at Allahabad above referred to and by the practice in other years at other places.

"The Government regret that the Hindus of Allahabad are unwilling to accept either of the conditions imposed by the district authorities. But they consider that these conditions are justified and necessary in the interest of public peace and they are, therefore, unable to accede to the request conveyed in your telegram."

Pt. Malaviya's Reply to Government.

In reply Pt. Malaviya sent a second telegram saying that the representatives of the Ramlila Committee were unanimously of opinion that they could not consistenly with their duty to their community and to the residents of Allahabad in general accept either of the conditions laid down by the district authorities. In giving their reasons, the Pandit says that such restrictions constitute an unjustifiable encroachment on the rights of Hindu citizens to take out religious and other processions through public streets in a peaceable manner as they used to do from time immemorial and that it is common ground. There is no custom of stopping music before mosques in Allahabad. The fundamental right which has been openly exercised year after year with great pomp and pageant at least ever since the British rule was established in Allahabad is a matter of deep concern to more than a hundred thousand residents of Allahabad and to millions outside. It should not be adversely affected by an order of the kind in question made without any enquiry from or intimation to the Hindus. While agreeing it is for civil courts to pronounce judgment regarding legal rights, the complaint of the Hindus is by refusing licences for a second time this year, the Magistrate has virtually pronounced a decision regarding the legal rights of the parties.

In connection with the statement that serious rioting was sure to take place, the Pandit submits if the district authorities act firmly and take the necessary precautions, it is practically certain no serious rioting will occur. The Pandit is willing to offer a thousand volunteers of respectable character to work with the Police.

Lastly, the Pandit begs to state that one of the strongest reasons which has weighed with the members of the Ramlila Committee in not accepting either of the conditions in question is that they are convinced that far from obviating the trouble between the two communities, their acceptance of such conditions will become a fruitful source of fresh quarrels in the future. If the sentiment is fostered that it is disrespectful to a mosque to pass by it with music it is certain to give rise to frequent riots and to lead to much undeserved suffering. It is not in the interest of good government and humanity to encourage this sentiment. The Pandit asks the Government to give the whole question its most serious consideration. After what has happened, not to permit the Ramlila procession to be taken out here even this year will be to allow resort to unlawful violence to gain its object to flout the Government and to inflict undeserved pain upon hundred thousand law-abiding subjects of His Majesty in Allahabad and of millions outside it. If the Government will allow licences to issue even up to the 12th instant the Committee will yet manage to go through the Ramlila celebrations by crowding them into four days and millions of Hindus will be grateful for being saved the pain and mortification to which they are unjustly subjected at present.

The U. P. Govt's Final Reply

In reply the U. P. Government concluded the controversy by sending the following telegram :—

" The Government have given your letter their most careful consideration. They regret that it should have been necessary to impose any restrictions. They had hoped Hindus would voluntarily adopt the arrangement

in conformity with past practice which would have obviated all controversy, but they adhere to the view that since Hindus were unwilling to do so, restrictions imposed were justified. Accordingly, they are unable to alter the decision already conveyed to you."

The Celebration Abandoned.

As the above conditions imposed by the authorities were not acceptable to the Hindus, they abandoned the Ramlila celebrations, in consequence of which no procession was taken out on the 16th October when otherwise a big procession would ordinarily have been taken out. There was hartal in the city on this day, but not as complete as the organisers wished. Several shops remained open in the main thoroughfares but little business was done, many people being nervous to venture out. Extra armed pickets were posted all over the city and police were on the alert.

Reports from Calcutta, Delhi, Patna and other places indicated that the Dasara and Ramlila celebrations were performed at those places without any trouble.

Murder of Swami Shraddanand.

The news that Swami Shraddananda Sanyasi has fallen a victim to a dastardly assassin was received with horror and indignation throughout the country. This melancholy event took place at Delhi on the 23rd December 1926 at 4 P.M. in the afternoon. The circumstances in which the crime was committed are exceptionally revolting. The Swamiji was just on his way to recovery after a very serious attack of pneumonia from which he had been suffering for the past some months. Only three days had elapsed since the doctors declared him convalescent He was still bed-ridden at the time of the outrage. It was in this state of his health that the cowardly Muslim, under the guise of seeking spiritual enlightenment from the Swamiji, secured admittance into his room, got the Swamiji's servant out of the way by requesting him to fetch a tumble of water and perpetrated the foul deed. Of the magnitude of the heinousness of the crime—an unprovoked attack on a helpless, aged and revered personage in a delicate state of health—it is impossible to speak in the language of extravagance. It was black and mean as any act could be and no citizen of India can think of it without feelings of the deepest horror, indignation and sorrow. For the community in particular for whose uplift in a special sense the late Swamiji devoted the best part of his life, his loss must be deemed incalculable. The Arya Samajists will, it need hardly be said, feel inconsolable.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that because of the accident that his lot was cast among the Arya Samajists or the Hindus of Northern India the Swamiji had no wider interests, that he was a narrow communalist or that his services to the country at large were negligible. His "confession of faith" will, we daresay, dispel the notion that he was a Hindu partisan and not an Indian patriot. Shraddanand held that every Indian should make the welfare of the Motherland t

centre towards which all his activities should gravitate. His own activity was for a quarter of a century directed towards training select Hindu youths of the country for the service of the Motherland ; for in a real sense he was, as Principal MAHATMA MUNSHIRAM, the maker of the Gurukul, Hardwar, that unique institution to which the credit of providing efficient missionaries for Arya Samaj work is in a large measure due. Much of that work is connected with the uplift of the enslaved classes who constitute a fifth of the entire nation, and it was in connection with this work of exorcising this evil of Hindu India, which at the same time meant strengthening it, that he fell into disfavour with certain section of the Muslim community. It is a pity that activities directed towards the noble end of liberating the oppressed classes should have led to misunderstandings between certain sections of the communities. Swami Shraddananda, the virile Punjabi that he was, never shrank from his work and never allowed himself to be cowed down by hostile critics. The remarkable success which attended his campaign only made him more and more unpopular with that section of the Muslims who viewed his campaign with suspicion.

Some of the Swamij's followers might indeed seek to connect the crime with the activities of certain Muslims on behalf, as may be alleged by them, of the Muslim community. But to do so would be a serious mistake. There is not a tittle of evidence to show that the crime was anything more than the mad act of a Muslim fanatic; and, while it will be agreed that leaders, particularly Muslims, have a heavy responsibility in the matter of educating their brethren and thus saving them from falling a prey to ignorance and fanaticism leading to crime, no far-seeing patriot can draw inferences " incriminating the hole Muslim community " because of the dastardly act of a mad Muslim. We know—the country knows—it is a heavy blow to the Hindus of Northern India; every responsible Indian, no matter what his caste or creed is, will sympathise with them, especially because wisdom demands of them that, far from giving way to foolish panic and unreasoning anger, they should bear this calamity with manliness, courage and firm faith in the good sense of their countrymen. We are glad to note that leaders, both Hindu and Muslim, have viewed the incident in the proper perspective. The lot of these two communities is cast by inescapable destiny in a common motherland ; and commonsense must dictate to them that one community cannot suppress the legitimate rights of the other by resort to murder and terrorism. No leader worthy of his salt can ignore this fact ; and the country demands of each one of them to recognise his heavy responsibility, wean his followers from the path of violence in deed as well as in word and thought, which is the path of certain destruction, and lead them on to the path of justice, patriotism peace and their natural concomitant, prosperity. The shadow of an irreparable loss hangs heavy over us ; let us not add to the poignancy of the calamity by thoughtless words or deeds born of panic or imaginary fears. (From the Hindu, Madras.)

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The Patuakhali Satyagraha.

The following are extracts from the very informing report submitted by Sj. Piyush Kanti Ghose to the Hindu Relief Committee and published in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of Calcutta :—

The Satyagraha at Patuakhali, like many other awkward spectacles as seen in our country is, in reality, the offshoot of a very simple incident—an incident which might have been easily avoided.

The story of the Satyagraha can be told in a few words. Since sometime past the feeling between the Hindus and the Mahomedans were getting more and more strained at Patuakhali. Previously the local Mahomedans never slaughtered any cow within public view. This year, however, this time-honoured custom was done away with and during the last Bakr-id they slaughtered as many as four cows in four different places of the town all open to public view and near public thoroughfares. This profoundly wounded the feelings of the Hindus. The matter was further aggravated as a few Government officers (all Mahomedans) were found to countenance the action. The Hindus by way of retaliation, started a Sankirtan party that very day and led it through a public road near a mosque which they did not do for about 5 or 7 years out of good feeling towards the Mahomedans. This created further trouble which went on from bad to worse till on the occasion of the last "Janam Ashtami" the Hindus wanted again to lead a Sankirtan party through the same road. As the Assistant Superintendent of Police had, in the meantime, issued a number of personal and general notices asking the Hindus to apply for license if they wanted to start any procession, an application was made for the purpose. The A. S. P. imposed certain restrictions in the license asking the processionists to stop music in certain parts of the main road which lay near the mosque referred to above. The Hindus claimed their right to have unrestricted use of the public road for religious procession and Satyagraha was started.

According to the wishes of the A. S. P. a license is obtained daily since the last "Janam Ashtami" day to start a religious procession singing Sankirtan accompanied with drums and symbols and flags flying. The restrictions with slight alterations are imposed in the license. The restricted area is daily guarded by a posse mostly of armed constables about 75 in number, and at times going up to 100. Some of the constables line the prohibited portion of the road on both its sides and a large number wait at the other end of this area in a group accompanied by the S.D.O., A.S.P. and a few other Police officers. According to the time stated in the license the processionists start from the local Kalibari at about 5 in the afternoon or some times earlier singing Kirtans accompanied by music. On reaching one end of the restricted area the processionists who are followed by a large concourse of people stop but continue their music and sing with great gusto for about half an hour or more. As the place is not far from the new mosque which is now being principally used as a place of prayer our Mahomedan brethren stand in a line on its verandah which is just in front of the spot and regale their ears with the celestial music of the Hindus. After the processionists have danced and sang to their heart's content till they are tired and have treated our Mahomedan brethren with their sweet music which is as strongly audible from the mosque as from other parts of the road, four of them with a yellow band on which "Satyagrahi" is inscribed rush forward singing the same song till on their arrival at the other point they are arrested by the Police and led to the Thana. After being detained there for a few hours they are released on proper surety. The main body of the processionists then turn round and move about in different parts of the city singing kirtans till dusk. This is now being daily enacted at Patuakhali.

Up till now i. e. 15th September 1926, 85 arrests have been made and a special Magistrate has been deputed from Barisal to try them. They are to be tried under sections 30 and 32 of the Police Act and the trial of a few of them has already begun.

This Satyagraha movement has created a good deal of local sensation. The leaders of the District are anxious to bring a termination to the unhappy state of things as early as possible but a considerable section of the younger people are determined to carry it on to a successful end.

One thing to be noted in connection with the Satyagrahis is that they are perfectly peaceful and non-violent in character They honestly believe that they are not defying the Government but are fighting for a principle which they believe will be ultimately settled in their favour.

Having heard of disquieting news from Patuakhali from private sources I immediately started for the place and arrived at Barisal on the 11th September. A meeting was arranged the same afternoon and the whole question was discussed at length with the leaders of the district town. The general consensus of opinion was to stop Satyagraha if that were possible and to institute a Civil suit for the declaration of the right of the Hindus to lead religious processions over the main thoroughfare of Patuakhali near which, unfortunately, two mosques stood. It was arranged that five prominent leaders of Barisal would proceed to Patuakhali the same evening and I was requested to assist them in arriving at a right conclusion in the matter after local enquiry.

Early next morning we inspected both the new and the old mosques which are only a few yards distant from each other, the locality and the area restricted for the passing of procession with music On our return we held a conference with the Hindus who were conducting Satyagraha here or were generally in favour of the movement. They numbered about 500 and belonged to all professions and castes of the Hindus We then ascertained the views of those who were against the movement and who were about half a dozen in number at different sitting. I am glad to say that about a dozen Mahomedan gentlemen of the town, all leading men, also gave us the benefit of their view of the troublesome question on invitation We also saw the local officials including the Sub-Divisional Officer and the Assistant Superintendent of Police. In our round through the streets we had a chance of meeting stray people belonging to different ranks in society and ascertaining their views.

The Hindu View.

The Hindus maintained that perfect good feeling existed between the two communities before but since the past few years the Mahomedans were found to put them into disadvantage in every matter by a series of events that occurred. In every case they had to lose ground and if this was allowed to go on unchecked their very existence would be impossible. They made a free gift of land for the erection of the Mosque and the boarding house of the Mahomedans and what do they find to-day? They are not to be permitted to lead their religious processions by the side of a piece of land which they made over to the Mahomedans out of charity. The word "custom" on which the Mahomedans take their stand now originated out of their eagerness to maintain cordial relations with them and abstaining from their playing of music on certain occasions near the mosque for the last 5 or 7 years only. If they had shown charity and good feeling towards the Mahomedans at one time out of their weakness and as a result had lost much of their rights they were not willing to follow this mistaken policy any further.

The Hindus, thereupon, gave some specific instances where their rights were curbed at the unreasonable attitude of the Mahomedans. Some of these may be mentioned here in brief. The local Hindu students had been performing their Swaraswati Puja freely for many years in the two schools of the town, but year before last objection was taken to this by the Mahomedans and the places of the performance of the Puja had to be shifted. During the last Durga Puja celebration in the Jubilee School a theatrical performance was arranged and leaflets were naturally printed with the word. "Puja Performance" on the headline. Objection was taken by a Mahomedan student with the word thus printed and in the disturbance that arose the performance had to be given up at the eleventh hour. Slaughter of cows in public view near public thoroughfares which was never done before and two Mahomedan officers taking an active part in the matter further exasperated the Hindus. There were also objections to Sankirtans being held in Hindu houses near one of the mosques.

The small party of the Hindus who are opposed to Satyagraha gave the following reasons in support of their views :—(a) The place is pre-eminently unfit for such an action as more than 90 per cent of the inhabitants of the Sub-Divisions are illiterate Mahomedans who could be easily led by designing persons to do mischief. (b) The movement was unnecessarily endangering the lives and properties of the Hindu inhabitants. (c) Methods like this have not the sanction of the Hindu-Mahasabha and the Congress. Had it been so sanctioned the Hindu population might have some guarantee for suitable compensation for lose of life and property. (d) It is not sanctioned by the thinking and considerate people of the town. (e) Such a course has not been adopted anywhere in India. The gentlemen belonging to this party are of opinion that compromise with the Mahomedans is the only course open to the Hindus even at a sacrifice.

Mr. Kirkwood · Yes, but I am astonished at even the Attorney-General, because he knows perfectly well—the Official Report will prove it to-morrow—that he said £2,000 from the British Exchequer and £2,000 from the Indian Exchequer. If that is not £4,000, I do not know what it is. There are the same men, the Prime Minister included, who are backing £4,000 for one man, as much wages as they are prepared to pay to 2,000 colliers, and we are expected to back a Bill like that, and our Front Bench will give its blessing to it after the titanic struggle that the miners have made. If ever there was class legislation, this is it. The Prime Minister says that there is no such thing as a class struggle in society. Here he is to-day backing one man for £4,000. Is not that a terrible difference? Is not that putting class against class—one man of the lawyer class, which costs this country every year over £100,000,000 to keep them going—£100,000,000, and they do not produce a single iota of the necessaries of life, but simply live on the flesh and blood of those who do produce? Remember this, that all the good things, the good clothes that you wear, the good fruit that you eat and the good houses that you live in, are produced by labour, and whoever enjoys those good things without working for them is stealing the bread of the worker.

This is one of the reasons why this country cannot afford to give the miners and the workers in general a living wages. It is because there are certain individuals, under this system of ours, who take from it £4,000 a year. How long is it going to last? Are the Labour benches going to back a system that gives £4,000 a year to certain individuals who never have had to rough it, who never knew what it was to want their breakfast, who never knew what it was to be aching, as do the children in the slums, inasmuch as they do not know what it is to have a night's sleep because of the verminous conditions under which they live? Here is a body of men, Judges, who have been reared in the lap of luxury, and the very best that Britain can give them, and then when they come to 50 or 60 years of age they are to get this comfortable job. Why should they get it? What is it that these Judges have which is superior over me? [Hon. Members "Brains!"] Hon. Members say "Brains." I am prepared to stand any test, and if I am not mentally and physically as well equipped as any man in this House, then I do not know what it means. If any of them can prove that they have rendered their country better service than I have done, I want to see them. This is just what is to be expected—rich men living in the lay of luxury—when it comes to one of their own class I want the Prime Minister to think about this, because even yet I have not given him up. You get the Prime Minister of this country, after negotiating with my class, coming in direct contact with Cook and Herbert Smith and other members of my class, and seeing those men who, he knows, are just as capable—whether he differs from them in his point of view or not it does not matter—just as capable of stating their case, as competent in every way as any Judge, including Lord Haldane or all the Haldanes that ever were haldaned.

There is no Judge, there is no lawyer, there is no man in this country who has a right to £4,000 a year, while the miners and the engineers are paid the wages that they receive. Think of my own trade, think of the engineers I know that my fellow-engineers are working for £2 15s. a week. It is a scandal, and there never was a Judge, there never was a Prime Minister, including the Present Prime Minister able to give a better account of himself or to give better service to the country than the skilled engineer, and yet the skilled engineer has to give his all for £2 15s. a week. Do you think that we are going calmly to sit here and listen even to our own Front Bench? It is enough to make the very stones cry out, to think that they would tell us that this £4,000 a year should be paid. It all turns on this, that you have on the one hand people with tens of thousands of pounds, taking tens of thousands of pounds; you have gentle-

on the other side of the House who are in the habit of drawing tens of thousands of

ids. [Hon. Members. "No."] They deny it. We had an example of that in Lord

ey, who left this country in order to escape taxation.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker (Captain Fitz Roy) The hon. Member is now travelling rather e of the subject before the House.

Mr. Kirkwood. I am keeping to the point, though I know quite well that I am not ng on orthodox lines. But I am speaking the truth, and "truth cutteth keener than two-edged sword." My folk outside to-day, the working classes of this country, are nking about the idea of one man by Act of Parliament getting £4,000 a year. We have en told that it would not do for Parliament to interfere with the wages of the working asses, and that we must have freedom. Where is the freedom?

"O, Freedom, what things are done in thy name!"

Here is Parliament, here are the Tory party and the Prime Minister being part and parcel to a special Bill for the regulation of wages. [Hon. Members: "How about your

own Front Bench?"] I can deal with my own Front Bench, and it can deal with me if it likes. Here you have the Government dealing with the wages of a certain class. They cannot deal with the wages of the working classes; they cannot be big enough I thought the Prime Minister was big enough, when he said that he would cleave his way, if necessary, through private interests, in order to see that the working classes of this country got a fair deal. He failed, and failed miserably. He cannot bring in an Act of Parliament to ensure that the most valuable asset that the country has got, the working classes, g t a comfortable living, but he is part and parcel to certain individuals getting £4,000 a year. I protest most emphatically, because, if the engineers are worth only £2 15s. a week, and the miners worth only the miserable pittance that this Government is responsible for forcing them to accept, then I say that there is no one in the British Empire who is worth £4,000 a year. The Government should think shame of themselves. If they were half human they would never bring forward a Measure like this.

Mr. N. MACLEAN: I want also to protest against a Money Resolution being brought in to supplement a Bill of this kind. The Government are constantly telling the people of this country, and particularly Labour Members and their supporters outside the House, that all remuneration amongst the working classes, for anything which they can do, must be based upon economic laws, that the economic laws which operate in this country determine and fix the wages of the workers. The engineers' wages, which are undoubtedly very low in consideration of the work that they perform, are supposed to be fixed by the law of supply and demand. During the whole of the miners' dispute the country was told by the Press, by the Prime Minister and by those who sit beside or behind him, that the miners must be prepared to accept what they could get because of economic laws. We were told that we could not fight against economic laws, and that the miners' wages must be determined by economic laws.

What did that mean? The Prime Minister himself and others, speaking on his behalf, admitted that he could not, and he would not, by Act of Parliament fix the wages which the miners were to receive, that there was to be no legal fixing of wages for the miners. Yet the Government brings in a Bill and a Money Resolution fixing the wages of two new Judges. It is not a question of increasing the wages of existing Judges, but the giving of powers to appoint two additional Judges, and they are to receive from this country £2,000 a year, with the right to have that £2,000 supplemented by £2,000 from the Indian Exchequer. I ask the Prime Minister and the Attorney-General why they do not apply their own logic and argument when they are trying to meet the claims of miners and other working people.

Mr Grotrian. Can you get Judges for less?

Mr. Maclean. You lock out the miners when you want them for less, lock out the Judges and you will soon get them for very much less.

Mr. Grotrian: It is a question of supply and demand. You cannot get them.

Mr. Maclean: There are scores of lawyers in London with very few briefs and very little employment who would take a job of this kind for very much less than £2,000 a year and who would possibly do the work much better than the men you are about to appoint.

Mr. Grotrian: They have no knowledge of Indian Law.

Mr. Maclean. We do not require a knowledge of Indian law or any other law to realise that the lawyers' trade union is the strongest trade union in the country. We find the lawyers always on the job when there is some pecuniary advantage to be gained. We have only to look around these benches when a question of this kind is being discussed and we find on the other side practically all its supporters are lawyers. [Hon. Members: "No!"] Hon. Members have only to look around them. Let them go down to the smokeroom and they will see more. If we divide, let them examine the Division list and see the number of lawyers who have come together in support of this propo That is my proof. Do hon. Members require any additional proof of my statement? T know it to be true, and all their interruptions, sneers and laughter go for nothing. course, they have a majority and that is why they can laugh, but a few more Hulls v put them where we are now, and then we shall see who will laugh.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker (Mr. James Hope). That is a kind of prophecy, and does r seem relevant to the subject under discussion.

Mr. Maclean: It is true it is a prophecy, but this Bill deals with the future and thought it might be in order to make a reference to the future of the Labour and Tor parties. I protest against the proposal which is contained in this Bill and in the Money Resolution which accompanies it. If this country cannot afford a living wages to those who produce wealth, it cannot afford high salaries to the individuals who are to be appointed under this Bill. I hope the matter will be pressed to a Division, because the

Division List, when published in the Official Report to-morrow, will be very interesting. I, for one, will go into the Lobby gladly against this proposal. I shall vote with a very light heart against a proposal to give £4,000 a year to two lawyers, when we can get scores of men to do the work at lower rates if we leave it to the operation of the economic law and carry out the Prime Minister's pet theory.

Miss WILKINSON I think neither the Attorney-General nor the hon. and learned Member for South-West Hull (Mr. Grotrian) are to be congratulated on their logic in this matter. They have said, first of all, that it is absolutely necessary to fix a sum of not less than £4,000 a year and that otherwise, it will be impossible to get members of the legal profession of sufficient knowledge and ability to do this extremely important work. Yet in the same speech the Attorney-General declared that when the Indian Legislature puts its foot down and says it is not going to pay £4,000 a year, we can find two gentlemen who, without the faintest demur, will come along and take exactly the same jobs at exactly half the rate. I cannot congratulate the lawyers on their consistency in this matter. One can only congratulate them on the way in which they stand up for their own trade union when rates of remuneration are under consideration. Far be it from me, as a trade unionist, to object to that, if it were not for the fact that we always find the members of the lawyers' trade union leading the opposition when it is a question of the trade union rights of the working class It is just because they are the most virulent opponents of the trade union rights of other people that they must be prepared to accept considerable questioning when their own extraordinarily high rates of remuneration are under consideration.

One congratulates them on having been able to induce in this country a sort of mystical appreciation of the legal profession. They are regarded as wonderful and even when—as I understood the Attorney-General to admit—one of them is 90 years of age, there is no question of expressing anything but admiration for the marvellous brain which they can bring to bear on the problems placed before them. At any rate, the members of the legal profession are not subject to the risks which the members of the miners' and other trade unions have to undergo and they might be prepared to take less for working in such a protected trade. Those of us who have to stand the sneers which come from the other side when we are begging and asking for some merely decent minimum rate—one shilling and one three-fourth pence an hour or something like that—are expected to vote without demur for a proposal to give £4,000 a year to these, no doubt, estimable gentlemen. I think the hon. and learned Member for South-West Hull used an expression about the law of supply and demand. I ask the Prime Minister and the Attorney-General if they are prepared to put this proposal to the test of supply and demand and to advertise these positions among the legal profession Is it suggested that there are no Indian members of the Bar qualified for these appointments? I understand there is considerable unemployment among Indian members of the Bar. Is it suggested that none of them would be willing to take this job at a much lower figure than that now proposed? The hon. and learned Member for South-West Hull will hardly say that their knowledge of Indian law is insufficient, since they are specialists in the subject. At the present time, when we are told we cannot pay a subsistence wages for work which we cannot do without, I hope we shall not have to pay thousands to people whose work we could do without, were it not for the legal fiction and the mystery which surrounds it.

Mr. BUCHANAN I think the proposal in this Measure cannot be justified. It is sometimes argued against us that our own Front Bench is just as bad as the Front Bench on the other side. I, at least, have a clear conscience in this matter, because when our own party brought in a proposal to increase a salary from £2,000 to £5,000, I proposed it, and was practically alone in doing so. Therefore, I am carrying out quite logically the line which I took on this question towards my own colleagues when they were in office, and I cannot be accused of differentiating between one side and the other. The only argument for this proposal is that set up by the hon. and learned Member for South West Hull (Mr. Grotrian), that it is in accordance with the law of supply and demand. I remember as a pattern-maker during the War when, under the law of supply and demand, we could have demanded tremendous wages from the nation. So could the engineers at that time We could have asked for, and I think we would have been given great concessions, but we were told—and, possibly, it was right—that we would be blackmailing the nation by taking advantage of a temporary shortage to insist on terms which the nation could not afford. It is admitted that since the War the men in the building trade have, in the common saying, "the ball at their feet," but it has been argued that the building trade were blackmailing the nation, and that no section of

workers has a right to insist on terms from the nation which are outside the nation's capacity.

Now we are told that the law of supply and demand which was rejected in the case of the engineers and the builders is to operate in the case of the Judges. Is there any difference in human nature between the engineer and the Judge? The Attorney-General has said that the Indian Government had to agree to guarantee 2,000 pound. They think it is an extortionate demand, but the British Government propose to take steps to compel the Indian Government to give terms which the Indian Government do not think they ought to pay. For such a proposal there cannot even be the justification which exists for a Cabinet Minister's salary. There is this to be said for the Cabinet Minister, that his job is precarious. Any election may end his term of office, but a Judge has a guarantee of full-time employment and full wages until he reaches the age of 72. There is also this important difference, that a Cabinet Minister has no provision made for his old age unless he is prepared to plead extreme poverty, but the Judge, whether poor or rich, has the guarantee of a handsome pension, and no deductions are made from his salary such as are necessary in regard to other classes of workers. The Minister of Health in answer to a question recently told us that the nation could not increase the amount of the old age pension. We are told that 10s a week is sufficient for the old people of the nation and is all we can afford, but, by some miraculous process of reasoning, a Judge is said to be worthy of far more. A Judge has comparatively little responsibility. The responsibility of Judges is, in my opinion, largely overrated. So many people have little or no knowledge of a Judge's work, that advantage is taken of that lack of knowledge in order to "boost" the position. At a time when we are asking the miners and others to live on comparatively low wages, I submit that it would be criminal on the part of this House to agree to such an extravagant wages as this for these Judges.

Question put, "That the Bill be now read a Second time." The House divided. Ayes, 230; Noes, 28.

Report of Committee Discussion.

The following is from the Hansard report:—

Considered in Committee under Standing Order 71A. Mr. James Hope in the chair. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That for the purposes of any Act of the present Session to amend the Law with respect to the constitution of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, it is expedient to charge on the Consolidated Fund the yearly salary of two thousand pounds to be paid under the said Act to each of the two persons to be appointed thereunder to be members of the said Judicial Committee."—(King's Recommendation signified.)—(*Mr. McNeill.*)

Mr. MACLEAN: I do not think this matter ought to go through without some explanation from the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. Surely it is preposterous that we should be asked to vote £2,000 a year for two individuals, making £4,000 in all, without a word of explanation from him, and without some general statement as to the policy of the Government underlying its proposal. It is notorious that the Government come to this House with Financial Resolutions, and that when you, Mr. Chairman, or your colleague, puts the question from the Chair, the Financial Secretary or the Chancellor of the Exchequer gives a nod of the head, and on that it is expected that large sums of money are to be voted without explanation from those responsible. It is about time the House took charge of affairs, and demanded from those who are looked upon as being in control of the finance of the country that they should make some definite statement as to the reasons for the payments they ask the House to make. I think the House has a right to know just exactly what is in the mind of the Financial Secretary, and I hope we are going to have some statement, particularly when we have reminded the Government that there are other people in this country who, in our opinion, are more deserving of this money, who are more deserving of payments from the State, and who are being treated as though they were the worst possible aliens we could have in the country. When they ask for living conditions their claim is rejected, but here we have a proposal to pay £2,000 a year for year after year for two Judges. I am not going to protest against it at this stage, but I want to know what it means.

There is another point I would like some explanation upon. It states in the Bill that in the event of death vacancy occurring, further appointments can be made to make up the number of Judges to two. It is quite a reasonable thing to assume that in those circumstances—

The Chairman: The hon. Member can discuss the amount to be paid, but he appears now to be discussing provisions in the Bill. They can be discussed during the Committee stage of the Bill, but not on this Resolution.

Mr. Maclean: The Financial Resolution reads: "That, for the purposes of any Act of the present Session to amend the Law with respect to the constitution of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, it is expedient to charge on the Consolidated Fund the yearly salary of two thousand pounds to be paid under the said Act to each of the two persons to be appointed thereunder to be members of the said Judicial Committee."

Surely I would be in order in putting a question as to the implications which the appointment of these Judges, and their payment would bring upon this House?

The Chairman: I thought the hon. Member was discussing some provision in the Bill for further appointments on vacancies occuring.

Mr. Maclean: No, my point is this, if these Judges retired would they retire upon a pension, and would it be necessary for a further financial resolution to be brought in in order to provide the additional sum that would be necessary for their pensions? It is only right the House should know how for we may be pledged to payments to these individuals. It may be that certain individuals may be appointed who may have to retire through ill-health, and we may be paying pensions to ex-Judges and paying 2,000 pound a year to the Judges filling the places they have vacated.

The Government talk a great deal about the necessity for economy, how the country cannot afford this and cannot afford that, how old-age pensions cannot be increased, how housing subsidies have to be cut down, how health conditions are worsened, how payments to education authorities must be reduced—in fact, on every occasion when we make requests for expenditure on those social services to be maintained at the standard at which it used to be maintained, we are told the country cannot afford it. When, however, it is a question of finding money for Judges, finding money for individuals in this particular sheltered trade, they are not held up to ridicule and opprobium such as ordinary working men or women getting weekly wages in other sheltered trades have to encounter. When the case of those who are skilled in word-spinning and legal jugglery comes before this House, we are asked to believe that this is some wonderful and great profession which will attract men to it only if they get the highest possible standard of living that our civilisation can offer. If this is the standard of living to which Judges are entitled, I submit the standard of living of every other individual in this country ought to be equal to that of the best Judge in the land; and if this country cannot afford to give to the workers of this country, who produce the wealth, a standard of living higher and better than is found for them by the present Government, the House has no right to vote away £2,000 a year for new judges, with the problamatical addition of another £2,000. It is time the House took possession of the financial situation. If we have not the money to provide the people with the conditions which our present progress in civilisation merits, and which the productive activity of this country entitle them to have, this country is too poor to afford £2,000 a year for two new Judges.

The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Ronald McNEILL): The only reason I rise is that if I did not do so I might appear to be discourteous to the hon. Gentleman after the pointed appeal he made to me personally; but really I do not think there is any occasion for me to discuss the matter, which has been fully dealt with already on the Second Reading of the Bill, a Debate which has just been brought to a close. Then my right hon. Friend the Attorney-General dealt fully with all the merits of the case. The hon. Member spoke as though on matters of this sort the Treasury had a separate and distinct standard. The hon. Member must remember that these are proposals of the Government, that this is the policy of the Government, and a Measure of this sort would not have been brought before the House if all the financial aspects of it had not been ready considered by the Treasury. When a member of the Government like my right hon. and learned Friend brings forward a Bill and a Resolution of this sort is required, I think the House may take it for granted that there is no divergence of view between the Attorney-General and the Treasury on the point.

Mr. Maclean: May I ask for an answer as to the point I put regarding the possibility of pensions having to be paid? In that case would the Government have to bring in another Money Resolution?

Mr. McNeill: If any question of pension for these Judges arises, of course provision would have to be made for it by the House, and in that case, no doubt, another Money Resolution would have to be brought forward.

Miss WILKINSON: May I ask two further questions? The Attorney-General said the gentlemen who were going to have these posts would take them on the understanding

that an extra 2,000 pound would probably be given in future by the Indian Legislature. Can we have an undertaking from the Secretary to the Treasury, first, that no pressure, political or otherwise, will be brought to bear on the Indian legislature to provide this extra 2,000 pounds for people whom, apparently, they do not want; secondly, can we have an assurance that if the Indian Legislature persist in a refusal not to give this 2,000 pounds, he will not come to this House to make up the salary to 4,000 pounds—the amount which he had laid down as the salary?

Mr. SULLIVAN: I want to ask the members of the Conservative party if this is what they preach at the election. Here the Government are making proposals for these appointments, and they imagine that we have no right to ask for an explanation to be given to the House. It may be that your Judges are worth 2,000 pounds a year, and that you require two additional Judges, but what I want to know is that when you suggest that there is the possibility of a man of 72 years of age getting 4,000 pounds a year you are doing something which you would be afraid to tell the electors of the country. I protest against this method of adding to the burdens of a nation, and I hope we shall take advantage of this opportunity of driving the Government supporters into the Division Lobby in regard to this Vote.

Captain W. BENN I feel that the preservation of the right of appeal is a very important part of our Imperial relations. I think in this matter we have a right to complain of a lack of candour on the part of the Attorney General. First of all we are told that only 2,000 pound was to be voted, and then he told us that another 2,000 pound was to be paid by the Indian Legislature. Now it appears that there is to be a pension attached to it. I think we should be told that this is not simply a Vote for 2,000 pound, but that there is a possibility of a further 2,000 pound if the Indian Legislature does not vote that amount, and besides this, there is the possibility of a pension. Some hon. Members on these benches who would not support a Motion for a reduction of this Vote feel that we should have had a little more candour from the Attorney-General on this question. Inasmuch as we are now dealing with the question whether the additional 2,000 pound is likely to be voted by the Indian Government, and whether we shall be asked to vote it in this House if the Indian Government refuses, I think some representative of the India Office should be here to answer that question. I do not know whether the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies represents the India Office on this matter.

The Under Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs (Mr. Ormsby Gore) No.

Captain Benn: Then why is the Under-Secretary of State for India not present when this Money Resolution is being discussed? How can the Attorney-General give us full information as to whether the Indian Legislature objects to paying this money or not. It is important that we should know these facts, and only one person can tell us and that is the representative of the India Office I think we might have had a little more candour about the full financial position, and we want more information about the intention of the Indian Legislature.

The Attorney-General The hon. and gallant Gentleman has charged me with a lack of candour, but I wonder whether he took the trouble to be present when I moved the Second Reading of the Bill and listened to what I said on that occasion

Captain Benn As the Attorney-General is in the habit of making that kind of attack, I wish to say that I was present and I had the inestimable privilege of hearing what he then said.

The Attorney-General In that case the hon and gallant Member's charge is absolutely inexcusable, and, if he refers to the Official Report of our proceedings on that occasion, he will see that we asked the House to vote a Salary of 2,000 pound that the Indian Legislature had been asked to give an additional 2,000 pound, that last year the Indian Government did not agree, but that there is some hope that they may change their mind and do so later on. In view of the fact that the hon and gallant Gentleman says I heard what I said, and has now been misrepresenting me, I say that his action absolutely inexcusable. The only other accusation is that I did not tell the Committee that these Judges were to have pensions. The reason I did not tell the Committee this is that they are not to have a pension

Mr. Thurtle: I beg to move, "That the Debate be now adjourned" I do so owing to lack of information in regard to this vote, and the absence of any representative of the India Office.

The Chairman; That is not quite the proper procedure. The hon. Member should move to report progress.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do report Progress and ask leave to sit again."—(Mr. Thurtle.)

GOVT. OF INDIA REPORT ON THE

International Labour Conference.

[The Eighth and Ninth Sessions of the International Labour Conference were held at Geneva in May and June 1926. The following is a short report of Sir Atul Chatterjee, the Govt. of India Delegate to the Conference, and was published in India in September 1926 in response to a suggestion made in the Legislative Assembly. The speeches delivered by the Indian Delegates on the occasion have been given in the 1st Volume of the Register p. 145.]

The Eighth Session opened on Wednesday, the 26th May, 1926 and closed on Saturday, the 5th June. The Ninth (Maritime) Session opened on Monday, the 7th June and closed on Thursday, the 24th June. At the Eighth Session there were 14 and at the Ninth 17 plenary sittings. At each Session there were also numerous meetings of the Committees set up to deal with the various items of business.

EIGHTH SESSION.

Government Delegates.—Sir Atul Chatterjee, K.C.I.E., High Commissioner for India ; Sir Louis Kershaw, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.. Assistant Under Secretary of State, India Office.

Adviser.—Mr. R. N. Gilchrist, Labour Intelligence Officer, Bengal.

Employers' Delegate.—The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Froom, of Messrs. MacKinnon, Mackenzie & Co.

Workers' Delegate.—Mr. Lajpat Rai, M.L.A.

NINTH SESSION.

Government Delegates.—Sir Atul Chatterjee, K,C.I.E., Sir Louis Kershaw, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Advisers.—Mr. R. N. Gilchrist. Mr. J. E. P. Curry, Shipping Master, Bombay.

Employers' Delegate.—The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Froom.

Adviser.—Captain H. J. Rouse, Marine Superintendent, B. I. S. N. Co., Ltd., Calcutta.

Workers' Delegate.—Mr. M. Daud, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., General Secretary, Indian Seamen's Union, Calcutta.

Adviser.—Mr. S. Moghal Jan, Chief Steward.

Much interest was evinced at both Sessions of the Conference in the protests against the nomination of Sir Arthur Froom as the Indian Employers' delegate. This was the first occasion in the history of the International Labour Conference when the nomination of an Employers' delegate had been challenged. Moreover, printed documents in English and French setting forth in full the case of the protesting associations was extensively circulated among all Members and visitors to the meetings.

At the Eighth Session protests were lodged by four bodies, the Karachi Buyers' & Shippers' Chamber, the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta,

the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association, and the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce. The same protests, together with one from the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, were made to the Ninth Session of the Conference. The protesting bodies were represented at Geneva by Mr. S. N. Haji, who supported their case in person before the Credentials Committee of each Session.

The CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE of the Eighth Session found that Mr. Narottam Morarjee had been offered by the Government of India the position of Employers' delegate to the Eighth Session and had for certain reasons declined the invitation. The Committee felt that it could only take into consideration this refusal and it could not enter into the reasons for it. Nor could it take into account the argument put forward by the protesting organisations that after Mr. Morarjee's refusal the Indian Government should have offered the position to another Indian, in view of the fact that no other candidate was proposed by the Chamber of Commerce which nominated Mr. Morarjee. The Credentials Committee noted that the principal question at issue (*viz.*, whether Sir Arthur Froom had been recommended by the 'most representative organisation') was connected with the Ninth Session of the Conference and the recommendation that the Eighth Session should validate the nomination of Sir Arthur Froom could not prejudice the consideration of this principal question by the Ninth Session.

When the subject came up before the plenary meeting of the Eighth Session, Mr. Lajpat Rai (the Indian Workers' delegate) said that he only wished to state that he did not accept the position taken by the Government delegate about the most representative character of the Organisations represented by Sir Arthur Froom. Sir Louis Kershaw also declined on that occasion to enter into the merits of the question but expressed his readiness to make it clear at the Ninth Session that Sir Arthur Froom had been nominated by the most representative organisations of employers in India. The proposal of the Credentials Committee to approve the Credentials of the Employers' delegate of India was then adopted without any opposition at the Eighth Session.

The protests came up in due course before the Credentials Committee of the Ninth Session of the Conference. The report of this Committee is self-explanatory and is repoduced in full below :

"Five Indian employers' organisations (1) the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber of Karachi, (2) the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association, (3) the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce, Rangoon, (4) the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, and (5) the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, have addressed to the General Conference, which has transmitted them to the Credentials Committee, five objections to the Credentials of Sir Arthur Froom, appointed by the Government of India as Employers' Delegate for that country.

The Committee has carefully examined the documents submitted to it. It has also heard the evidence of Sir Louis Kershaw, Indian Government Delegate, Sir Arthur Froom, Indian Employers' Delegate, and Mr. S. N. Haji, the duly accredited representative to the Conference of the protesting organisations.

From the documents placed before it and the oral explanations, the Committee notes the following facts :—

The objections allege (1) that Sir Arthur Froom represents neither Indian interests nor Indian employers · (2) that the organisations which nominated Sir Arthur Froom are not the most representative organisations of the employers of India.

With regard to the first point, the Committee, whilst considering that the representation of a country at the General Conference should be a national one, has not been able to discuss the substance of the question nor to form an opinion upon a problem the solution of which undoubtedly rests with the Government of each of the Members.

With regard to the second point, the Committee finds as follows the Government of India, by a press *communique* dated 8 October 1925, invited the employers' organisations of India to nominate, before the 15th January 1926, a delegate for each of the two Sessions of the General Conference of the Representatives of the Members.

Within the time limit thus fixed, two Chambers of Commerce, those of Bengal and Bombay (European Chambers), nominated Sir Arthur Froom, and two Indian Chambers of Commerce, that of Bombay and the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber of Karachi, nominated Mr. Narottam Morarjee. After the expiration of the time limit, the three other Chambers of Commerce which have now lodged objection also supported the candidature of Mr. Narottam Morarjee. The appointment of Sir Arthur Froom as Employers' Delegate was made by the Government of India during the month of March. The employers' organisations which have lodged objections, and their representative Mr. Haji, have assured the Conference and the Credentials Committee that the Chambers of Commerce of Bengal and Bombay, which have nominated Sir Arthur Froom, were not the most representative of the Employers of India.

On the contrary, the Delegate of the Government of India, Sir Louis Kershaw, has made a formal declaration to the Committee that these Chambers of Commerce for the purpose of this Conference were really the most representative of the employers of India.

On the basis of the numerous documents submitted to the Committee, as well as on the ground of the oral explanations made to it, the Committee has nevertheless not been able to arrive at the conclusion, as requested by Mr. S. N. Haji on behalf of the objecting organisations, that the Chambers of Commerce which nominated Sir Arthur Froom were not the most representative of the employers of India.

In these conditions, the Committee deems it expedient that the General Conference should proceed to validate the credentials of Sir Arthur Froom."

On this Report of the Credentials Committee being taken into consideration at the plenary sitting of the Session, Mr. Daud (the Indian Workers' delegate), while admitting that Sir Arthur Froom had been selected by the most representative Chambers of Bengal and Bombay consisting of European Employers, differed from the view that these Chambers were the most representative Employers' organisations in India. He added that Indian employers who were not members of these organisations possessed a larger number of factories and used a larger amount of capital than European employers in India. Mr. Daud suggested that European and Indian employers' organisations in India should come to a common understanding in regard to the appointment of representatives to the International

Labour Conference or else the Government should nominate such representatives by rotation. On the assumption that Mr. Daud was not opposing the proposal of the Credentials Committee, Sir Louis Kershaw refrained from discussing the merits of the case. He drew attention to the desire of the India Government that Indian employers should participate in the Conference as evidenced by efforts made by them to give Mr. Morarjee an opportunity to come to Geneva. In regard to Mr. Daud's suggestion regarding future nominations, Sir Louis Kershaw endorsed the proposal that European and Indian employers should come to a common understanding but he pointed out the difficulty in a system of rotation in view of the obligation of the Indian Government to comply with the exact terms of the Treaty The plenary sitting then adopted the Report of the Credentials Committee without any opposition.*

The Eighth Session.

Agenda.—The items on the Agenda for the Eighth Session of the Conference were :—

(1) Discussion of the Director's Report.
(2) Simplification of the Inspection of Emigrants on Board Ship.
(3) Consideration of a proposal made by the British Government to deal with the Reports rendered by States Members of the Organisation under Article 408 of the Treaty of Versailles.
(4) Amendments to the Standing Orders of the Conference.
(5) Resolutions (submitted by individual delegates under Article 12 of the Standing Orders of the Conference).

Elections and Committees.—Mgr. W. H. Nolens, Government Delegate of Holland, was elected President of the Session. The Vice-Presidents were Dr. Aristides De Aguero Y Bethancourt (Cuba) for the Government Group, Dr. Francois Hodac (Czechoslovakia) for the Employers' Group, and Mr. Hermann Muller (Germany) for the Workers' Group. Sir Atul Chatrerjee was unanimously elected Chairman of the Selection Committee which directs and organises the work of the Session.

In addition to the Selection Committee and the Credentials Committee, four Committees were constituted to deal respectively with (1) the procedure relating to the examination of reports under Articles 408, (2) the Double Discussion Procedure, (3) the Amendment of Standing Orders, and

*In this connection it would be interesting here to read a special cable to *The Bombay Chronicle* from Paris which said that Prof. Haji, the representative of the Indian Chambers, *en route* to London at the end of the Geneva Labour Conference, when interviewed, expressed satisfaction at the result of the Geneva mission, regiading protests against the nomination of the employers' delegate. He said "There continued for one hour and a half an interesting discussion before the Credentials Committee, between Sir L. Kershaw and Sir Arthur Froom on the one hand and himself on the other. Its effects on the Committee, were favourable to Indian sentiments judged by various admissions, made by the Committee in the report, which deemed it expedient to validate the credentials of Sir Arthur Froom. In the discussion before the Committee, the Indian Government delegate seems to have gone to the length of saying that Indian protests were not genuine and that they were political, being connected with agitation for the reservation of coastal traffic." Prof. Haji challenged Sir L. Kershaw to point out a single statement in all the protests which was political in nature. He assured the Committee that the protests were based fully on the right of the Indian Associations to representation at International Conferences. Upon this position being accepted by the Committee, Sir L. Kershaw, after preliminary explanations which were not accepted, finally withdrew his statement. Ed.

(4) Inspection of Emigrants. The Indian Government secured representation on the first and second of these Committees as well as on the Selection Committee. Sir Arthur Froom obtained a place on the Fourth Committee. Mr. Lajpat Rai was elected by the Workers' Group to be a member of the Third Committee and a substitute member of the Selection Committee.

Discussion on the Director's Report.—The Report for 1926 was 757 pages in length and the debate occupied five full sittings of the Session. The discussion was of the same general nature as in previous years, but at the Eighth Session no mention was made of maritime labour, as it was understood that a portion of the time of the Ninth Session would be devoted to the purely maritime sections of the Report. Much of the discussion, as usual, related to the slow progress in the ratification of the Washington Hours Convention, but the speeches indicated considerable hope that tangible results would follow the Conference on this subject held in London in March last between the Labour Ministers of Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and Italy, the countries of chief Industrial importance in Europe. This feeling was strengthened by the declaration of the Belgian Government representative that his Government had definitely recommended ratification to the Belgian Legislature and the later announcement that the Belgian Chamber of Deputies had adopted the Bill. In France, too, the legislation necessary for ratification is at present before the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies having already passed it. The German Government representative stated that a Bill had been drafted and was at present under consideration by the Federal States. No definite announcement was made by the British Government representative beyond the statement that the results of the London Conference were under the consideration of His Majesty' Government.

Interesting references were made by several delegates to the new industrial experiments in progress in America, and to which the Director devoted some space in his Report. The introduction of new scientific ideas in the organisation of industry was welcomed by the Workers' delegates, while regret was expressed that the United States, the home of these ideas, was not a Member of the International Labour Organisation.

A feature of special interest to India in the debate on the Director's Report at the 1925 Session of the Conference had been the discussion regarding the failure of Japan to ratify the Washington Conventions relating to hours of work and night work of women. This question was again raised at the Eighth Session. Sir Arthur Froom, who led the debate on this subject, put the case of the Bombay Millowners in a cogent and forcible manner. He gave a resume of recent Indian factory legislation and described the serious situation that had arisen in the Indian cotton mill industry owing to the hours of work and the night work of women in Japanese mills. He brought to notice, as evidence of the earnest desire of India to ameliorate the condition of workers, not only the ratification of the Washington Conventions, but also the passing of new measures such as the Workmen's Compensation Act and the Trade Unions Act. He deplored the fact that there had been no improvement in the position in Japan during the twelve months that had elapsed since the last meeting of the Conference. The Japanese Factory Act of 1923, though passed by the Diet, had not been promulgated, nor would it adequately fulfil Japan's obligations under the Washington Convention. After promulgation, a further three years' grace

was to be given before the provisions of the Act, meagre as they were, were put into operation.

Sir Arthur Froom's plea was ably supported by Mr. Lajpat Rai, who made a strong appeal to Japan on grounds of humanity and in the interests of the mothers of the race. He mentioned not only the prohibition of night work of women in Indian factories, but also the efforts which were being made to prohibit the underground work in mines by women and children, the existence of which in Japan was brought prominently to the notice of the Conference by Mr. Narasaki, the Workers' delegate of Japan. (It may be noted that at a later stage Sir Atul Chatterjee pointed out that underground work by children was at present absolutely prohibited in India.) Mr. Lajpat Rai expressed a strong hope that Japan would 'vindicate the honour of the East and the Orient'. The reasoned and temperate speech of Mr. Lajpat Rai was reinforced by an equally powerful appeal from Miss Margaret Bondfield, who accompanied the British Delegation as Adviser to the Workers' delegate. As a representative of trade union sections interested in women's work, Miss Bondfield acknowledged thankfully the improvements that had already taken place in India and Japan. She saw however no justification for the procrastination of Japan in prohibiting the night work of women. She drew attention to the condition of women workers in China and added " What can we say to them if in that near country of Japan these necessary reforms are being continually postponed? It is because that we feel that we must look to Japan for the greatest influence in bringing about an amelioration of the condition of affairs in China. The Indian Delegate put it from the standpoint of the way in which Japan was retarding the growth of development in India. I agree, but it is still more terrible to think of that country which has worse conditions than Japan and which is being encouraged to do nothing by the fact that Japan, that highly organised, highly efficient country, is delaying the operation of these Conventions." She hoped that it would soon be possible to say that " Japan is determined to come into line to help to save the lives of large masses of women, who in the past have been the most exploited sections of the labour movement ".

Sir Atul Chatterjee, who spoke after Miss Bondfield, expressed gratification on behalf of the Indian Government and the Indian people for the very appreciative and encouraging references that had been made in the Director's Report and in the speeches in the Conference to the very satisfactory progress of social legislation in India. He pointed out that India was the only country of chief industrial importance which had ratified the Hours Convention. The five chief countries of Europe were engaged in serious consideration of this matter, but India was particularly interested in ratification by Japan 'which is the country nearest us and with which we have the closest commercial relations.' The position of India was becoming more difficult every year, and although under the Treaty Japan was perfectly free to ratify or not to ratify, Sir Atul Chatterjee hoped that in the same way as the countries of chief industrial importance in Europe were giving close attention to the subject, Japan also would do the same. Turning to the subject of night employment of women, he showed how the Washington Convention was merely a confirmation of a similar Convention that had been passed in Berne in 1906 and how every civilised country had in practice prohibited the night work of women. The 1923 Japanese Act did not carry out the requirements laid down at Washington. The object of the Washington

Convention was to secure a complete stoppage of all work for women for at least eleven hours during the night, whereas the Japanese Act abolished work only between the hours of 10 p.m. and 5 a.m., with permission to the administrative authorities to extend the night period to 11 p.m. As in his speech on this subject last year, Sir Atul made a strong appeal on ethical grounds to the Japanese Government.

Mr. Mayeda, the Japanese Government delegate, spoke on very much the same lines as in the previous year. He repeated that in actual fact, hours in Japanese cotton mills were practically the same as those prescribed by the Washington Convention. Mr. Mayeda explained that delay in the promulgation of the 1923 Act had been the result of the disastrous earthquake in Japan in 1923. He was however able to announce that the Act was to be promulgated on the 1st July 1926, a statement that was received with much satisfaction by the Conference.

What may be termed the Oriental part of the debate was wound up by speeches from Mr. Matsukata, the Japanese Employers' delegate, Mr. Narasaki, the Japanese Workers' delegate and Mr. Chao Hsin Chu, the Government delegate of China. Mr. Matsukata defended the Japanese cotton mills which he said have better conditions than the Indian mills. He himself, however, as an employer had introduced the eight-hour day in his own works, which employed 15,000 men. Mr. Narasaki in chronicling the grievances of Japanese workers laid special stress on the fact that Japan had not taken adequate measures to protect women and children in industry.

In an interesting speech regarding labour conditions in China, Mr. Chao Hsin Chu pointed out that China was still predominantly an agricultural country. Industrialism had come to China but would have to adapt itself to Chinese conditions. Factory industries were at present confined to the Treaty Ports which did not conform to Chinese law. The decree issued in 1923 by the Chinese Government reforming factory labour conditions and appointing factory inspectors had no force in the extra-territorial areas. The Chinese labourer was different from labourers in the West, in that he was satisfied to earn just enough to keep body and soul together and objected to being made a part of modern industrial machinery, as was shown by the recent strike in Shanghai in which the workmen considered better treatment to be more important than enhanced wages and shorter hours.

In addition to his appeal to Japan, Mr. Lajpat Rai had in his speech referred to a few other problems. He drew attention particularly to the position of native and coloured labour in countries with foreign Governments or with Governments under Mandates, a subject to which he returned later when he moved a Resolution asking the Office to study the conditions of such workers. He was careful not to introduce into the discussion on the Director's Report any controversial matter regarding the position in the British Dominions, particularly in South Africa. Mr. Lajpat Rai also raised the question of forced labour both in British India and in Indian States. On this point Sir Atul Chatterjee replied that forced labour was permitted by law in British India only in certain exigencies such as the prevention of damage to canals and irrigation works. He added that the Government representatives at the International Labour Conference were not authorised to speak for the Indian States. The question of forced labour had been raised more than once in the Assembly of the League of

Nations, and if raised again would doubtless be dealt with by the Indian representatives.

In his speech winding up the discussion on the Report, the Director and Secretary General, M. Albert Thomas gave a broad survey of the work achieved by the International Labour Organisation. The results on the whole, he claimed, must be regarded as satisfactory. The ratifications may not be sufficiently numerous but it has to be remembered that the influence of the work of the Organisation was much wider than the number of ratifications would seem to imply. M. Thomas made particular reference to the discussion between the representatives of India and Japan and while not passing any opinion on the arguments advanced in it, he expressed satisfaction that the workers in the East, in virtue of the public discussions at Geneva, had succeeded in obtaining certain benefits enjoyed by workers in the West. In reference to a charge that had been levelled against India to the effect that she had not ratified the Convention relating to the age of employment of children, M. Thomas took care to point out that this was not the fault of India which had given practical effect to the Convention but could not ratify it owing to certain technical difficulties.

Resolutions.- Five general Resolutions were placed before the Conference, four by Workers' delegates and one by M. Sokal, the Government delegate for Poland. Mr. Lajpat Rai submitted two Resolutions, one asking for an enquiry into the conditions of life and work of native and coloured labour in Africa and America, the other suggesting the early appointment of a correspondent in India of the International Labour Office. M. Schurch, Workers' delegate of Switzerland, submitted a Resolution on unemployment, and M. Mertens, Workers' delegate of Belgium, one on the Washington Convention on Hours of Work. M. Sokal's Resolution dealt with the scientific organisation of industry, a subject which, as already mentioned had elicited some comments during the discussion on the Director's Report.

Mr. Lajpat Rai's original Resolution, as submitted to the Conference by the Selection Committee, was in the following terms :—"This Conference requests the International Labour Office to make an enquiry into the conditions of life and work of what is known as 'native labour' and 'coloured labour' in the Continents of Africa and America, to publish the results of that enquiry and place that question on the Agenda of an early future Conference." This Resolution led to a 'native labour' and 'coloured labour' in the Continents of Africa and of South American countries took the most prominent part. The South African delegate objected to the Resolution because Africa and America had been singled out from the rest of the world and the motive or object of the enquiry was not apparent. The South American delegates urged that the Resolution was meaningless so far as their countries were concerned, as either native and coloured labour did not exist in their countries, or, if it did exist, there was distinction between it and other labour. In reply to the many criticisms of his Resolution, Mr. Lajpat Rai referred to the Resolution adopted during the previous year, at the instance of Mr. Joshi, to enquire into conditions of labour in Asia and said that he merely intended to extend the scope of that enquiry. He did not aim specially at South Africa. He wanted that East and West Africa as well as South Africa should be included within the enquiry. His main idea was to bring to light full information on the conditions affecting native and coloured labour throughout the world; he had no ulterior motive in

moving the Resolution, nor did he wish to cast reflections on any particular Government. An amendment moved by the Government delegate of Venezuela to omit the words 'in the continents of Africa and America' was carried, but it was ineffective as no quorum was present. In the course of the debate it was brought to notice that the Governing Body had already undertaken, at the request of the League of Nations, an enquiry into the question of forced and indentured labour. Mr. Wolfe, Government Delegate of Great Britain then moved the Resolution which was accepted by Mr. Lajpat Rai. It was carried by 78 votes to 3.

Mr. Lajpat Rai's second Resolution which merely repeats a similar Resolution passed in the Conference of 1922 was adopted without opposition.*

M. Schurch's Resolution, amended at the instigation of the German Workers' delegate by the insertion of paragraph 1 (*a*), was unanimously adopted.

M. Mertens' Resolution on the Washington Hours Convention was carried by 64 votes to 21.

M. Sokal's Resolution on an enquiry into the scientific organisation of industry, was carried by 84 votes to 1.

The Ninth Session.

The items on the Agenda for the Ninth Session were :—(1) International Codification of the Rules Relating to Seamen's Articles of Argeement; (2) The General Principles for the Inspection of the Conditions of Work of Seamen; (3) Discussion of the Maritime Sections of the Director's Report; (4) Re-election of the Joint Maritime Commission; (5) Resolutions.

Elections and Committees.—Lord Burnham, Government Delegate of Great Britain, was elected President of the Conference. The Conference was confronted in its initial stage with a difficult problem relating to the constitution of appropriate committees for the consideration of the two main items on the programme—*viz*, Codification and Inspection and the basis of the discussion on the subjects.

The question of an International Seamen's Code had been considered by the Commission on International Labour Legislation of the Peace Conference in 1919, and by the Second Session of the International Labour Conference held at Genoa in 1920. The Genoa Session directed the International Labour Office to proceed with investigations necessary for farming an International Seamen's Code, on the lines laid down in the Report of the Special Commission of that Session. The whole subject had since been carefully studied by the Joint Maritime Commission, an organisation set up by the Governing Body and consisting of shipowners' and seamen's representatives, together with three representatives of the Governing Body but no agreement had been reached in this Commission. The proposals of the International Labour Office were drafted on the basis of replies received to the usual detailed Questionnaire sent to Governments. In these proposals

* The following is the text of the Resolution —This Conference draws the attention of the Governing Body to the Resolution referred to it by the Conference in 1922 regarding the appointment of a National Correspondent in India and requests the Governing Body to decide on the matter as soon as possible.

the subject of codification was divided into three parts, Articles of Agreement, Repatriation and Discipline. The Office had in the customary manner prepared Draft Conventions on each of these headings for the consideration of the Conference. At an early stage of the session, the Employers' Group (*i.e.* the Shipowners) put forward proposals the general purport of which was that the Conference should reject the suggestions of the Office as a basis for discussion. They contended that the Office had not carried out the directions given at Genoa, and they tried to persuade the Conference to discuss instead of the Office proposals a draft Code which had been drawn up by a Special Sub-Committee of the Joint Maritime Commission. The debate on this subject, which took two full sittings of the Conference, resulted in the Employers' Resolution being heavily defeated, by 78 votes to 27. In spite of their defeat on the main issue, the Employers persisted in attempting to have only one Committee to discuss the item on Codification, particularly the two Conventions on Articles of Agreement and Discipline. After further debate, the Conference ultimately decided, by a very conclusive majority, to set up four Committees, that is to say, one Committee for each of the three Draft Conventions prepared by the Office, on the subject of codification, and a Committee for Inspection The three Draft Conventions submitted by the Office had, however, for obvious reasons common definitions. In order that a basis of common definitions might be maintained a special Co-ordination Committee was set up, composed of members from each Committee. This machinery worked excellently. The Conference further decided that the Committees on Articles and on Repatriation should not meet simultaneously so as to make it possible for a delegate to attend the meetings of both these committees but owing to the congestion of business at a later stage, this decision was not always observed in practice.

The Indian Government Delegation sought and obtained seats on the Committees on Articles of Agreement and Repatriation. They had also a seat on the Selection Committee, and one on the Co-ordination Committee. Sir Arthur Froom was elected by the Employers' Group to the Committees on Articles of Agreement, Discipline and Inspection of the Conditions of Work. Mr. Daud was elected to the Articles and Inspection Committees and also to the Selection Committee.

Discussion of the Maritime Sections of the Director's Report.—The debate occupied only part of one sitting of the Conference. It was strictly limited to questions of maritime interest and no issue of prime international import was raised. The question of an eight-hours' day for seamen had been dealt with beforehand in connection with a Resolution which will be referred to in a subsequent paragraph.

In the debate, several Government delegates, described the progress made in their countries in maritime labour legislation; the Workers' delegates (represented by Mr. Daud of India and Mr. Tsudzuki of Japan), complained that progress had not been sufficiently rapid.

Mr. Daud had given notice of a Resolution dealing with the questions of recruitment and unemployment of Indian seamen but it was not admitted owing to the shortness of notice. He was, however, able to raise these questions, as he was entitled to do during the discussion on the Director's Report. He stated that at least two hundred thousand Indian seamen were unemployed at present, and he ascribed this fact to the " much-abused system of recruitment through Government licenced shipping brokers and *ghat*

serangs." Indian seamen, he said, were exploited in all possible ways in the matter of wages and working hours. Their wages were very low, they had no fixed hours of work, and no overtime pay was given. He asked the seamen of Europe to keep their eyes on the Indian seamen to see that they were well paid and properly treated, for, until this was done, India would remain the recruiting ground for cheap maritime labour to the detriment of European seamen. Mr. Daud then referred to the Seamen's Recruitment Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1921 of which he was a member and complained that the recommendations of the Committee had not yet been enforced. Although an officer had been appointed to take charge of the Recruitment Bureau in Calcutta, the shipping brokers continued to recruit seamen.

Mr. Daud's arguments were answered on behalf of us by Mr. Gilchrist, who explained to the Conference the difficulties in starting the Recruitment Bureau. He pointed out that the proposals of the Committee appointed in 1921 involved a complete alteration of the existing method of recruitment. He emphasised the fact that the Draft Convention of 1920 renders it essential to consult shipowners' organisations. With regard to unemployment, Mr. Gilchrist described Mr. Daud's statements as being much more emphatic than exact and suggested that these domestic grievances were best discussed in the Provincial Legislature.

Mr. Tsudzuki, the Japanese Labour Delegate, raised the question of recruitment through fee-charging agencies in Japan. He accused the Japanese Government of not being sincere in taking steps to suppress commercial employment agents, and complained that joint bodies of shipowners and seamen, as contemplated in the Draft Convention of 1920, had not been consulted. The Japanese Government representative replied that sixty per cent. of the fee-charging employment agencies had already been abolished and that the remainder would be also gradually replaced.

In the course of his reply, M. Thomas, the Director, expressed satisfaction that the new scheme of recruitment adoped in Bengal was based on one of the alternatives suggested in the Genoa Convention. He noted that this was an example of the influence that the International Labour Conference exercised on national legislation, even where no ratification of a Draft Convention was secured.

It will be seen that, with the exception of M. Matsukata of Japan, the Members and Deputy Members of both Groups are entirely from Europe. This led to a strong protest on behalf of overseas countries by Dr. Riddell, Government representative of Canada, who was supported by Mr. Pocock, the Employers' representative of South Africa. Dr. Riddell moved that the elections should be referred back to the Groups with a view to giving a fair representation to overseas Members of the Organisation. This Resolution, though moved mainly as a protest and a warning, failed by only three votes—39 to 36.

Resolutions.—Several Resolutions were carried at this Session of the Conference. Of these the most important was one dealing with the subject of Hours of Work at sea. The question of Hours of Work at sea (including inland navigation and the fishing industry) was discussed at the Genoa Conference in 1920. After a long discussion in Committee a draft Convention was proposed to the effect that the number of hours, without distinction of nationality or race, should be eight per day and forty-eight per

week, subject to certain exceptions mentioned in the Convention. At the Conference this proposal just failed to secure the necessary two-thirds majority. Discussions subsequent to the Genoa Session of the Conference between representatives of the shipowners and seamen had failed to produce any agreement. A Resolution was now moved at the Ninth Session of the Conference in the name of the Workers' Group in the following terms :—

> "The Conference asks the Governing Body to place the question of the regulation of hours of work on board-ship on the Agenda of a Special Maritime Session in 1928, and to submit this question to the Joint Maritime Commission at its next regular Session."

It was pointed out in opposition by the British Government delegate that, in view of the failure of national joint bodies such as the National Maritime Board in Great Britain, to reach agreement on the question, it was futile to expect that agreement could be reached at an International Conferference in 1928. The Employers' Group, with the exception of the French Employers' representative, were against the proposal on the grounds that the condition of the shipping industry was at present far less favourable to the introduction of the eight-hours day than it was in 1920, that the limitation of the working hours at sea was not necessary in the same way as it was in factories, and that the experience of the one country in which it had been adopted, namely France, showed that the eight-hours system could not be harmonised with the conditions of employment at sea. The French Employers' delegate voted for the Resolution on the ground that it would re-open the whole question and give French Employers a chance to press for the repeal of the French Eight Hours Act. The Resolution was ultimately adopted by 67 votes to 26. The Government representatives of India voted against it for the reasons mentioned by the British Government delegate.

Among the other Resolutions was one dealing with Seamen's Welfare. This Resolution arose from the recommendations of a sub-committee appointed by the Joint Maritime Commission and was unanimously adopted by the Conference.

The Non-official Report and Statement.

Mr. M. Daud, the Indian Workers' Delegate to the Ninth Session of the International Labour Conference, on his return from Europe, submitted the following report of his work to the General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress :—

"The All-India Trade Union Congress in its Sixth Session at Madras, nominated me as the Indian Workers' Delegate to the Ninth Session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva, and which nomination was duly approved and accepted by the Government of India. The Conference did a great honour to the Indian Workers by nominating their representative in the Selection Committee, and I tried my best to safeguard and promote the interests of Indian seamen.

"Before the Conference proceeded to discuss the Agenda (namely (i) International Codification of the Seamen's Articles of Agreement (2) Inspection of Seamen's General Conditions of work) which was prepared by the International Labour Office, a preliminary objection was taken by the Shipowners' group who tabled two resolutions objecting to the

discussion of the Agenda at all by the Conference. The matter was very seriously considered by the Workers' group and I was selected as one of the speakers to oppose them.

"I expressed dissatisfaction of the workers (Maritime), on the reports about social Insurance for Seamen, health of Seamen, statistics of ship-wrecks and incidents and proper regulation of dock cargoes. Regarding India and Indian Seamen I pointed out to the Conference, that the Government of India has, so far, not yet ratified any of the important conventions passed at Genoa in 1920 and at Geneva in 1921, for the benefits of the seamen, except two very unimportant conventions the privileges of which were already being enjoyed by the Indian seamen since 1911, i.e., before the establishment of the International Labour Organisation The matter of Indian seamen's much abused system of recruitment by Government licensed shipping brokers and Ghat Serangs, and the Government of India's dilatoriness in enforcing the recommendations of the Seamen's Recruitment Committee on the lines of the Geneva proposal, were brought to the notice of the Conference and the International Labour Office And to the satisfaction of the Indian seamen, the Government of India's representative Mr. Gilchrist admitted in the Conference, that delay in enforcing the recommendations of the Recruitment Committee was due to the complexity of the problem. And thus the longstanding grievances of the Indian seamen relating to the obnoxious system of recruitment through brokers and Ghat Sarangs, which was brought to the notice of the Conference, met with some success by the declaration of the Government of India's delegates, and the Director's promise to register that declaration, hoping that the ratification will be forthcoming.

"Another important point that I raised in the Conference was the unemployment problem of the Indian seamen. The Government of India's Delegate met the question half-way and declared that any suggestion or representation to be made to the Government will doubtless receive careful consideration".

Mr. S. N. Haji's Statement.

Mr. S. N. Haji, who had been deputed to Geneva to enter a protest on behalf of the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay, the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association, the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber of Karachi, the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, and the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce of Rangoon, against the nomination, by the Government of India, of Sir Arthur Froom as the Employers' Delegate to the eighth and ninth sessions of the International Labour Conference, on his return from Europe, in a statement to the press, says that since his arrival in India he has acquainted himself with the various interviews and the Government letters and replies in the Assembly referring to the question of Indian Employers' Delegate for Geneva, he expresses surprise that after all that happened at Geneva, the Government of India still persist in repeating their statements.

Right to Protest Against Government's Action

With reference to the contention of the Government of India that the associations nominating Sir Arthur Froom were the most representative organisations, Mr. Haji says that what matters is not the opinion of the Government of India but what the Labour Conference at Geneva has to say with regard to such a declaration. We have the constitutional right to lodge and make effective protests which will be heard in a judicious spirit by an International Tribunal and at that bar, the Government of India could be placed in the position of defendants whenever they do not pay heed to the demand of the country to participate through her own nationals in the deliberations of the Geneva conferences. Such being the case, it is hoped that the Government of India, after their last experience, would not provoke another protest by unfair nominations in the future.

Importance of Credentials Committee's Reports.

In the opinion of Mr. Haji, it is very desirable in the interests of Indian representation at future labour conferences at Geneva, that the Indian public should carefully scrutinise the details of the reports of the Credentials Committee. In doing so, however, proper attention should be paid to the high status of the Credentials Committee and the implications arising therefrom. At the very beginning of the proceedings of the International Labour Conference, the three groups *viz.*, the Government delegates, the Employers' delegates and the Workmen's delegates elect separately one of their members to represent them on the Credentials Committee. Therefore, each one of the three members of the Committee has behind him the force of his group and the three

members together arrive at decisions which are generally accepted by and represent the considered opinion of all the civilised countries of the world who are represented at Geneva Bearing, therefore, in mind the very authoritative position of the three members of the Credentials Committee let us proceed to examine their opinion on the main objections of the Indian Chambers.

Indian Chamber's Objections.

Referring to the objection that Sir Arthur Froom represents neither Indian interests nor Indian employers, "The Committee are unanimously of opinion that the representation of a country at the general conference should be a national one." Here, Mr. Haji states, we have the enunciation by the Credentials Committee of a great principle, which, if properly applied, will prevent non-Indians ever going to Geneva to further their own interests in the name of India.

As regards the action of the Government of India in not taking into account the nomination of Mr. Narottam Moraijee by the three Indian chambers, on the plea that they were received after the date arbitrarily fixed by the Government, it is reassuring to find that the Credentials Committee have fully considered their protest along with the rest, irrespective of this date.

The Government of India's contention that their action in the matter of nominations is guided wholly by Art. 389 of the Treaty of Versailles is wrong though they argue that they had no choice but to accept Sir Arthur Froom who was nominated by the two European Chambers of Commerce, which, in their opinion, are the most representative of the employers. If the Government of India's argument is to be put to its logical test, it follows that, in offering to Mr. Narottam Morarjee the post of delegate to the 8th Conference or to the 9th Conference, they have exceeded their right under the Treaty of Versailles. In fact, of course, they have utilised it to further non-Indian interests, but if the argument they put forward were genuine, they have undoubtedly acted in contravention of the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles.

The Committee's Verdict.

With reference to the question as to who were the most representative organisations of the employers of India as against the mere declaration of the Government delegate that the European Chambers were the most representative, attention is drawn in the report to numerous documents submitted to the Committee and the oral explanations made to it by Mr. S. N. Haji on behalf of the objecting organisations to show that the European Chambers were not at all representative of India. In the course of these explanations, Mr. Haji showed not merely that the European Chambers were foreign institutions, but according to the statistics of capital, ownership and management of Indian factories they can in no sense be called representatives of Indian industrial organisations, as in all these items, the Indian element was more than double the European. The Committee, therefore pronounce their final verdict that they deem it expedient (as against their usual statement when convinced of the validity of a contested nomination that they recommend) that the general conference should proceed to validate the credentials of Sir Arthur Froom. The words "the Committee deems it expedient," seems to have lost their full purport upon the Government of India, who, instead of the works referred to, state that "Sir Arthur Froom's credentials were validated by endorsement without a dissentient vote at a plenary session on the unanimous recommendation of the Credentials Committee." It is strange that the truth of the finding of the Committee should thus be turned into a long-worded mis-statement.

Finally, Mr. Haji draws pointed attention to the great facilities Geneva and her International Organisations, such as the League of Nations and the Labour Conferences, afforded for making known the political, the industrial and economic aspirations of India. In Geneva, for weeks together, there are concentrated the best brains of the world engaged in various walks of life. Ambassadors, Ministers, well-known labour leaders and industrial magnates are all keen to know more about India and the place she is seeking for herself. During the last sessions a very good impression was created in what might be called an international circle by the presence in Geneva of the Indian labour delegates and independent politicians like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It is very desirable, therefore, that the Indian political and industrial organisations in this country should make very earnest and continuous efforts to meet this international demand for knowledge regarding India and her multifarious problems.

INDIA IN THE

League of Nations Assembly

The Seventh (Ordinary) Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations was held at Geneva from 6th to 25th September 1926. We give below the speeches delivered by the members of the Indian Delegation during the several sittings of the League. The Delegation consisted of:—Sir William Henry Hoare Vincent, G.C.I.E, K.C.S.I. (Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, former Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India). Colonel His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir (former President of the Legislative Council of the Punjab).

Substitutes.—Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, K.C.I.E. (Member of the Governor's Executive Council, Madras). Sir Edward Maynard des Champs Chamier, K.C.I.E. (Legal Adviser to the Secretary of State for India, former Chief Justice of the High Court of Patna). Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick (Puisne Judge of the High Court of Patna).

Report of a Speech delivered by His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala in the Assembly on the 8th September 1926.

Before I address myself to those aspects of the work of the League which are of special interest to India, I wish to offer you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Indian Delegation to this Assembly and in my personal capacity as a Ruling Prince of India, my most sincere and respectful congratulations on your election to preside over the work of this session.

This is not the first occasion on which an Indian Prince has had the honour of addressing the Assembly of the League. Among my predecessors Their Highnesses the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and the Maharajas of Bikanir and Patiala have been privileged, as members of other Indian Delegations, to tell you something of the awakening of interest and sympathy among the Governments and the masses of India for the ideals and work of the League.

It may not be out of place to mention that India, with its vast area and population composed of peoples of different races and creeds speaking languages which are as entirely different in different parts of the country as, for instance, Portuguese is from Russian or Swedish from Greek, can more appropriately be called a sub-continent, and two-fifths of this entire Indian peninsula and one-fifth of its population are ruled by the Indian Princes and Chiefs, under the suzerainty and the protection of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The principal Ruling Princes are absolutely independent in the internal administration of their States. The British Indian law is not in force in their territories, nor can the Indian Legislature legislate for them, and the High Courts of Justice in British India have no jurisdiction over their subjects.

I and my brother Princes keenly feel the honour and responsibility of being included among the representatives of India at the Assembly of the League. We are glad, as practical administrators conversant with the day-to-day problems of government, to be allowed the opportunity of bringing our personal experience to the common stock and sharing in your important deliberations.

I feel and have no hesitation in declaring that we Indian Princes, as rulers of our people, have better opportunities of diffusing the knowledge and the aims of the League—i.e. universal peace and harmony and mutual co-operation for the welfare of humanity on the basis of equality of nations—amongst our people and from there to the remotest corners of the Indian Empire than others who are differently placed *vis-a-vis* to ourselves.

With the spread of education and the knowledge and experience gained by travel in foreign countries, to which the people of India are now beginning to apply themselves,

India is awakening to a spirit of nationalism and, with its own traditions and ideals and the friendly guidance and assistance of the British Government, I sincerely hope it will one day, not in the far distant future, achieve its glorious goal and will become a united nation and self-governing country, in all its rights and privileges, like its sister dominions of Canada, Australia and South Africa, and prove a jewel of outshining splendour in the Commonwealth of nations forming the British Empire.

India is well aware that it has been essential for the League hitherto to devote its main energies to solving the grave problems left behind by the Great War. We have watched with interest the unceasing efforts of the Council and the Assembly to devise some means of promoting the great ideals of security, arbitration and reduction of armaments and its zeal in pressing forward schemes for the economic and financial reconstruction of those countries most heavily stricken during the aftermath of the war.

India, though geographically far removed from the main scenes of these activities, has been privileged also to take some share in these endeavours. Several indeed of my countrymen have been associated in the work of League organisations directed to these objects. Among those now so engaged I may mention Sir Jagadis Bose, of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Sir Muhammad Rafique, of the Committee for the Codification of International Law, and Sir Atul Chatterjee, of the Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference.

But the League has also undertaken other tasks imposed upon it by the Covenant in which India has a more direct interest and in which it has played a more conspicuous part. I speak of the international work in labour and social questions India has been represented on the Governing Body of the Labour Organisation since 1923 as one of the eight chief industrial countries of the world. Her representatives have taken an active part in the discussions at the International Labour Conferences, they have also attended other important international gatherings organised by the League. Among these I may cite the Conferences on Transit and Communications, Customs, Passports, Opium, Traffic in Women and Children and Traffic in Arms. As a result of India's participation in this work, 12 important international Conventions concluded at the League have been ratified on her behalf, apart from the special Labour Conventions concluded through the International Labour Organisation which she has also accepted.

To give effect to these conventions, a number of legislative and administrative reforms have been enacted in British India. Our recent labour legislation has included the Indian Factories Act and the Indian Mines Act, which limit weekly hours of work in accordance with the Washington Labour Convention, 1919, and secure to miners the 24 hours weekly rest-day in accordance with the Geneva Labour Convention, 1921

Social legislation in India to implement the ratification by India of the Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children has included important amendments of the penal law devised to protect the community, and particularly minors, more effectively against sexual crime. Much has also been achieved for the protection and welfare of children by administrative measures and the devoted work of private organisations. Opportunity will arise to speak more in detail on these matters during the discussion in Committee.

The discussions at Geneva on opium and dangerous drugs have produced administrative changes resulting in the progressive restriction of the cultivation, internal consumption and export of opium, and also providing for the exchange with other countries of information designed to check the illicit drug traffic. I may here remind the Assembly that India has now decided to reduce its exports of opium by a fixed annual proportion during the next 10 years so that this export trade will be absolutely extinguished, save for medical and scientific purposes, in 10 years.

Turning to the health work of the League, I am glad to tell you that India is closely co-operating with neighbouring countries to promote the work of the League Epidemiological Bureau at Singapore, and officers and doctors of her Medical Services are collaborating with European scientists in research into the cause of diseases which specially menace the East

The Indian States in some cases are at present ahead of British India in social and educational advancement. In my own State, for instance, education is making rapid strides both for the boys and girls It is compulsory in some parts and the compulsion is being gradually extended to other parts of the State English, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit languages are taught, and since a few years the French language has also been introduced in the lower and higher classes, but mine is the only State in India where this language is taught.

Modern hygienic methods, sanitary improvements and electric light are established in the State. The municipalities are given powers to elect their own Presidents, and a

representative Assembly exists for examining and discussing the budgets, for suggesting fresh legislation, and for advising my Government on social, agricultural and other administrative points. Marriage is unlawful among juveniles and laws prohibiting children smoking are in force Central and provincial committees have been formed for maternity and child welfare, and philanthropic societies organised by educated people are doing useful work for humanity, which I think is the best beginning of the aims and objects of the League.

At the risk of wearying you I have ventured to recapitulate these facts about India's share in the League work in order to show you that her activities in this field have not been lacking. Distant as we are from the centre of League policy at Geneva, the obligations undertaken for my country by its representatives who signed the Covenant at Versailles have been brought home to the Governments and peoples of India in all directions, particularly in matters affecting social and industrial life.

On the other hand, India is a country with its own ancient civilisation and traditions, of which it is intensely proud and which, in many respects, it regards as in no way inferior to the more material civilisation of the West. It is also a deeply religious and, in many respects, conservative country, to which many of those theories and principles which have emerged from the rapid industrial, social and political development during the last hundred years in Europe are entirely foreign.

Nor are the circumstances of India in other respects analogous to those of modern industrial nations of the West, in many cases, social and industrial problems in India must be dealt with on different lines, though we have accepted and carried out the greater part of the reforms in domestic and industrial life recommended from Geneva. It is for this reason that I feel justified in inviting you, on behalf of the Indian Delegation to consider whether in the future more particular attention should not be paid by the League to the conditions and problems special to Asia.

All of us desire that the influence and authority of the League throughout the world should be as universal as the authors of the Covenant intended. If this object is to be achieved, the decisions and policies adopted at Geneva must be truly international, they must take more account of the differences existing in mankind due to climate, traditions, civilisation, and history, and must be conceived in a form which can be applied with allowance for those differences and with equally beneficial results to all parts of the world.

To us in India some of the proposals made by League organisations have seemed to be too narrowly drawn on European models. In other cases, they appear to encroach on the internal authority of the various Governments in India. My predecessor, the Maharaja of Patiala, uttered a word of warning last year relating to certain schemes both in the social and economic spheres which His Highness and his colleagues considered unsuitable in their present form for adoption in India. I will not detain the Assembly by any detailed discussion of these proposals, as such an examination can more properly be made wholly in the Committee. But I ask the Assembly seriously to consider what practical demonstration can be made to the peoples of India for whom I speak, what direct evidence can be offered to make them realise that their interests are appreciated and considered at Geneva as of equal importance with the interests of the West Unless and until India is convinced of this it will be impossible to secure for the work of the League that whole-hearted interest and co-operation which is essential for the success of its great task.

May I in particular cite one direction in which the assistance and sympathy of the West would be highly valued by all Eastern people, namely, the prevention of epidemic disease? Here is a problem on which the health and happiness of the highest and the humblest equally depend, and if the League can promise the collaboration and assistance of countries more fortunately situated than the peoples of Asia in their daily contest with plague, cholera and other similar diseases, the cause of the League would, in my judgment, be greatly advanced in the East, and the value of the great work done would be more widely felt and known, not only amongst the millions of India, but throughout Asia. Members of the Indian Delegation will refer in greater detail in Committee to the methods in which this great duty of the League may be promoted.

It only remains for me to assure you, Sir, that my colleagues and I are eager to do our share in furthering the work of the League and in making its beneficent influence as comprehensive and world-wide as possible, and it is to this end that our suggestions and criticisms will be directed.

Report of a Speech by Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir in the Second Committee on the 14th September 1926. (Intellectual Co-operation.)

It is my privilege, as a representative of India on this Committee, to give expression to our appreciation of the idea of intellectual co-operation as a factor in the development of true international spirit. It has great possibilities and the beginning that has already been made is quite promising. The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation includes names that stand high in the domain of intellect throughout the world, and it is not without a legitimate pride that I notice among them the name of my distinguished countryman Sir Jagadis Bose, the eminent scientist. The Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which has been opened at Paris, through the generosity of the French Government, provides a much-needed meeting place for illustrious literary and scientific men and a bureau of information for research scholars of every country. My esteemed friend, Sir Atul Chatterjee, the High Commissioner for India in London, attended the opening ceremony of the Institute in January 1926, representing Sir Jagadish Bose, thus marking India's sympathy with the foundation of an international intellectual centre. I understand that under the auspices of this Institute a course of lectures has been delivered at Geneva which has attracted a large number of students representing different countries. I am sure that students from my country, sojourning in Europe, who have either the means of spending some time at Geneva or who may be helped by any public body to do so, will find their contact with the work of intellectual co-operation inspiring and profitable.

A practical method of intellectual co-operation, which has been suggested by the Committee appointed for the purpose, is the loan of books and manuscripts between libraries of the world. There can be no doubt as to the advantages of such a system, but it must not be forgotten that it has its risks. There are some books and documents in certain libraries of which there is not a second copy obtainable anywhere, and there is a danger of their being lost in transit or otherwise spoilt or damaged. There is, for instance, a unique manuscript of the Akbarnama in the Khuda Buksh Library at Patna, and we cannot afford to run any risks with regard to such a literary treasure. It seems to me, therefore, that it will not, perhaps, be wise to advocate the adoption of a general system of borrowing and lending such books ; but I may add that with the assurance of due precautions against loss or damage the Government of India would always be willing to render help in this direction by supplying originals or copies, after considering the merits of each individual case.

A closer touch between the Universities of the world and the creation of international vacation courses and inter-University assistance are also objects which will command general sympathy and which India would heartily help to promote.

The education of the young as to the importance of international co-operation and as to the spirit of the League is another laudable suggestion made by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. As resolved at the Sixth Assembly, a Sub-Committee of experts was called to consider methods of co-ordinating all official and non-official efforts on the above subject, and it is noteworthy that Mr. S N. Chaturvedi, a Licentiate of Teaching at the Allahabad University in India, who takes a keen interest in this matter, took part in the work of this Preparatory Committee. This is not all. Various pamphlets have been published in India by teachers for the use of students on the work of the League, among which one by Mr. Jitendra Sen may particularly be mentioned. I think the importance of creating suitable literature for the young on the necessity of international co-operation can hardly be exaggerated. Among the young there are, no doubt, some of the leaders of the coming generation, and if they are brought up to think internationally a brighter future for the world may confidently be expected. If the League can produce suitable literature for distribution to schools, as I think it should, I can assure you that the Government of India would be prepared to make full use of such publications. I may add that, realising as I do the usefulness of developing healthy feelings of international sympathy among the young, I shall do all I can, in my individual capacity, to encourage the production of such literature in our country. The League of Nations Union in London has produced some very readable little books for children, and I hope similar efforts will be made by the branches of the Union that are now coming into existence in India. We have a branch of the Union at Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, and it has shown considerable activity during the last year. As a home of one of the most ancient civilisations of the world, India has great faith in intellectual culture and believes that the final solution of the great problems of humanity lies in the

recognition by various nations of the value of the contributions made by each one of them to the progress of mankind and in a better appreciation of the merits of one another by means of intellectual co-operation.

Report of a Speech by Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir in the Second Committee on the 17th September 1926. (International Economic Conference)

In the illuminating remarks which fell from M. Theunis, followed as they were by the observations of other delegates, including Baron von Rheinbaben, it is recognised that the work of the International Economic Conference is one of great complexity and difficulty and has to be approached so as to differentiate clearly between the international and national aspects of the question. It is true that the security amongst nations is, to no small degree, dependent upon economical peace and the solution of the many economic problems and difficulties which stand in the way of a revival of the world's prosperity. The problems, however, are so vast and complicated that a mere theoretical enunciation of principles will not take us to the goal to be reached. The active co-operation of Governments and the reconciliation of their various national ideals must also be achieved. What is needed is a general survey of economic conditions, leading to the selection of a few subjects, which would lend themselves most adequately to specific treatment by the nations of the world, so as to minimise economic friction. India is a not inconsiderable unit in the economic life of the world, and the recent history of Indian trade and economic development will, undoubtedly, furnish many lessons which may be of use to the world at large.

Some of the problems arising in my great country are peculiar to her. There is a marked discrepancy between the level of prices for agricultural and manufactured produce, India finding considerable difficulty in securing for her raw products prices which enable her to buy advantageously her requirements of manufactured goods. Abnormal fluctuations of prices in some of the raw products of India have also accounted for some of her difficulties, and, coupled with the general financial position, have led to a cutting down of the stocks to the minimum. It has sometimes been remarked in certain quarters that India has controlled productions, but the control, such as it was, was due mainly to the inability of the markets of the world to buy her goods.

These are difficulties which will have to be dealt with specifically with due advertence to local conditions, but generally speaking, India is at one with most of the delegations in thinking that valuable results may be obtained by an enquiry and a conference conducted with a few definite objects in view and pursued in a severely practical manner.

I should like, in conclusion, to associate myself with the observations made by the distinguished representative of Great Britain, Commander Hilton-Young, regarding the proposed character of the Conference. It seems to me that beginning with a Conference of experts will certainly be more beneficial in the long run. It would leave every nation free to ponder over the conclusions and recommendations of the Conference before deciding to adopt them. A conference of Experts will, I think, exercise that salutary influence over public opinion which, it is generally conceded, should precede the willing acceptance of the recommendations of the Conference by the nations of the world.

Report of a Speech by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar in the Fourth Committee on the 13th September 1926. (Budget of the League)

It is my duty, before I move the resolution* of which I have given notice to you, Mr. President, to express the thanks of my delegation (and I am sure that our feelings will be shared by every other State Member of the League) for the very informative and lucid

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* "That this Committee, noting the tendency of the budget of the League to increase, and considering that in the present financial state of most countries of the world every effort should be made to resist this tendency, is of opinion that as a preliminary to the discussion of the details of the budget, and as a general guide to their consideration, it is

presentation of the budget and its details by the Secretary-General and by the Auditor, Commandatore Ceresa, to both of whom the Members of the League cannot but feel greatly obliged. To cite only one instance, is it not obvious, to anyone who has examined the history of the building fund, that the finances of the League are managed with the utmost prudence and circumspection and to the best advantage of the organisation? My delegation is satisfied that the most meticulous care is always taken in scrutinising and checking the details of expenditure, including the budget of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office and the Court of International Justice. I cannot also forget the labours of the Supervisory Commission, whose member have, in turn, considered the reports of the Auditor, Commandatore A. Ceresa and of M. Vivaldi, the Assistant Auditor, as well as the budgetary estimates which have been submitted for the financial period 1927. Even a cursory study of the Report of the Supervisory Commission will demonstrate the anxiety of that body for stringent economy, and I need draw attention only to their emphasis on certain aspects of the printing and publishing expenses of the League.

If, with a consciousness of these facts, I have ventured to trouble this Committee with my resolution, it is because I realise, and I trust I am correct in this reflection, that the duty of this Committee extends beyond details of accountancy, and that, in the absence of any definite authority specifically charged with the co-ordination of the general expenditure of the League and the assigning of relative priorities to various schemes propounded before and approved by the League, it must be the aim of this Committee to lay down certain principles for its own guidance and to recommend those principles to the consideration of the other Committees so that the labours of all the Committees and organisations charged with expenditure may be focussed and a conspectus obtained of the activities of the League organisations and the scope and limit of such activities. I desire, at the outset, to point out that the resolution which I propose moving is recommendatory in language and in spirit, and that it is not my object to impose a check on really legitimate expenses or even thwart the proper extensions of the work of the League. The limits that I have indicated are not, therefore, laid down in any hard-and-fast manner. Obviously it cannot be the object of my delegation unduly to restrict the scope of the League's work, inasmuch as my country has throughout pleaded that, notable as has been the work turned out by the League, it should in the future, even more than in the past, enlist by well conceived expansions of its activity the enthusiastic support and co-operation of countries separated by great distances from the normal sphere of the League's work. It is indeed our object to see that a wide range of really international activities characterises our labours. The purpose of my resolution is only to secure conservation of energies so that the various Committees of the League may so direct their enquiries that all efforts may be concentrated on a few outstanding matters whose treatment of the problems may be characterised by thoroughness and efficiency. As I have already stated, there is no authority save the League itself which can impose any priorities with regard to the various items of expenditure; but it is permissible for me to state that, if a resolution like the one with which I am charged is passed, we can ensure that commitments already incurred are thoroughly and completely discharged before responsibility is accepted for new enquiries or researches which, albeit they are intrinsically valuable, may involve fresh expenditure. It is from this point of view, and having regard to the composition and the necessary limits of the jurisdiction of the League's various authorities, that I have endeavoured to approach the problems by means of an agreed imposition of a maximum limit. I repeat again that it is not my desire either to minimise the importance or the varied and beneficient activities of the League or to suggest any arbitrary curtailment of any of them, especially of such as those on which the Assembly has already pronounced its opinion.

India naturally is deeply interested in the financial administration of the League. I am sure it is realised that my country is one of the largest contributors at the present moment to the funds of the League and comes only behind Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan at the moment. It will be remembered that the budget of the League for 1927 is 24,615,097 gold francs as against 22,930,633 gold francs for 1926. There is thus

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desirable to kept in view a maximum limit of expenditure with the object of securing that the contributions of individual States shall not normally in future exceed their contributions for the current year; that the maximum expenditure to be kept in view should, in effect, approximate to the total expenditure for 1926, with such adjustments as may be necessitated by additions to or withdrawals from the number of contributory States Members; and that copies of this Resolution should be communicated to other Committees concerned with measures involving expenditure."

an increase of 1,700,000 gold francs or about 7 per cent. distributed between the International Labour Oaganisation, the Secretariat and the permanent organisations of the League, the former being increased by 32 posts and the latter by 17. There is no gainsaying that there is a tendency on the part of the budget, as there is a natural tendency on the parts of all budgets, to increase. It is true that the welcome entrance of Germany into the League will have its effect on the framing of the budget, and it is equally true that the increase is partly accounted for by the inevitable increments of salary and the increase in the Provident Fund. It is not the intention of the Indian Delegation to criticise the increase in staff, nor to put forward specific recommendations as to staff or any other topics at this stage. It is their sole function and mandate to point out that most of the States Members have had to exercise the most rigid economy in respect of their national affairs, and they confidently expect that the League will furnish a most conspicuous example to all the nations of the world of a careful administration of its finances inasmuch as such a process is bound to have a good effect on public opinion amongst all the countries concerned. Also it must be remembered that though the finances of the League may no doubt be improved by the admission of Germany, it is possible—I hope only remotely possible—that one contribution of 29 units may lapse. Thus, considering the present financial position of the component parts of the League and the likely developments of the League's own responsibilities, I trust that my proposition that a maximum limit of expenditure should be kept in view, and that the contributions of individual States should not normally exceed their contributions for the current year, will be accepted. It will be noticed that by the use of the expressions "keep in view" and "normally" I safeguard all legitimate expansions, the main thing which I am anxious to guard against being that new grants should not be approved which would have the effect of increasing the contributions of States Members when readjustments are finally made consequent upon admissions into and withdrawals from the League.

My final remark is that in order to ensure that the great spending Committees and this Committee should help and co-operate with each other in the attainment of these objects, which, I feel confident, will commend themselves to all of them, that copies of this resolution should, if passed by this Committee, be communicated to the other Committees, so that all of us may conduct our proceedings with the same definite ends in view. In that connection may I venture to quote the remark of the Secretary-General reported in the 1925 Report of the Supervisory Committee "The Secretary-General informed the Commission that, barring unforeseen events, the League budget had now attained practical stability and subsequent variations would be relatively small." My resolution is in effect an endorsement and recommendation of this idea

If, after taking account of the contributions of Germany and the decrease and possible withdrawals, and not forgetting possibilities in connection with the building fund, we endeavour definitely to stabilise our budget, I shall have fulfilled my object.

Report of a Speech by Sir C. P Ramaswami Ayyar in the Fourth Committee on the 20th September 1926. (Posts for Indians in the League Secretariat and International Labour Office.)

If I intervene during the discussion on the budget of the International Labour Organisation, it is not that I am oblivious of the fact that India is represented by Sir Atul Chatterjee on the Governing Council of the Organisation by which the preparation of the Labour Budget is supervised. I also realise that it is not the function of this Committee, or even of the Assembly, to fetter the discretion of the League authorities in making specific appointments, which, of course, will be filled with almost exclusive advertence to the question of efficiency It is also true that it is not easy to get persons, especially for the smaller posts, from distant countries, and question of passages cannot be overlooked. As, however, on the last occasion when the budget was discussed very powerful arguments were advanced by the delegates of various countries as to the need for the representation of all the nations of the world in the offices of the League, I desire to take this opportunity to emphasise and bring to the notice of the League authorities the claims of Indians for employment. I do so, not on the narrow ground of India's

comparatively large contribution and its regularity in making that contribution, but, as has been referred to by more than one speaker, it is useful to make every Member of the League feel that all the nations of the world have a fair chance in the matter, other things being equal. It is my intention, finally, to point out that this is one of the means by which citizens of my country will receive training in international work if some of its men who have the necessary qualifications are given the opportunity to work in Geneva. Their presence here will also serve to link together even more closely my distant country with this world-organisation.

I conclude, as I began, by repeating that my aim is not to criticise what has been done, but to make suggestions to the appointing authorities in the League, relying fully, as indeed was evident from the Secretary-General's speech the other day, that they are animated by the same ideas to which I have endeavoured to give expression.

Report of a Speech by Sir Basanta Mullick in the Fifth Committee on the 9th September 1926. (*Opium and other Dangerous Drugs.*)

As India is a State in which opium is grown, I venture to give some account of the steps which we have taken to give effect to the Hague Convention and the Geneva Convention of 1925. It is necessary to remember that the area of India is about 1,800,000 square miles, and that its population is nearly 319,000,000 Communications are not so perfect as in most countries in Europe, and the habit of eating opium has been established for some centuries. Bearing these conditions in mind, and also the fact that legislation is apt to defeat itself if unduly in advance of public opinion, I think we may justly claim that India has done her duty in the matter of opium.

I will address myself first to the question of the acreage under cultivation. In 1905 the acreage under cultivation was 614,000 acres. By 1923 the acreage had been reduced to 142,000 acres, and in view of the diminution in the demand for opium the Government of India is now arranging for the further restriction of cultivation.

In the matter of control over the export of opium I have to state that between 1908 and 1913 the Government of India placed a limit on the total export to all destinations. The Convention of 1912 prescribed among other provisions for the control of the export of raw opium that it was not to be exported to States which prohibited its import, and that when a State controls its import, export to that State shall be controlled accordingly. These provisions have always been strictly observed by the Government of India, and since 1915 the Government of India have gradually substituted for the sale by auction a system of direct sale to the States where there is a demand for Indian opium. The system of direct sales has now been completed with the conclusion of an agreement with the Government of French Indo-China, and the auctions of opium for export which used to be held at Calcutta have been discontinued from April 1926. The whole of the opium now exported for other than medical or scientific purposes is now sold under the system of direct sale to foreign Governments. In this connection it will be remembered that in 1923 the Government of India, acting according to the recommendations of the League of Nations, adopted the import certificate system, by which licences for the export of opium were only obtainable if a certificate of approval had been obtained from the Government of the importing country. Thus, not only the opium that was sold by direct arrangement with foreign purchasing Governments but also the residue that, up to April last, was sold by auction in Calcutta, was exported under a guarantee from the importing Government. Our foreign purchasers were for the most part the Governments of Malay, Hong Kong, Ceylon, the State of North Borneo, Sarawak, the Netherlands East Indies, Siam and French Indo-China, and in order to give effect to the Protocol drawn up in Geneva in 1925 by the Conference on Opium and Drugs, the Government of India announced on the 1st September 1925 that they were prepared to accept some measure of responsibility even for illicit export covered by import certificates, and to prohibit or restrict export, even where foreign Governments were prepared to furnish a certificate, if there was evidence that the opium was finding its way into the illicit trade. The Government of India had already before this prohibited export to two countries, but in order to guard against any invidious distinctions and against the necessity of differentiating and selecting

countries on whom restrictions should be placed, the Government of India have now decided to adopt a progressive all-round reduction and ultimate extinction of exports to all destinations, except for medical and scientific purposes, and they have fixed the short term of 10 years as the period within which the suppression and extinction of exports shall be completed. The total exports of 1926 will accordingly be reduced by 10 per cent. each subsequent year, so that the last export will take place in 1925.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Government of India are fulfilling their international obligations in the widest possible manner and are acting fully in accordance with the general trend of international opinion and with the views that have been expressed both in India and in Europe in the matter of securing the improvement of the world situation in regard to the trade in opium and its derivative drugs.

I beg the Committee's leave next to refer shortly to the control of internal distribution. The legislation on the subject is elaborate, and the manufacture, possession, transport, import and export and sale of opium, except as permitted by rules framed under the Opium Act, are punishable with various penalties extending to rigorous imprisonment. The policy of the Government of India is to limit consumption firstly by controlling the cultivation of the plant, and secondly, by steadily raising the retail price up to the point when the risk of smuggling becomes unduly great. With this object their steady policy is to reduce the local limits of private possession, and to diminish the number of shops where opium is sold under licence. Since 1910 the issue prices have been enhanced to two or three times what they were before, and the number of shops has been reduced by about one-third, and the rate of consumption seems to be gradually approximating to the level indicated by western science as the standard for modern countries. Success has only been possible because public opinion is strongly opposed to the abuse of opium. But in many parts of the country opium is eaten as a sedative and for quasi-medical purposes, and an attempt to introduce complete prohibition would be certain to fail on account of the conditions which at present prevail. We cannot drive the unsatisfied consumer into the hands of the smuggler or the manufacturer of morphine, cocaine, and other drugs, far more dangerous than opium. I may, however, state, for the information of the Committee, that the Government of India have recently been in consultation with Provincial Governments with regard firstly to the advisability of a policy of co-ordinating administrations with regard to the retail prices of opium, and secondly, the desirability of further checking consumption in local areas. It has been suggested here to-day that the Government of India should prohibit altogether the sale of opium except for medical or scientific purposes, but under present conditions that goal is unattainable. In some parts ceremonial usages on social and religious occasions demand the use of opium. The registration of medical practitioners, where there are any, is very imperfect, and above all there is, in fact, among the bulk of the population no abuse of the drug. Indeed, the ravages resulting from the excessive use of alcohol, not to say drugs such as cocaine and morphine, are incomparably more serious than those due to opium.

But notwithstanding these local conditions it is a matter for congratulation that there has in fact been a marked decline in recent years in the consumption per head. The amount now consumed in British India per head is about 18 grains, whereas in 1895 it was 27 grains. Eighteen grains per head represents about 1 gramme, and the Medical Committee of the Geneva Conference thought it desirable that for medical and scientific purposes countries possessing a highly organised system of medical assistance should allow ·45 grammes of opium at 10 per cent. morphine content. As Indian opium contains a lower morphine content than that produced in other countries, and as a considerable quantity is used for the treatment of cattle and horses, of which it is estimated that there are two per unit of the population, it is evident that there is not a very great margin between the consumption per head in India and that estimated by the Medical Committee as reasonable for medical and scientific requirements, and that there is no reason to suspect that there is any grave and widespread abuse of the drug.

With regard to the use of prepared opium, that is to say opium used for smoking, it may be stated that the people of India do not indulge in this practice, which they regard as a vice The habit is not native to the country, and is rarely found save among the disreputable, and it is always severely repressed. Some opium-smoking does exist in Burma and Assam, and the local Governments of those Provinces have framed laws and regulations which effectively deal with the evil. In Burma the local Government has not since April 1921 allowed prepared opium to be sold in the Government shops. It has enforced a system of registration and rationing of all consumers, whether eaters or smokers, and since 1914 no person who is not so registered is allowed to possess prepared opium. Each smoker is attached to one shop only and is strictly rationed.

In Assam smoking dens have been suppressed by legislation making the assembly of three or more persons for the purpose of smoking opium a penal offence. Legislation on these lines has also been adopted by the Legislative Councils of the Punjab, the United Provinces, and the Central Provinces.

I venture, therefore, to hope that the Committee will agree that the Government of India have fulfilled to their utmost the obligations undertaken both at the Hague Convention of 1912 and the Geneva Convention, 1925, and that they have fully discharged their duty in the matter of the export of the drug and its consumption within the territories under its control.

I wish, however, that I could say that the future with regard to the consumption of deleterious drugs was as bright.

India does not manufacture any dangerous drugs from opium except for medical and scientific purposes. This manufacture is strictly controlled in a Government factory, and the outturn is used either for home consumption or for export to the United Kingdom. The reports, however, show that there has been a dangerous increase of the import both of cocaine and morphine into India, but it will suffice to deal only with the subject of cocaine The use of this drug is controlled by the various provincial Excise Acts, and its illicit possession is punishable with imprisonment for various terms. Notwithstanding these protective statutes 1,656 ozs of cocaine were seized by the Customs authorities at Indian ports in 1923, 1,725 in 1924 and 3,680 in 1925, and it is estimated that the quantity actually imported must be many times as great. At page 10, Annexure 12, of the Report of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs, prepared at Geneva on 20th July 1926, there is a short account of cases brought to the notice of the local Governments of the Punjab, the Bombay Presidency and Bengal, and I have in my hand a statement which shows that for the whole of India in 1922-3 the total number of cases prosecuted was 964, and that the quantity of cocaine in question was certainly not less than 1,976 ozs In 1923-4 there were 1,015 cases and the quantity was 485 ozs., and in 1924-5 there were 1,083 cases and the quantity was 832 ozs. We apprehend that the whole of this cocaine was imported from foreign countries, and that in spite of the most vigilant precautions on the part of the Customs and the Police authorities there will be no real improvement unless there is ratification of the undertakings required by the Drugs Convention of 1925. I echo therefore the plea which has been made in the report now under consideration before us for more rapid progress in bringing into operation the Convention of 1925.

Immediate action can be taken under Resolution 10 of the Advisory Committee's Report for the purpose of establishing closer collaboration in investigating cases. Proposals were laid before the Advisory Committee for (1) periodical conferences of Police authorities, (2) conferences between the manufacturers of drugs and the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the question of regulation and distribution, and (3) the exchange of information as to the identity and methods of shipowners and others who are known to have connived at illicit traffic. If it is possible to give effect to any of these proposals the Government of India will certainly support them whole-heartedly. And I need hardly say that I have heard with the greatest satisfaction the announcement made to-day by Lord Cecil of the action taken by certain firms in the matter of the insurance of cargoes of deleterious drugs For the present we have done and are doing all that is possible under the circumstances. Whenever cases of smuggling cocaine and other dangerous drugs are discovered, and there is evidence available pointing to the country of manufacture or shipment, we communicate with the Governments concerned and place at their disposal all the evidence that is in our hands. One Government has after investigation communicated the results to us, and from another we have received an assurance that the cases are under investigation and that the results will be communicated at an early date.

If Lord Cecil's hope that something may be done by international agreement to limit and control the export and the consumption of the drugs to which I have referred is realised India will indeed have cause to rejoice.

Report of a Speech by Sir William Vincent in the Sixth Committee on the 23rd September 1926. (Slavery Convention, Article 3).

I much regret that I am compelled at this point to make it clear that, pending further instructions from my Government, I must make a small reservation in respect of this Article as worded, and I will explain very shortly to the Committee, as I have already done

to the Sub-Committee, my reasons for this course. The Arms Act Convention makes a clear distinction between native vessels and other vessels and defines the term native vessel as follows :—

> A vessel shall be deemed to be a native vessel if she is either owned, fitted out or commanded by a native of any country bordering on the Indian Ocean west of meridian of 950 East of Greenwich and north of the parallel of 110 South Latitude, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, or the Gulf of Oman, or if at least one-half of the crew are natives of such countries.

Now the area referred to in this definition includes the coast of India. Therefore all vessels owned by Indians or manned by Indian crews of whatever class or tonnage come within the definition of the term native vessels, but this is not all, for under the Convention native vessels under 500 tons are subject to a right of search, to which other vessels are not subject. The reason for this distinction in the Arms Traffic Convention was, as I understand, that the States that were parties to that treaty decided not to give permits or licences to native vessels under 500 tons in any circumstances to carry arms, whereas other vessels were, subject to certain restrictions, allowed to take on this traffic. I may say that up to now this Arms Traffic Convention has not been ratified by India, but there are additional reasons why the terms of that Convention should not be accepted in relation to slavery. In the first place, the slave trade stands on an entirely different footing from the arms traffic, and whereas in certain circumstances the latter is legitimate, in no case, whether the slaves are carried on a native or any other vessel, is the slave trade anything but criminal, and there is no reason to give any class of vessel any special privilege or exemption. In the second place, it would not be consonant with the dignity of India to accept a Convention which clearly places them in a position of inferiority and which suggests that Indian ships are not entitled to be treated in exactly the same manner and with the same consideration as the ships of other Powers. There is no slave trade off the coast of India and Indian ships are not employed for this traffic. The country is a civilised country with an efficient civilised administration, and cannot with justice be treated with less consideration than any other Power that is a Member of the League. I cannot accept for one moment the suggestion that Indian ships should be treated differently from, say, British, French or Italian ships, or that they are, either by reason of any kind of connection with the slave trade or by reason of any difference in the system of government or control over navigation, not entitled to exactly the same consideration as the ships of other countries. It is true that the Article stipulates that necessary adaptations may be made in the Convention, but this refers, I apprehend, only to adaptations necessary to convert an agreement made for one purpose into one now intended for another. Anxious as I am to do all that is possible to facilitate effective action against the slave trade, I regret, in the absence of instructions, to have to make a reservation in respect of this Article.

The reservation I propose to make is in the following terms :—

I also declare that my signature is not binding in respect of Article 3, in so far as that Article may require India to enter into an agreement which would place her vessels in a position different from that of other State Signatories of the Convention.

It will be seen that this will not prevent India from being a party to the Convention and it is owing to the sincere desire of India not only not to be obstructive but to render every assistance in the suppression of slavery and the slave trade that I have not pressed my objection to the whole Article, but, reducing my reservation to a minimum, made one stipulation necessary in my judgment in the interests of the self-respect and dignity of the great country which I have the honour of representing. I have decided, I may add, that it is not necessary for me to press two other reservations which I made in Sub-Committee.

Declaration by Sir William Vincent in the Sixth Committee on the 23rd September 1926. (*Exclusion of Indian States and certain unadministered tracts of British India from certain Articles of the Slavery Convention.*)

The Indian Delegation proposes to sign this Convention subject to an excluding declaration in the following terms :—

"Under the terms of Article 9 of this Convention, I declare that my signature is not binding as regards the enforcement of the provisions of Article 2, sub-section (*b*), Articles 5, 6, and 7 of this Convention upon the following territories, namely: In Burma, the Naga tracts lying west and south of the Hukawng Valley, bounded on the north and west by the Assam boundary, on the east by the Nanphuk River and on the south by the Singaling Hkamti and the Somra tracts; in Assam, the Sadiya and Balipara frontier tracts, the tribal area to the east of the Naga Hills district, up to the Burma boundary, and a small tract in the south of the Lushai Hills district, also on the territories in India of any Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty."

A. The exclusion of the unadministered tracts is necessary on the following grounds: —

(1) The position in certain unadministered or partially administered frontier tracts in northern Burma and Assam was explained to the League in a memorandum communicated to the Fourth Assembly (Document A 18, 1923, VI), and referred to in para, 90 of the Report of the Temporary Slavery Commission (A 19, 1925, VI), communicated to the Sixth Assembly. The population of these tracts cannot be stated as they have not been fully explored, but on a rough estimate the population of these in Assam is not more than 100,000

(2) Generally speaking, the Government of India cannot undertake obligations to embark on the conquest of unexplored or partly explored regions inhabited by primitive aboriginals, amongst whom slavery, or practices akin to slavery, are believed to exist, but are prepared to accept the obligation to exercise all peaceful influence to suppress them as opportunity occurs.

(3) A proof of the desire of the Government of India to suppress remaining traces of slavery was given by the action of the Government of Burma in the Hukawng Valley, of which an account was given to the Sixth Assembly in a memorandum (Document A 50, 1925, VI). Further action has since been taken in this direction by the Government of Burma. Steps are also being taken to bring about the disappearance of practices savouring of slavery in the Lushai Hills of Assam, in which they still exist.

(4) The Government of India cannot, however, accept the definite obligations imposed by Articles 2(*b*), 5, 6 and 7 in respect of these unadministered areas The Indian Delegation, therefore, has instructions on signing the Convention to specify in an excluding declaration under Article 9 of the Convention the geographical areas to which the obligations of these Articles will not apply.

(5) The declaration of exclusion is so worded as to admit of separate accession on account of these territories when the circumstances are such as to enable the Government of India to fulfil the obligations of the Convention in respect to them.

B. That part of the declaration which excludes the Indian States is necessary on the following grounds .—

(1) The internal administration of these States is in the hands of their own rulers, but the exact relations in which each State stands to the Government of the King-Emperor are dependent on individual circumstances and cannot be briefly explained. The Indian Legislature cannot legislate for these States.

(2) Recent enquiries have satisfied the Government of India that slavery in the ordinary sense is not now practised in any Indian States, and that, where conditions are present which may be held to amount to forced labour of the kind against which the Convention is directed, no serious abuses exist and progress is in fact being made in removing or mitigating such conditions.

(3) The draft Convention, however, imposes obligations upon the Signatory States which would involve, in the case of India, direct interference with the domestic administration of the Indian States. The Government of India would be prepared to urge the Rulers of those States to initiate measures of reform if they had reason to believe that gross abuses existed in any of them. But they do not consider that the conditions revealed by their recent enquiries would justify interference to secure full enforcement of the provisions of the Slavery Convention as regards forced labour.

(4) On the other hand, it is to be clearly understood that in many States the standard aimed at by the Convention has already been attained and that in all other States steady progress is being effected both by public opinion and by the spontaneous action of the Rulers.

(5) The Government of India will not fail to bring to the notice of the Rulers of Indian States the provisions accepted for India (other than the Indian States) under the Convention, together with suitable recommendations.

Report of a Speech by Sir William Vincent in the Assembly on the 25th September 1926. (Report of the Sixth Committee on the Slavery Convention.)

I am advised that it is incumbent on me to read out here certain reservations which India will make on signing this Convention. I am not satisfied that this is strictly necessary or that this practice has always been followed in the past. But *ex majori cautela*, I am prepared on the present occasion to adopt this course.

"Under the terms of Article 9 of this Convention, I declare that my signature is not binding as regards the enforcement of Article 2, subsection (*b*), Articles 5, 6 and 7 of this Convention upon the following territories, namely: In Burma, the Naga tracts lying west and south of the Hukawng Valley, bounded on the north and west by the Assam boundary, on the east by the Nanphuk River and on the south by the Singaling Hkamti and the Somra tracts, in Assam, the Sadiya and Balipara frontier tracts, the tribal area to the east of the Naga Hills district, up to the Burma boundary, and a small tract in the south of the Lushai Hills district, nor on the territories in India of any Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty.

"I also declare that my signature to the Convention is not binding in respect of Article 3 in so far as that Article may require India to enter into any Convention whereby vessels, by reason of the fact that they are owned, fitted out or commanded by Indians, or of the fact that one-half of the crew is Indian, are classified as native vessels or are denied any privilege, right or immunity enjoyed by similar vessels of other States Signatories of the Covenant or are made subject to any liability or disability to which similar ships of such other States are not subject."

But, Sir, it is not only these reservations, but the great importance of the resolution under discussion which justifies my taking a few moments of your time to-day to explain the attitude of India on this question of slavery. I regard this Convention as a tangible and effective achievement of great moment, and as a practical illustration to the world in one direction at least of the great work done for humanity by the League. I have no desire to enter into the history of previous efforts to eradicate the slave trade and slavery, but the truth is that in various forms and disguises it still does subsist in certain parts of the world, and the present Convention, if it is accepted, as we hope it will be, by the Powers here present, constitutes a definite advance not only in increasing the effectiveness of measures against the slave trade proper and eradicating slavery generally, but in preventing and putting a stop to those more insidious forms of servitude which approximate to slavery though called by other names. The principles laid down, particularly in regard to forced labour, taken with the action of the International Labour Bureau, cannot fail to have far-reaching effects throughout the world, and so far as I know this is the first occasion on which a definite undertaking, or at any rate so complete an undertaking, in regard to forced labour has been accepted. I refer particularly to forced labour for private purposes. May I say that India heartily welcomes the conclusion of this Convention, and is glad to undertake the duty of making every effort to root out conditions of servitude which approximate to slavery.

It is true that we have to make certain reservations on signing the Convention, but one of these, which relates only to the search of ships suspected of carrying slaves, need in no way impede the execution of an effective agreement on this subject. I can assure the Assembly that in fact no Indian ships are engaged in the slave trade, and that the law of India prohibits slavery and this slave trade under penal clauses of great severity. Another reservation we have been compelled to make is in relation to Indian States and a small area of unadministered territory. The reason for this reservation in regard to the Indian States is not that slavery is prevalent there, for this is not the case at all, but it arises from the constitutional position which those States occupy, a position which I have fully explained in the Sixth Committee. The Convention will, however, be brought to the notice of all States, and provision exists in the Convention for extending its obligations to these areas should this be necessary or desirable in future. In the meantime, in the unadministered areas of which I spoke, tracts situated on the extreme north-eastern frontier of British India, the population of which is estimated at a few hundred thousand persons only, steady systematic efforts are being made by the local Governments to eradicate traces of slavery and conditions analogous thereto. In one of these areas already over 3,000 slaves have been released (last year) on payment of substantial compensation to their owners; in another area a special expedition has been sent this year charged with the mission of securing by persuasion and payment of compensation the release of all slaves in that territory.

But the efforts of the Government of India have by no means been confined to measures of this kind. In other provinces steady progress has for many years been made

in the direction of measures to prevent any condition of forced labour approaching to slavery, or even likely to lead to oppression. Forced labour for private purposes has no legal recognition in India. In the province in which the greater part of my career in India was spent, where forced labour was in some parts exacted as a predial obligation, and also in lieu of debt, the predial obligation has been commuted into each payments and an enactment passed which prohibits any kind of servitude for debt or the enforcement of contracts of that nature. Similar efforts have been made in other parts of India, and indeed the enforcement by penal sanctions of any form of indentured labour or of contracts to labour has been abolished. Generally it may be said that the Government of India has made, and will continue to make every effort to get rid of the evils against which this Convention is directed.

Lastly, may I say that such has been the moral influence of the work of the League and of the high ideals for which it stands, that I saw in the *Times* the other day a statement, and I have no reason whatever to doubt it, that the State of Nepal, an independent State not in India but on the northern frontier, has recently completed the liberation of 59,000 slaves at a cost of £375,000 paid by the State. That is a result on which the State of Nepal may, I think, be congratulated, and is clear evidence of the influence of the League in the East.

My object in placing these details before you is to indicate by direct evidence that India, if apt to scrutinise with jealousy any agreement which proposed, has gone a great way towards the goal which the Convention seeks to obtain. If we examine the terms of these agreements in detail, it is because we are careful to enter into no solemn undertaking which we are not prepared fully to implement, and because we have also to consider the effect of such an agreement on a vast population, one-fifth of the population of the world, living in very varying conditions and permeated by varying traditions and customs. But, as I have said, India is behind no State in its desire to eradicate slavery, and if the present Convention does not meet the approbation of all, it achieves a great deal. Further, should necessity arise in the future it can, and no doubt will, be supplemented by further agreements until slavery and conditions akin to it, truly described in the Committee as a crime against the human race, are utterly and wholly rooted out.

Indian Journalist's Invitation.

In June 1926 the League of Nations officially sent an invitation to Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor of the *Modern Review* to come to Geneva for the purpose of undertaking a study of the League. Mr. Chatterjee accepted the invitation. The object of the invitation is stated in the following paragraph from the letter addressed to Mr. Chatterjee by the Secretary-General, League of Nations:—

> "It is of course obvious that there is no intention of interfering with your independent judgment. The policy of the Secretariat is to try to secure responsible representative journalists, more especially from distant countries with whom contact is necessarily more difficult, to spend sometime in Geneva in order to become acquainted with the League's work and Constitution and thus be in a position on their return home to follow its proceedings with understanding."

Indians in South Africa

In the following pages we would draw the attention of our reader to an important contribution, sent to the Indian Press for publication, by Mr. P. Subramania Aiyar, editor, *The African Chronicle*. As the 'Hindu' of Madras says, he writes on the subject of Indians in South Africa with intimate knowledge of the question and of the existing situation. Further his views are those of our nationals in the Union and therefore they deserve the anxious consideration of this country, because in anything that we do we should be guided by the feelings and opinions of those whose cause we espouse. The Government of India have not been quite alert in the matter of the Colour Bar Bill, and Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari has made matters worse by declaring that the effect of that measure would not be a hundredth of that of the anti-Asiatic Bill. That is a view which is quite wrong; besides being grossly incorrect, it does grave injustice to Indians engaged in business, especially in technical occupations, whose future is jeopardised by the Colour Bar Bill. Mr. Subramania Aiyar asks, as Lord Olivier has done on many occasions, how Indians could raise their standards of living if they are shut out of skilled industries and denied every facility for training? It is therefore disingenuous for white settlers to insist on Indians raising their standard of living, while at the same time preventing them from engaging themselves in remunerative occupations. There was again the Industrial Conciliation Act which has already had the effect of throwing a number of Indians out of employment because it was impossible for Indian concerns to pay the minimum wages fixed for various industries. There were also the traders' licensing laws which have been oppressively used and have had the effect of squeezing out Indians. And the educational policy of the Union was designed to deny all means of enlightenment to the Indian children. How narrow and wicked are the restrictions imposed will be seen from a perusal of that portion of the article relating to this subject. The following is the full text of the article :—

Mr. Subramania Aiyar's Views.

"The Indian community in South Africa allowed sufficient time to elapse in order to enable the public in Motherland to cool down the transient excitement caused by the suspension of the Asiatic Bill on recommendation from the Paddison Deputation in concurrence with the Hertzog Government. The Indian community in the Union, though keenly alive to the reality of the situation, despite the postponement of the Bill to a future date, was very anxious not to thrust their views thus hampering the work of the Paddison Deputation. As a proof of their earnestness to give a free hand to the activities of the Government of India, a special session of the South African Indian Congress that was to be held at the end of June 1926, was adjourned in order to convince the world that the Indian community mean to abide by their solemn undertaking. Even the "Natal Mercury" newspaper in an editorial, had to admit recently, that the Indians have been scrupulously adhering to their part of the compact. However, while the

Paddison Deputation was in this country, most of the negotiations between the Deputation and the Union Government were conducted in Capetown, and the Executive of the South African Indian Congress, the Headquarters of which are at Durban, could not get that opportunity which is indispensable for giving a lucid exposition of the complex operation of the laws now in existence that have a tendency to eliminate the Indian population.

No South African in the Conference.

"But, the Executive of the Indian Congress naturally thought that in any future negotiations that might take place, concerning the ultimate decision of the fate of the Indian community they would be duly represented. However, that is not to be. The following cable correspondence that took place between Mr. Kajee, Secretary of the South African Indian Congress and the Government of India throws considerable light on the situation. Mr. Kajee, in a cable dated the 23rd day of May 1926, addressed the Government of India as follows: "Am directed by the Executive to make representations in the matter of Round Table Conference to be held between India and the Union, whether the Indian community in the Union will be entitled representation at the Conference. Am instructed to urge that seeing that conference is going to deal with vital issues concerning our present and future destiny claims for participation in the conference by representatives of Congress. Hope Indian Government attention will engage this request and steps to be taken in the desired direction. As Congress Conference being held shortly consider question please reply."

"The Government of India, in their cable dated the 3rd June, 1926, replied as follows: "Telegram dated 25th May. Personnel of conference is still under consideration and will take some time to settle. Government of India are fully alive to the importance to Indian community in South Africa of proposed discussion but as Congress are aware, formula agreed upon between the Government of India and the Union Government is beside for proposed conference provides for participation therein only of representatives of two Governments. Government of India therefore regret that it will not be possible to press for inclusion in the conference of representatives of the Congress, as representing the Indian community in the Union. They will however be glad to receive any views which Congress might wish to put forward on question of interest to the community and if necessary to communicate those views to their own representatives on the conference."

"Perhaps many in India may not be aware of the fact that the real storm centre of the anti Asiatic agitation is in British Natal, where the bulk of the Indians reside, and it is there the Britisher have been fomenting the anti-Asiatic agitation which has assumed alarming dimensions. I would refer the people of India to study the Blue Book recently issued by the Select Committee of the Union House of Assembly on the Asiatic Bill and the public would be thoroughly convinced of the bitterness of feeling displayed by the British section of people towards the Indian race on the whole. If the Paddison Deputation had ascertained the views of the Indians prior to their becoming a consenting party to this agreement, the present dubious aspect of the question (from the standpoint of Indians) would have undergone a considerable modification. However, even after the conclusion of this agreement, the Indian community laboured under the impression that their trusted representative would be given an opportunity to place their case in all its bearings but seeing that this is going

to be a conference of the two Governments, it should not be surprising to hear that the Indian community in the Union are much perturbed over the prospects awaiting them.

The Formula.

"It is necessary indeed that one should have a full knowledge of the meaning underlying the agreement made between the two Governments and so I quote the full text of it below :—

"The Government of the Union of South Africa and the Government of India have been further in communication with each other regarding the best method of arriving at an amicable solution of the Indian problem. The Government of the Union have impressed on the Goverment of India that public opinion in South Africa will not view with favour any settlement which does not hold a reasonable prospect of safeguarding the maintenance of Western standard of life by just and legitimate means. The Government of India are prepared to assist in exploring all possible methods of settling the Asiatic question and have offered to enter into a conference with the Union Government for the purpose. Any proposals that the conference might make would be subject to confirmation by the Government of the two countries. The Union Government have accepted the offer of the Government of India and in order to ensure that the conference should meet under the best auspices, have decided, subject to the approval of the Select Committee and Parliament not to proceed further with the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration Further Provisions Bill, until the results of the Conference are available."

"It would indeed be evident that both parties, pending a settlement of the whole issue at a Round Table Conference, undertook to observe armed neutrality and that there was an implied understanding that neither the one nor the other would, during the interregnum, disturb the *status quo*. I am sure no impartial critic would place any other interpretation than the one which the Indian community has placed on the western standard formula that has been agreed to by both the parties. But the Government of the Union and curiously enough the Government of India also apparently have their own different interpretation which is really difficult for us to comprehend.

The Colour Bar Bill.

"After the departure of the Paddison Deputation, the Colour Bar Bill was placed on the Statute Book. The Indian community was under the impression that India took effective steps to protest against it, but to our amazement, we learned from so august a personage as Lord Birkenhead, that the India Office could not help in the matter. However, the most astounding news to the Indians in the Union is Mr. Raza Ali's attitude after his return to India and his statement in the Press on the Colour Bar Bill. If his version of the story could be construed as the opinion of the Government of India, then I venture to say that his reading of the situation in South Africa is entirely wrong, and it is time that he acquires a more intimate grasp of the various cross currents that are at work, in compassing the ruin of our countrymen in this country. Mr. Raza Ali says that "judged from their practical effect on our countrymen in South Africa, the Colour Bar Bill is not one-hundredth as mischievous and dangerous as the Areas Reservation Bill." And he maintains that it is applicable only to the natives working on the mines in the Transvaal. In order to enlighten the public at home, as to

the scope and the extraordinary nature of the Act which has become operative now, I quote below the most important sections from the Mines and Works Amendment Act, better known as the Colour Bar Bill :—

'Section (1) The Regulations under paragraph

(n) may provide that in such Provinces: areas or places as may be specified in the Regulations, certificates of competency in any occupations referred to in that paragraph, shall be granted only to the following classes of persons, namely,

(a) Europeans.

(b) Persons born in the Union and ordinarily resident in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, who are members of the class or race known as Cape Coloureds or of the class or race known as Cape Malays.

(c) The people known as Mauritian Creoloes or St. Helena Persons, or their descendants born in the Union'.

"The foregoing quotations are from the Statute Book of the Union of South Africa, and any man, of common intelligence, could understand that the Act in question, while expressly making provision for the Malays, Mauritian Creoloes, and other cross-breeds to be employed in skilled and semi-skilled industries, studiously excludes the Asiatic from all industrial occupations. Realising the danger threatening the industrial rights of the Indian community, the South African Indian Congress made pressing representations to the Governor-General, as well as to the Government of India, praying to withhold Royal Assent to the said Bill. The following reply from the Secretary for Mines indicates how even the Government of the Union of South Africa look upon our just apprehensions under this Act. The following is the full text of the reply from the Department of Mines and Industries, dated the 25th May 1926 to the Secretary of the South African Indian Congress :—

"With reference to your telegram dated the 11th instant, addressed to His Excellency the Governor-General, regarding the Mines and Works Amendment Bill, I am directed to inform you that it is the intention of the Government in due course to consider the issue of Regulations to restore at all events the *status quo* as it existed before the Courts declared certain regulations *ultra vires*. This is necessary in the interests of health and safety. There is no present intention of extending the regulations beyond the position as it existed prior to the Courts judgment. Should any such extension be contemplated in the future, every reasonable opportunity will be given to all parties in the Union interested in the matter to make representation. In the circumstances no good purpose would appear to be served by granting the interview proposed."

"The foregoing assurance from the Government to the effect that "there is no present intention" to extend the scope of the operation of the Act, has not allayed the apprehensions of the Indian public, but on the contrary it has confirmed the belief that in certain eventualities it will be requisitioned for operation with deadly effect to the existence of the whole Indian community in the Union of South Africa, which I hope to prove in the course of this article. If Mr. Raza Ali did not comprehend the undercurrent of this Bill I trust he will do so, after the elucidation I have ventured to make herein.

Simla's Blunder.

"It is scarcely necessary for me to emphasise that seeing the Government

of India have not taken a strong and emphatic attitude in respect of the Colour Bar Bill—a measure, that has been construed by the Indian community as a breach of the agreement. The Indian public opinion is getting considerably disquitened, if not exasperated and many are inclined to question whether any good will come out of the proposed Round Table Conference at all. Not long ago, the Secretary of the South African Indian Congress frankly wrote to the Government of India, whether the forthcoming Round Table Conference was seriously intended to be productive of any good to the afflicted Indians in the face of such systematic breaches of the agreement by the Union Government.

"Perhaps outsiders who have not suffered the pangs of agony, and borne the brunt of political and economic persecution, may not entirely concur with the statements, made herein, but when they know the inner history of our existence, they would sympathise with us and will also agree that there are substantial reasons for our apprehensions.

"Indeed the Government of India should have either consulted the popular leaders in India, or the South African Indian Congress here, before becoming a contracting party to the western standard formula. If they had done so, the leaders would have given the right advice as to the line of action to be taken in view of the fact that under existing legislation and by the operation of the present Acts, the identical policy tending towards the Europeanisation of all industry and trades has been silently going on unmolested.

"The leaders here after discovering the various diplomatic blunders made by Delhi, tried to save the situation, by suggesting to include a representative of the South African Indians to have a voice at the Round Table Conference, but from the reply of the Government of India, it appears that proposition also has been rendered an impracticable one.

Western Standards of Living.

"Let us consider for a moment the purport of the formula agreed upon by both Governments and examine whether any us and whether it is not in conformity with the existing policy and the operation of laws that have been enforced in the Union for a considerable length of time. To begin with, under the Immigrants Regulation Act, all Asiatics throughout the whole world, irrespective of race or country they hail from have been declared unsuited to the Union of South Africa, and styled "prohibited immigrants" on account of their "standard of living" and "economic habits"—a decision which has been upheld by the highest Court in this land; and as such not a single newcomer is allowed to enter the Union of South Africa; and under the authority of the same Act even domiciled Indians are being slowly and silently weeded out of the country. No Indians are privileged to enter from one province to the other without a special permit which is not easy to obtain. In so far as fresh arrivals are concerned, and in so far as migration from one province to the other is concerned, it is all closed to the Indians. Segregation of the Indians, in their respective provinces, is the order of the day, without giving them any opportunity for development, either in social, economic, political spheres of activity and now the Union Government proposes a formula which imposes conditions of guarantee for "safeguarding the maintenance of western standard of life," and to which the Government of India have apparently given their consent as if the

Indians had been attacking the citadels of western civilisation and retarding the progress of the white race.

"It is a truism in politics that the "maintenance of western standard of life," depends on material wealth. If a community was denied all opportunities of development to acquire wealth, they could not maintain "western standards of life" however ardently they may wish to do so. In other words, it is the opportunity that people gets through commerce and industry and the amount of wealth that they acquire thereby that would enable a community to maintain "western standards of life." This is a truism that all know, and which the Government of India ought to know. Let us see how the Indians fare in this country in accordance with the present operations of the Laws.

Minimum Wages.

"Traders' Licensing Laws in the various provinces have been worked so harshly that it is impossible for an Indian to carry on even long established business, and it was only recently a long established Indian trader at Estcourt, who is married to a European woman was deprived of his existing licence to trade. Notwithstanding his appeal to the Supreme Court, the learned Judges held that they could not interfere with the decision of the Licensing Officer, though they maintained that the Officer in question arbitrarily exercised his discretion. I have quoted this one instance out of many to prove how the Indian commercial community is being squeezed out, and therefore it must be obvious, that in order to "safeguard the western standards of life," the existing licensing laws are made so operative as to exterminate the Indian trader altogether. In so far as commerce is concerned, the Indian has already been elbowed out. In addition to harsh administration of the existing licensing laws, the Hertzog Government have brought into force another machinery by which the dealers are compelled to pay a certain stipulated wages to their employees, no matter whether their business is a plain concern or not. When the Smuts Government was in power an enactment entitled the "Industrial Conciliation Act" was passed, the object of that measure being to enable organised Trade Unions and organised employers of industries to adjust their differences in the matter of pay and working hours, and in the event of both parties reaching a unanimous decision, such decision was to be made binding on both parties with the sanction of the executive, but it was never intended, as General Smuts himself declared in the House of Parliament, that such trade agreement should be binding on non-Union men, not on those who had not been a party to such agreement. However, the Labour Minister maintains to the contrary and the agreement to which the Indians have never been a party, because White Trade Unions would not admit Indians in their Union, is forced on them against their will and even the Supreme Court have declared their inability to interfere with the decision of the Minister. As a result of this decision, a petty Indian trader or factory owner who may not be earning a pound a day is called upon to pay his assistant a minimum wages in the same ratio as a mill-owner, and our readers may well imagine the effect of such legislation on the Indian trade and industry in general. In this manner, the Indian commercial community and industrialists are being annihilited day by day.

"There remains only the skilled and semi-skilled industries and occuption in which Indians have been extensively employed in various capacities such

as Furniture making, Printing, Painting, Building, Bakery and Biscuit Factory, Match and Soap Factory, Leather Industry, and Mechanical Engineering, Brick and Cement Industry, Fish curing and Whale Industry and so forth.

"Under the Industrial Conciliation Act, minimum wages have been sanctioned by the Minister in consultation with the White Trade Unions of the aforesaid Trades. In order to give the readers an idea of the wages fixed for various industries, I give below the minimum rates of one or two branches, namely,—Printing Industry, £7-2 6 a week, Building Industry, £1-4-8 a day, and Shop Assistants, £17-10-0 a month. The effect of the fixation of a such a high tariff is that a very large number of Indians have been thrown out of work and a still greater number are awaiting their turn, and their places being given in some instances to Europeans, but in the majority of cases, it is distributed among Coloured Malays, Creoles, and sundry other races. In addition to such a huge army of unemployed, the effect of this administrative action is giving a deathblow to the small Colony of Indian established industries, should Indian workers seek work in Indian owned factories, they could not be accommodated because the wages being so high, it is impossible for small business with limited output and much less opportunity for expansion to accommodate them. Moreover, as a result of this latest ingenious operation of the law, some of the Indian owned factories have closed down, amongst them, three Indian owned Newspaper Office. In a word a large number of skilled and semi-skilled labourers in various branches of the industry that employed Indians are right clean out of their job and this is all done in the name of "safeguarding the maintenance of western standards of life."

"In the matter of Agricultural pursuits the Indian Community is faring worse day by day. It is indeed becoming very difficult for Indians either to buy or lease lands and very few Europeans care to deal in land transaction with Indians and it is a common occurrence that every land sale is accompanied by an Asiatic Clause prohibiting transfer of land to an Asiatic.

"Having regard to the foregoing facts, I venture to state that by the time the Round Table Conference takes place in Pretoria, the problem that will confront the Conference would be not to safeguard the "western standards of life" but what to do with the thousands of unemployed and employable Indian men and women in this country. This is the real problem that is going to face the delegates, and I really do not know whether the Government and people of India even now realise the effect of the Agreement with the Hertzog Government. Therefore, it must be transparent that when General Hertzog assured Mr. Andrews or for the matter of that the Government of India that the Colour Bar Bill will not be made operative on the Indian "at present," what he had at the back of his mind was that in the event of the present armory of legislation such as the Immigration Act, Licensing Law, Industrial Conciliation Act, Minimum Wages Act, Apprenticeship Act, etc., not proving sufficiently effective to achieve his object for "safeguarding the maintenance of western standard of life" then alone he would put into use the Colour Bar Act which is kept as a Emergency Reserve Power. It must indeed be obvious to any person who has eyes to see that the multifarious activities of the Indian Community have already been brought to a standstill by the operation of the existing Laws in order to safeguard the rights of the White races alone to exist in this part of the

British Empire. The only Indian Industry that has hitherto been left unmolested was the fishing industry which is exclusively in the hands of the Indians, who established it soon after their advent to Natal. Sir Walter Page's Commission dated the 19th January 1885, even recorded in eulogistic terms about the Indian Fishing Industry and offered the thanks of the colonists to the Indian settlers of Salisbury Island. Now a strong agitation under the lead of the Fishery Inspector is taking place with the avowed object of depriving these Indian fishermen, who are hundreds in number, of their means of livelihood.

"Such is the harrowing tale of Indian existence in this land of plenty and sunshine. The existing laws have provided more than ample security for "safeguarding western standards" and so, one is naturally tempted to question the practical utility of the proposed formulae! If both parties have been sincere in their profession of a settlement of this question, surely this is not the basis on which such a complicated issue involving millions of pounds, touching the well-being of thousands of people, could be settled. Britishers are well-known to be a practical people and even they in their calmer moments would admit that it is highly improper to sacrifice the well-being of thousands of people and their hard-earned wealth on the altar of the shibboleth that goes by the name of "western standard."

"Should the effect of British statesmanship mean anything it must be visible; but to our regret we find nothing; and instead the effect of Lord Reading's statesmanship has been to augment the army of unemployed and ruined business people thus hastening the repatriation of long-established Indians without any compensation whatsoever. This is what the Union Government desired which they have obtained under this formulae. It is really difficult to imagine how any patriotic Indian could be overjoyed at this achievement of British statesmanship.

Curtailing Educational Facilities.

"While the lot of the existing business and industrial sections of the community has been rendered sufficiently ruinous, one would have thought that if there was sincerity in the professions of good faith on the basis of the "western standard formula" at least the Government and the white people of the Union would pay due regard to the future welfare of the Indian children so as to fit them to take their places alongside of other citizens; but from the trend of legislation now on the legislative anvil, it appears that the Europeans are obsessed with the same fear against the coming generations of Asiatics, and are preparing enactments with a view to "safeguard the maintenance of western standards of life" against unborn generations. The form it has taken in the direction of curtailing the educational facilities to the Indian children and recently the Provincial Council unanimously passed a resolution to the effect "that the council is of opinion that European lady teachers should not be employed in the Indian schools under the Administration's control, and requests the Executive to give effect to this resolution as soon as other posts can be found for those now so employed."

"As the legislators during the course of the debate on the resolution indulged in a good deal of unnecessarily irritating criticism of the moral character of the Indians, I quote below the dignified rejoinder addressed to His Honour the Administrator by the Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress:—

"We have been directed by the Committee of the Natal Indian Congress to bring to your Honour's notice the feeling of the Indian community with reference to a resolution passed by the Provincial Council for the removal of lady teachers from Indian schools.

"The teachers in question have been employed in the schools for a considerable time, and so far as we are aware, neither the parents nor the lady teachers had any grounds for complaint by the present arrangement. While such being the real facts, the community which we have the honour to represent was amazed to find a resolution of the kind referred to above passed by the Provincial Council, followed by speeches from members which reflect not only bad taste, but are also calculated to throw unwarranted and undeserving aspersion on the moral tone of young children attending Indian schools.

"We need hardly state that the Indian community strongly resents the attitude of the Provincial Council and we have been instructed to state, that in their desire to make political capital out of the Indian children, the Provincial Council has not done justice to the moral character of the Indian community, and it has not evinced credit for their own common intelligence. In conclusion, we have been instructed to place on record our keen resentment at the gratuitously insulting attitude of the Provincial Council towards the community and to lodge our protest against same."

"A new education ordinance has been introduced in the Provincial Council, and while it provides for compulsory education of all European children, under Chapter IX, over the heading of non-European education, Section, 74, it provides:

(a) The Administrator may withdraw any grants in aid upon six months' written notice given by the Superintendent or he may withdraw them at any time, etc.

(b) The right of admission and expulsion of pupils in non-European schools shall, in Government Aided Schools, vest in the managing body.

(c) No school other than a school maintained or aided by the department shall be open for the instruction of non-European children with an attendance of more than ten pupils, until the Superintendent has satisfied himself through his officers, etc.

"The foregoing are the salient features of the education ordinance but though strenuous objection has been taken by the Congress to the pernicious principles involved in the Bill, this Bill not only repudiates the duty which the State owes to provide education for Indians and Natives but it takes unto itself the power to punish the Indians if they choose to provide their own educational facilities at their own expense. This is the first time that I have ever heard of any civilised Government arming themselves with Laws in order to retard the progress of its subjects and punish them for endeavouring to get enlightened. In addition to an Educational Bill on the legislative anvil, at the recent session of the Natal Provincial Council, this august body unanimously passed a resolution affirming the principle that only vernacular education should be imparted to Indians and Natives in all schools up to the 6th Standard, and that no education shall be given to the children of these races in either or both of the official languages of the Union. Indeed, the underlying motive of these Acts in respect of the unborn generation of Indians and Natives must be transparent to all: That is, in however grandiloquent phrases the Government of the Union express their sentiment

to effect a settlement in an amicable manner, their action betrays their minds and their determination to bolt the Indian out root and branch if possible, failing which, to keep them down to the level of untutored aboriginal tribes of Africa as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the white man, and this is fully borne out by the resolution to legislatively prohibit the Indian from acquiring a knowledge of the English language. If the formula enunciating the "safeguarding of the western standards of life" means anything, it amounts to this: that is, at least the future generation of Indians should by western vocal and industrial education be raised to the level of the white man; or he should be shut out altogether from all access to western knowledge and in fact to all amenities of western civilization so as to give a monopoly of that commodity to the white races. It appears from the tendency of the white people and also from the operation of the Apprenticeship Act and the Factories Act which have in actuality debarred the Indian youth from learning any skilled and semi-skilled trades, coupled with the resolution recently passed by the Provincial Council legislatively prohibiting Indian children from learning the English language, that the Government of his country are determined, according to their formula, to preserve intact the appurtenances of white civilization for themselves. If that be so, any sober minded man would be inclined to ask, what is the practical use of this formula in so far as it is applicable to Indians, and what is the objective of the Government of India in accepting the same? It should be interesting to know what Delhi will have to say in the matter and cerainly the whole of Asia would be justified in asking for an explanation of the attitude of England in respect of this admittedly world-wide problem.

Situation Gloomy.

"In summarising the present situation and future outlook for the Indian in the union, I have to admit that the prospect is very gloomy indeed. While generously exhibiting goodwill, the authorities here have deliberately and effectively taken all the steps they possibly could, before even a formal discussion at the Round Table Conference, to gain their ends in the direction of eliminating the Indian population by persuasion, if necessary, through means of economic pressure, and in this diplomatic tussle, situated as the Indians are at present, it is difficult to imagine how the Indian Government could gain any tangible advantage for our nationals at the Round Table Conference! All thoughtful Indians fully realising the applications contained in the western standard formula little thought that so astute a diplomatist as Lord Reading, could have committed the Government of India to a position which bristles with enormous difficulties all round, and certainly the Indians in the Union, who are after all the parties immediately affected and who naturally have the last say in the matter, would have remonstrated against this formula altogether, until they secure an invulnerable status in the Union, if they had known the nature of the negotiations conducted between Delhi and Cape Town.

Personnel of the Deputation.

"However, in view of the importance of this question which is a deliberate challenge on the part of the Union to Asia on the whole, and as it is not likely to end with the Round Table Conference, I venture to submit to the people of India whether it would not be prudent and politic on their part to insist on the Indian Government to accept a national

representative such as the President of the Indian National Congress or Mr. Gandhi or Mr. V. S. S. Sastri or Dr. Sapru, or Lala Lajpat Rai who command the nation's confidence. Failing any such or similar concessions to popular sentiment here, I am afraid that there is very little hope of gaining the hearty co-operation of our people towards a final and lasting settlement of this question. The reasons that prompt the Indians to demand a national representative must be obvious, as this is a question involving issues of colour and race. Rightly or wrongly Indians hold to the opinion that in dealing with a delicate problem such as the present one, it is highly impoper for our case to be handled by aliens, however well intentioned and benevolent they may be. We can no longer depend for our national existence on the benevolent bounty of other races. What we now desire is, our inalienable rights. Quite apart from this, the present deplorable state of Indians abroad is the outcome of a systematic and unholy agitation dating back to a number of years, on the part of British settlers throughout the British Empire for ousting the Indian from his place and deprive him of his hard-earned wealth and his inheritance, under the guise of making room for the spread of western civilisation, in whose name the black, brown, and yellow man has been robbed of his ancient heritage. In this unceasing controversy between the white races on the one part and Indian immigrants on the other part, the British and the Indian Governments, who are the acknowledged leaders of western civilisation have been playing the part of a "looker on" without lifting a single finger to put an end to this fratricidal war in vindication of the rights of less organised alien races to exist. The main issue is this: that is, whether, in the name of western civilisation, it is moral, justifiable and honest to devise measures with the ultimate object of strangling a minority community, alien in race different in colour to that of the dominant race. Does the ethical code of the western civilisation sanctions insidious propaganda on the part of its votaries in order to keep as a close preserve the incidents of that civilisation to the white races alone without giving an opportunity to others who desire to be admitted into the sanctum and become devotee of that civilization? These are the issues now confronting the public in India, England and South Africa, on a settlement of which, the fate of our countrymen in this continent depends. Can any patriotic man, who attaches any importance to his sense of national honour, honestly say that the case of our nationals abroad, such as it is, would be effectively and with advantage to ourselves presented by other than Indians? In a word, it is the desire of the Indian community in the Union that they should be represented by one of the eminent national leaders and I, therefore, venture to think that the people and press in India would give their earnest consideration to the wishes of our countrymen and take the necessary steps to influence those capable of giving effect to this desire".

Disabilities Under Union Laws.

Since the Smuts-Gandhi settlement of 1914 the position of the Indians in South Africa has considerably worsened. His present position in the various provinces is summarised in the "Indian Opinion," which we quote below:—

Immigration.

REF :—ACTS 22 OF 1913 ; 22 OF 1914.

Under ministerial powers conferred by Act 22 of 1913 (Section 4 (1) (a) Indians are banned as undesirable Immigrants.

Entry into the Transvaal Province is claimable as of right only by holders of registration certificates issued under Act 36 of 1908, by the one wife of any such holder, and by the minor children (under 16 years of age) of such union (Section 5).

Suspects are liable to arrest without warrant. Penalties, three months, hard labour without the option of fine and removal from the Union (Sec. 6).

Right of entry and residence in any one Province does not include right to enter or remain in any other Province. There is no right of inter-provincial migration and a person lawfully domiciled in any one Province may be a prohibited immigrant in any other and liable to the statutory penalties.

Persons convicted of certain specified offences are liable to removal from the Union (Sec. 22).

Onus probandi is on the accused to prove his innocence (Sec. 23).

The legal wife of an exempted person is not entitled to admission, if such person has in any province offspring by any other woman who is still living (22 of 1914, Sec 3 (2) (b)).

In the Natal and Cape provinces domiciliary right and right of educational tests under Act 30 of 1906 Cape of Good Hope and Act 30 of 1903 of Natal are preserved to such persons as were lawfully entitled to reside in the said Provinces at the recommencement of Act 22 of August 1913.

The Orange Free State Laws prohibit immigration or residence of Indians within that Province, save as domestic servants and the like under contract.

The Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1914 provided that the Indians should accept the principle of restriction upon further Indian immigration to this extent that ten new comers per annum for each Province (excluding Free State) should be admitted apart from temporary visitors such as priests, teachers, etc., so that the resident population should have the benefit of the infusion of some new blood. It was also understood, that such newcomers must be recommended by the official representative Body of the Indians and be such as that Body should select on the ground of their usefulness to the community. Such new comers were to enjoy all the privileges allowed by law to holders of registration certificate.

Transvaal · Indian disabilities have their root in the Grondwet (Constitution) of the Old Transvaal Republic which declares that there must be no equality in Church or State between whites and non-whites. The doctrine is still preserved.

REGISTRATION : (LAW 3 OF 1885, ACT 2 OF 1907, ACT 36, OF 1908).

All male adult Indians lawfully residing in the Transvaal must hold and produce on demand to any police or other officer a registration certificate lawfully issued under Act 36 of 1908 or a letter of Exemption issued under the Smuts-Gandhi agreement. Temporary visitors such as priests, teachers, etc , must similarly produce their authority to be in the Province. Women and children under the age of 16 years may be called upon to prove their relationship as wives or children to one or other of above class of adults. The statutes cited disclose a gradually increasing stringency. The original note struck by the S. A Republic is not only sustained, but has been amplified by statute by every succeeding Government. Adult male Indians, other than holders of registration certificates, letters of exemption or temporary permits are prohibited immigrants and are liable to fine, imprisonment and deportation. A person may be a lawful resident of one Province and yet be a prohibited immigrant in any other. Trading licences are issuable only to holders of Registration certificates. The Registration Certificate is a document peculiar to the Transvaal.

Residence.

Transvaal : Residence is legally permitted only in Wards, Locations, etc., especially set apart (Law 3 of 1885 as amended 1886). Ownership of fixed (real) property outside of such Wards, Locations, etc., is absolutely prohibited. Ownership of fixed property can in law only be acquired through the process of registration of such property in Deeds Register. Such Wards, Locations, etc., as above referred to are Municipal property, and residence therein by Asiatics confers no fixity of tenure. Ordinarily a monthly rental is paid and the tenancy is a monthly one.

Prior to the 1st of May, 1919, fixed property might be held by limited liability companies formed of Indian shareholders, or might be held by a European trustee for the benefit of an Indian or Indians. The practice was for such European holders to pass a bond in favour of the beneficiary or beneficiaries and to grant powers of attorney to enable the actual owner to deal with such property. Act 37 of 1919 specifically deprives limited liability companies controlled by Asiatics of the right to have fixed property registered in their names and applies the prohibition under Law 2 of 1885 to such companies. The practice of a European holder taking such property in trust and passing a mortgage bond by way of security is likewise made impossible. Any such company controlled by Asiatics as shall have acquired the ownership of fixed property since the 1st of May, 1919, is compelled to dispose of same within two years from the 3rd July, 1919, or by Order of Court (Sec. 2 ibid). The 3rd of July, 1919, is the date of the commencement of this Act.

The Johannesburg location known as the "Malay Location, the local habitat of Asiatic residents is notoriously the slum of Johannesburg and for years was unspeakably neglected by the Municipality. More recently, probably through fear of infectious disease breaking out in that quarter this location has received more attention and its conditions are now slightly improved.

Natal · Till comparatively recently no restrictions upon residence were imposed upon non-indentured Indians. Strenuous efforts are now being made to follow the example of the Transvaal in the direction of segregation.

Cape There are no legal restrictions.

Orange Free State Indians not being admissible cannot of course reside. As previously explained Indian servants under contract are alone accepted.

Trading.

Transvaal · The restrictions as to residence under Law 3 of 1885 were held not to include occupation for purpose of trade (Motan versus Transvaal Government 1904 T. S. page 404). This was a test case brought against the refusal of a licence to trade on a stand in the City of Pretoria. The refusal was based on the construction placed by the authorities on Law 3 of 1885. The Supreme Court held that "residence" did not include "trading."

The Gold Law (35 of 1908 amending Law 15 of 1898) restricts Indian residence on or occupation of any ground held under any right granted under the Gold Law and further restricts the residence by any coloured person (which term includes Indians) on proclaimed land in Johannesburg, Boksburg and Krugersdorp, save locations as provided by Law 3 of 1885. The whole of the Witwatersrand is a proclaimed gold bearing area. The term occupation "has been held to include occupation for purposes of trade." The prohibition is not applicable to coloured persons in the employ of white persons who live on their employers' premises nor to coloured persons lawfully in occupation at the commencement of the Act.

Act 37 of 1919 Section 1 amends the above to the extent that it accepts any British Indian, who, on the 1st day of May, 1918, was lawfully trading on such a stand, or to the lawful successors in title to any such in respect of such business so long as such British Indian or his successor in title continues to carry on business in the same township in which it was being carried on the 1st of May, 1919.

Act 36 of 1908, amending the Townships Act of 1907 must be read together with the Gold Law of 1908. Its effect is to prevent the sale of stands in townships in leasehold and to compel such transactions to be made in freehold only. Indians are thereby effectively debarred from acquiring any colour of ownership under cover of leasehold title. Leasehold grants running at the date of the passing of this statute were required to be converted into freehold within a defined period. The statute was designed to close any loopholes that any defects in earlier anti-Asiatic legislation might have left.

Traders in towns generally require to take out one licence termed a Revenue Licence issued by the Government and another licence issued by the local Municipality. The Municipality controls the licences held by vendors of foodstuffs and applications must be made to a board elected by the Municipality. One result of the anti-Asiatic agitations has been a long series of refusal of Indian applications for such licences and in some cases of renewals of old licences on the ground that Asiatics are regarded as undesirable persons to handle foodstuffs. A notorious example is that of Mr. M. M. Dadoo of Krugersdorp, sometime a partner in the firm of Chotabhai and Dadoo and more recently his successor in business. Mr. Dadoo is the proprietor of probably the largest department store in Krugersdrop. His grocery department requires to be licensed

by the Municipality as above indicated. His licence was refused one year on the score of his unsuitability as an Asiatic.

The Gold Law specifically refuses to Asiatics and coloured persons the right to carry on business as jewellers or workers in precious metals. It also debars Indians from prospecting for gold and from holding claims in gold bearing areas

Natal: Dealers' Licences Acts 1905, 1906, 1909, 1915, etc.—Trading licences are controlled by a licensing officer who may refuse to grant the issue of renewal of a licence to a shopkeeper either of standing or who wishes to commence business From his decision there is an appeal to a board elected from residents of the same town or village. These are not unusally business men of the same place, perhaps rival traders. The result has been extremely serious to Indian applicants for new licences or for the renewal or transfer to other premises of old licences.

Cape: Although somewhat similar conditions obtain the difficulties here have not been nearly so strongly accentuated. In fact, it may be remarked generally that the atmosphere of the Cape is much more tolerant than that of any other Province. Still, difficulties have occasionally arisen in regard to Indian applicants for licences indicating danger of the spread into this Province of the intolerance and prejudice experienced in the others.

Education.

Transvaal (Act 25 of 1907 · Non-whites may be supplied only with primary education, secondary and higher education is for whites only (Chap. 4). No coloured children may be admitted or be a pupil or member of any school class or institution other than such as are set apart for non-Europerns. Chap 4). The education of Indian children ordinarily proceeds in the same schools with native and Cape coloured children, There are some Indian schools originally privately founded and since adopted by the Government.

Natal: The standard up to which Indian children are allowed to remain at school is considerably lower than that up to which white children are allowed to remain. They are generally allowed to go up to the fourth standard only.

Travelling.

The railways throughout the Union are Government owned railways. Indians may travel only in compartments either with natives and other coloured persons or in the case of superior classes in compartments "reserved" for non-Europeans (Act 22 of 1916, Sec. 4 (6). The administration has "power to reserve for different classes of persons or natives." Considerable friction arose some few years since over an endeavour to compel Indian passengers to wait on certain fenced-off portions of the platforms.

Tramcars.

The tramcars of Johannesburg and Pretoria are Municipal property, Indian travellers are relegated to the back seats. In wet weather, this imposes grave discomfort. In Natal considerable friction has from time to time arisen between conductors and Indian passengers due to an endeavour to apply a similar practice.

Franchise and Political Status.

Transvaal · Nil.

Natal: Vide recent legislation and proposed legislation designed to deprive Indians of vested rights.

Taxation.

Indians are subjected to exactly the same taxation as Europeans, irrespective of whether they have or have not any measure of representation.

General.

The disabilities originally imposed, since the annexation of the Transvaal, and the incorporation of Natal into the Union, have gone steadily from comparatively bad to almost the possibly worst and there can be no doubt about this having been the carrying effect of a carefully calculated policy. The ultimate objective is either complete segregation or alternatively to make conditions so impossible that Indians shall leave the Union.

Natal.

The position in regard to Natal is somewhat peculiar. It was thus described by the S. African Indian Deputation in its address to the Viceroy early this year:

"Natal has an Indian population of about 140,000, of whom a large proportion are born in the country, being descendants of those who by their labour and industry transformed that Province from a wilderness into a garden. In the year 1890, Indians were deprived without the slightest justification of their Parliamentary Franchise, but no restriction was placed upon them with respect to the acquisition of fixed property or the right to trade and to reside where they chose. In 1908, however, the Natal Legislature passed two drastic measures, one was designed to stop the issue of new trading licences to Asiatic forthwith, and the other to prevent the renewal of existing licences after 1918. These measures, needless to say, did not receive the Imperial Government's assent, and the trading rights of Indians were left undisturbed.

"Thus, Sir, when the deputation waited upon you in 1922, although Indians experienced some difficulty in obtaining new licences to trade, and despite the fact that they suffered many minor indignities as a result of vexatious and restrictive regulations then in operation, nevertheless, they still enjoyed the full municipal and township franchise equal with Europeans, and they still retained the right to own fixed property and to reside where they chose without let or hindrance.

"Since then a change for the worse has taken place. Three Provincial Ordinances, the provisions of which are intended to be applied to the Indian Community almost exclusively, have received the assent of the Governor-General-in-Council, despite very strong protests against them. Two of these Ordinances, namely, the Boroughs Ordinance of 1924 and the Townships Franchise Amendment Ordinance 1925 taken together, by one stroke of the pen, deprive all Indians of their municipal and township franchise right respectively, although they possess the necessary qualifications, if their names are not already on the voters roll. By a further clause in the first of these Ordinances, Municipalities have the power to prohibit the ownership or occupation or both of unalienated municipal lands by persons of Asiatic descent. The third Ordinance, namely, the Rural Dealers' Licensing Ordinance, creates Boards whose duty it is to consider all applications for licences to trade. Against the decision of the Board in the case of new applications as well as applications for transfer from one premises to another, there is no right of appeal. As this Ordinance is specially designed to restrict trading by Asiatics, and as it is administered in that spirit, it is not difficult for Your Excellency to conceive how Indians are suffering thereunder."

Paddison Deputation's Findings.

The Indian deputation which recently visited South Africa has shown how unjust the treatment meted out to Indians is. It wrote. "His (the Indians) actual status in South Africa to-day is, in many respects, inferior to that of the European subjects of His Majesty, and he is denied privileges which are extended to those who owe no allegiance to the King-Emperor—in fact, even to ex-enemy subjects. Thus, except in the Cape Province, he is not in enjoyment of the political franchise. The municipal franchise for which, until recently, he was eligible in Natal was taken away from him by the Natal Boroughs Ordinance (No. 19 of 1924) and the Natal Township Franchise Ordinance (No. 3 of 1925). A series of resolutions and laws ending with the Asiatic (Land and Trading) Amendment Act (Act, No. 37 of 1919) has completely prohibited the acquisition by him of immovable property in the Transvaal, except in such localities as Government may for sanitary reasons assign to him for purposes of residence, The Durban Borough Lands Alienation Ordinance (No. 14 of 1922) and the Natal Borough and Township Lands Ordinance (No. 5 of 1923) have had the effect of imposing a similar disability on the Indian in respect of purchasing or leasing land belonging to municipalities in Natal.

Refusal of Trade Licences.

"In the administration of the Provincial licensing laws the Indian is treated with peculiar severity almost throughout the Union. In the Orange Free State he may not trade at all, and even in the Cape Province in some municipalities and for certain localities Indians find it difficult to obtain trading licences. As regards the Province of Natal the position is best described in the words used by the Principal Licensing Officer of Durban, Colonel Molyneux, who, in giving evidence before the Asiatic Inquiry Commission, said :—

"We do what we can to restrict further Indian licences. A European licence is granted as a matter of course, whereas the Indian licence is refused as a matter of course, if it were a new licence."

"This is typical of municipalities in that Province. Durban and other municipalities in Natal have also used their licencing powers to confine Indians to special areas for purposes of trade. The municipality of Pietermaritzburg only last December made use

of its authority under the Natal Township of Borough Lands Ordinance to eject a number of old established Indian merchants from their premises, mainly because the locality adjoined the European trading areas. In the rural areas of the province the same restrictive policy is being persued under the Natal Rural Dealers Licencing Ordinance (No. 4 of 1923). In the Transvaal Indians cannot get licences to carry on trade "on any of the stands outside townships granted after the Gold Law of 1908 came into force," or on "stands inside townships whether now held under the Gold Law title or under a title converted into freehold under the Townships Act No 3 of 1908" Elsewhere they are eligible for such licences. But their position has been rendered precarious by the new Transvaal General Dealer's (Control) Ordinance, which makes it obligatory for every applicant for a general dealer's licence to obtain a certificate of eligibility from the local authority if he wishes to carry on business under a municipality, or from a "board" if he wishes to trade within a "declared area" Indians have no representation on municipalities; the elements that are opposed to them have, and can, therefore, influence municipal policy to their disadvantage. An instance is provided by the action of the Balfour municipality, which has already utilised its new powers to refuse licences wholesale to Indians.

"Except on suburban lines in the Cape Province, Indians may not travel by rail in compartments other than those specially reserved for non-Europeans, in some places they may use only reserved seats on tramcars, and only reserved taxicabs and rikshaws. Except in the Cape Province, they may, also, not transact the normal business in post and telegraph offices at counters other than those specially set apart for non-Europeans. In the law courts in Durban we saw a notice prominently exhibited in Registrar's Office requesting lawyers to send only Europeans to take out processes of the Court, as non-Europeans would not be attended to. Popular prejudice is responsible for their exclusion from hotels and places of amusement like theatres and cinemas. It is not suggested that the laws or administrative orders or the racial prejudice of which this differential treatment is the consequence are now in issue. The recital of these disabilities is intended solely to illustrate the contrast between legitimate Indian expectations and the actual status of the Indian community in South Africa.

Indians not an Alien Community.

It is sometimes contended that the Indian's services to one section of the community cannot be allowed to complicate the racial problems of South Africa. This cannot, however, be treated as an excuse for subjecting him to invidious treatment. In the first place, the Indian labourer did not come to Natal of his own accord. In spite of the opposition to Indian immigration which emanated from certain quarters, the movement was for a considerable period, actively encouraged by the authorities. Though the contract for hire on which the Indian came to the country was originally for a limited number of years, he was assured that he could engage in agricultural or commercial pursuits and move about with the same freedom as other sections of the community. Later, to achieve the same object, he was permitted to commute his right to a free passage to India for the equivalent value in land. In the second place, as the Clayton Commission pointed out in 1909, the employment of Indian labourers was widespread, and not confined to one or two particular industries. General farmers evidently found them as useful as the owners of sugar estates, and Government railways and coal mines employed them by the thousand. And, as has already been indicated in para. 7 of this statement, their activity has been of great benefit to the province as a whole. The trader who came in the wake of the labourer ministered first to the wants of his own fellow countrymen and later to the needs of the whole community. As several Europeans, including bankers and large wholesale merchants told us, their standard of commercial honesty is as high as that of any other race, their dealings with their customers are fair, and they are always considerate and courteous to their clients. In the third place, the bulk of the Indian population in South Africa was born in the country and knows no other home. According to the Census of 1921, the percentage of Indians born in the Union was 67·27 per cent., many of them are complete strangers to India, her languages and customs. In the fourth place, to quote the words of Mr. W. H. Lawson, a recent writer on South Africa who is not unduly sympathetic to the Indian. "Fair-minded Europeans readily admit that the best of their Indian neighbours are quiet and unassuming in civic and business relationship, keeping themselves to themselves, rendering ready obedience to the laws of the country, so far as they are understood; and maintaining an orderly and exemplary domestic life."

"In the circumstances, they can legitimately claim that they are not an alien but an integral part of the community, an element to be nursed, not to be discarded an

asset and not an embarrassment. That, in spite of all the circumstances which we have briefly enumerated they are, on racial grounds, subjected to disabilities from which newcomers are exempt, naturally cuts them to the quick. To them it is a bitter reflection that treatment from which they would be protected in a foreign country by treaty-rights or by the active intervention of His Majesty's Government is, paradoxically enough, the reward of their services to South Africa, and the recognition of their common allegiance to the same Sovereign.

Breach of Faith.

"Their attitude of unrest and alarm at their position in the Union, which is scarcely in accord with any principle of equity, is influenced by three other factors. First, the Indian opinion throughout the world looks upon all fresh restrictions as a breach of the settlement of 1914, popularly known as the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement, which they regard as a guarantee that the status which Indians in South Africa had acquired in 1914 would at least be maintained. Second, they are unable to understand why, even though the white population of South Africa is no longer threatened with Asiatic influx, the few rights that they still enjoy are being steadily curtailed. Speaking at the Imperial War Conference in 1917, General Smuts said: "Once the white community in South Africa were rid of the fear that they were going to be flooded by unlimited immigration from India, all the other questions would be considered subsidiary, and would become easily and perfectly soluble. That is the position in which we are now—that the fear which formerly obsessed the white settlers has been removed; the great principal of restricting immigration for which they have contended is on our Statute Book with the consent of the Indian population in South Africa and the Indian authorities in India; and that being so, I think that the way is now open for a peaceful and statesman-like solution of all the minor administrative troubles which occurred and will occur from time to time. Of course, the main improvement has been the calling of India to the Council Chamber of the Empire. Here, if any question prove difficult of treatment, we can discuss it in a friendly way and try to find a solution in consultation, and I am sure we shall ever find it. I for one do not consider that among the multitudinous problems which confront us in our country, the question of India will trouble us much in the future." In 1918, on a similar occasion, Mr. Burton made the following statement; "As far as we are concerned it is only fair to say—and it is the truth—that the Indians in our midst in South Africa, who form in some parts a very substantial portion of the population, are good, law-abiding, quiet citizens, and it is our duty to see . . . that they are treated as human beings with feelings like our own and in a proper manner."

Restrictive Bills.

Indians find it difficult to reconcile restrictive legislation such as has been enacted in Natal, or is now contemplated in the provisions of the Colour Bar Bill and the Liquor Laws Consolidating Bill specially affecting Asiatics, with the principles of policy embodied in the pronouncements of two responsible South African statesmen who, at the time the statements were made, spoke on behalf of the Government of the Union. They can still less understand so deep an affront to their self-respect and so drastic a diminution of their present rights as involved in the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill. Third, they feel that the Union Government which, when the Act of Union was passed, was made the sole guardian of their interests, owes them special protection, since, except in the Cape Province, they are denied the political franchise which, wherever representative institutions prevail, is the surest safeguard of the rights and interests of any section of the community.

"The Bill appears to be incompatible with these assurances, It is a deep affront to the sentiment of an ancient and civilized people and inherently unjust.

Indians in East Africa.

In the preceding pages we have shown how the position of the Indian community in South Africa had given cause for the deepest apprehensions and how the whites had been waging a compaign to drive Indians out of the country by enacting and seeking to enact a series of legislative measures calculated to deprive Indians of their means of livelihood. A deputation of the Indians in South Africa visited this country by the end of the year 1925 as a result of which the Government of India sent a delegation of preliminary enquiry to S. Africa and induced the Union Government to send a delegation to India. Both the delegations had completed their labours by this time and a Round Table Conference was sitting in Cape Town in December 1926. The proceedings and findings of this Conference will be given in the next issue of the Register.

During this period the position of Indians in Kenya was also giving cause for similar anxiety. They had been denied equal rights and they had been chosen for discriminatory Legislation. We give below the text of the new Kenya Legislation imposing a poll-tax on Asiatic residents and its proceedings in the Kenya Legislative Council :—

The Poll-tax on Indians.

His Excellency Sir Edward Grigg, the Governor of Kenya, in the course of the session of the Kenya Legislative Council in the beginning of November 1926 put before the Council certain definite proposals to raise a new revenue of £53,000 to meet the educational needs of the colony. These proposals were referred to a Select Committee to advise the Government generally as to the means of raising the above sum by certain taxes. The majority report by the Europeans of the committee which saddles the Indian community with an additional poll cess of 20 sh. is as follows :—

The Committee of the Council appointed to make recommendations in regard to the means of raising new revenue to meet the cost of European and Indian Education other than overhead and loan interest charges desires to recommend that the following taxes be imposed :—

1. Consumption Taxes on :—(a) Spirits at the rate of sh. 7·50 per imperial gallon. Rough estimate £25,000 ; (b) Wines other than champagne sh. 3 per imperial gallon. Rough estimate, £7,000 ; (c) Champagnes at the rate of sh, 15 per imperial gallon. Rough estimate, £500.

The above taxes to be imposed upon all portable spirits and wines released from customs control for consumption in the colony.

2. A domestic servant tax :—Rough estimate £7,000. The general intention of the Committee is that this tax is to be paid at the rate of sh. 2 per mensem on every male domestic servant above the apparent age of sixteen in European employment in excess of two per household, but the Committee has not entered into details regarding clubs, hotels, boarding houses, married and bachelor establishments.

3. **A poll cess.** Rough estimate. £12,000 ; This tax **to be paid by Asiatics only** at the rate of sh. 20 per adult male. Total £51,500.

The rates suggested for the two latter proposed taxes are based on the assumption that the incidence of the consumption taxes will be as follows :—

Spirits—Europeans £18,000 ; Wines Europeans, £6,000 ; Champagne Europeans £500 ; Total £24,500.

Spirits—Indians, £7,000 ; Wines Indians £1,000 ; Champagne Indians, nil ; Total £8,000.

The above report and the recommendations contained had been adopted by the Council by a majority. The very nature of the three different taxes showed that the recommendations were not only cruel but more than cruel. In the first place the portion allocated to Indian Education was based on wrong calculations. The two Indian members who were on the Select Committee asked for the statistics which made the European members allocate the sum of £9,000 for the Indian education from wines and spirits tax. But the Governor replied that the Government would see that statistics are supplied next year. Meanwhile he asked the members to agree to the recommendations in the majority report.

Indians' Minority Report.

The two Indian members Hon. Mr. J. B. Pandya and Hon Mr. Sham-Ud-Din rightly protested against this iniquitous new taxation and submitted their minority report suggesting other alternatives to raise the money required for the purpose of education. The text of the report is as follows :—

We, the undersigned, regret that notwithstanding our willingness to help the Committee to find money for the education of European and Indian children respectively, we find it impossible to agree to the majority report of the Committee as to the method of raising the revenue required for the education of European and Indian children. The amounts required for the education of European and Indian children is respectively :—

Europeans £52,000 for 900 children. Indians £20,000 for 2,318 children.

Although the disparity in distribution of the amounts allocated to the two votes respectively is obviously pronounced, we have throughout the discussion in the Committee agreed to either of the following two principles being adopted :—

(1) Either that each community should find the money required for the education of its children by means of direct tax, or,

(2) That the money required for the education of the children of both the communities should be found by means of an indirect tax and that unless absolutely reliable statistical figures are available to ascertain the amounts collected from each community no allocation of the amounts should be made.

Although this pooling of the newly collected revenue would give the advantage to the European community of getting for their education three-fifths of the amount as against the Indians who would only get two-fifths of the sum, we do not wish to force the issue as to whether all communities get their proportionate share out of the general revenue in accordance with their respective contributions to the revenue of the Colony.

We are entirely opposed to any differentiation amongst the different communities in the imposition of taxation.

We would therefore submit that the sum of £32,000 estimated to be collected by new taxation on spirits, wines and champagnes should go towards the common vote for education of both the communities and the balance of £20,000 should be raised by one uniform tax applicable to both communities based on a calculation so that the amounts collected from each community will be in proportion to the amount required for the education of the children of that community.

The proportion will be that in order to make up the sum of £20,000, £12,000 will have to be collected from Europeans and £8,000 from the Indian community.

We wish to lay a special stress on the fact that there are at the present moment only 338 European children who do not receive any education against 2,547 Indian children who also have no means of receiving education.

His Excellency the Governor replying to the criticism by the Indian members of the new taxation said that he was satisfied that these proposals were not only fair but more than fair to the Indian community. He said that the Indians had to pay only 20sh. per head and it was for this reason that he had accepted the Majority Report and in doing so he was convinced that he was acting with complete fairness to the Indian community.

The European View.

"The Mombasa Times" an European daily published on the coast in its editorial stated :—

It may be that the whole country may not see eye to eye with the Majority Report ; certainly, already one section of it has deemed it meet to take exception to the new taxation. In their Minority Report the two Indian members Mr. Shams Ul Din and Mr. Pandya raise a protest against the somewhat nebulous calculations of the committee men and the incidence thereof to the Indian Tax. For our part, in justice to the Indian side of it, we recognise that a direct tax on the one hand and a more or less indirect tax on the other does not meet the full requirements of a legitimate exploitation of Kenya's taxable population. We consider that some sort of indirect tax should have been levied in order to avoid that 'bete noir' of all taxation. It now remains with the Indian community to take such steps as they consider may best serve to register their disapproval.

Indian Community's Move.

From the above it is clear that gross injustice was done to the Indian community. And at this injustice the Indian community was enraged to such an extent that they had in a mass meeting convened early in November at Mombassa decided to hold the next sessions of the South African Indian National Congress at Mombassa in December as early as possible to protest against this iniquitous taxation and forwarded a resolution passed at this meeting to the Kenya Government and to the Colonial Secretary and the Government of India to stop the new legislation from being passed as law till the Indian community had a chance to make representations to the Colonial Office and the Government of India.

Mr. D. B. Desai's Views.

The problem was so much in the forefront that there was fear of other colonies taking advantage of the situation to force the pace of their anti-Indian programme. Mr. D. B. Desai, therefore, sounded a timely note of warning in his letter to the Government of India which, he said, he wrote under the authority of and instructions from the Indian Citizens' Association, Mombassa, and with a view to help the Government of India to take immediate action as the new taxes will come into force from 1st January next.

History of the Poll-Tax.

"Mr. Desai says that the Government of the colony and Protectorate of Kenya have recently passed a Non-native Poll-Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, 1926, whereby male adult Asiatics will be required to pay an additional £1 tax. Formerly they used to pay £1-10-0 and now they will have to pay £2-10-0. This non-native poll-tax ordinance was passed by the Government of British East Africa Protectorate, charging all non-natives Rs. 15 per head when the rupee was at 18d. and when Indian rupee was current and legal coin in East Africa Protectorate which is now called the Colony and Protetorate of Kenya, in the year 1912 when there was no Indian representative, either nominated or elected, on the Legislative Council of that country. So, according to popular maxim of no taxation without representation which is greatly respected by British Government, this taxation is both unjust and bad.

"The Government of India is well aware that in territories known as the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya there is included a ten mile costal strip which has been rented by the Sultan of Zanzibar and for which strip the

Kenya Government is paying to H. H. the Sultan of Zanzibar an annual rent according to a treaty which has been made by the British Government with the Sultan of Zanzibar. It has been agreed by the British Government *inter alia* that no fresh taxation excepting those expressly mentioned in the said treaty will be levied on subjects residing in the said ten-mile strip without the previous sanction of H. H. the Sultan of Zanzibar. It is believed that no such consent was ever obtained before this tax was applied to residents of this ten-mile strip. When the East African Government changed Indian rupee and introduced a florin currency (making a florin equal to a rupee), this tax of Rs. 15 was converted into a tax of fl. 15 and when in 1922 florin currency was converted into shilling currency, this fl.15 tax was changed into 30s. tax. So ordinarily non-natives had to pay 20 shillings but in 1922 they had to pay 30 shillings without any fault of theirs, thus making an increase of 50 per cent.

Object of the Levy of Poll-Tax.

"It is stated, this new taxation of additional poll cess is levied for providing educational facilities. But the Government of Kenya seems to have forgotten that from the beginning till now the Government of Kenya has spent considerably heavy sums for purposes of education of European children while neglecting the education of Indian children, and at that time the provision which was made for education came out from general taxation. But now in order to tax the Indian community, the Kenya Government has engineered a new plan which is both inequitable and unjust. From the minority report which has been submitted to the Kenya Government by the Hon'ble Messrs. J. B. Pandya and Shamsuddeen, the two Indian nominated members to the Kenya Legislative Council, one finds that £52,000 are required for eucational purposes and the sum is allocated as under Europeans; £32,000 for 960 children, approximately £38-12 per head. So from this one understands how Indian education is neglected. Over and above this, in spite of this new tax of £52,000, there will remain 2547 Indian children without any means of education. It will not be out of place to mention that education in Kenya is not free. School boys have to pay as school fees 2s. 4s. 8s. per month according to the standard in which they are studying, which will mean that Indian children are contributing much more than their European brothers and sisters and the Government of Kenya, it seems, has omitted to take into consideration the amount thus collected from school fees annually.

"This sum of £52,000 has been raised as stated in the majority report submitted to the Government of Kenya (and of which report the Government of Kenya has spoken in very high terms) and which has been passed by the Kenya Legislative Council last month in the following way:—Spirits £25,000, wines £7,000, champagnes £500, domestic servants £7,000 (from Europeans only), poll cess £12,000 (from Indians only). Now for the first three items of £32,500, there is nothing on customs record to show in what proportion this sum is contributed by the two communities and, therefore, the assumption made in the majority report (which is also signed by Hon'ble the Colonial Secretary to the Government of Kenya), is only a fallacy and cannot be sustained and relied upon without sufficient proofs in support. In the majority report, it is assumed that for this £32,500 of spirits, etc., £24,500 are contributed by Europeans. So barring this £32,500, there remains only £19,000 in the new taxation which is divided between Europeans and Indians.

The former have to contribute £7,000, while the latter £12,000. Domestic Servants Tax, which is payable by Europeans, is to be paid at the rate of two shillings per mensem on every male domestic servant above apparent age of sixteen and in excess of two servants per household, which will mean there will be many families who will not have to pay this tax which is not an individual tax, whereas poll cess is an individual cess payable by each and every male Indian adult.

"Mr. Desai, finally requests the Government of India to take this matter up most seriously and immediately with the authorities concerned and immediately cause this new additional one pound polling cess taxation to be removed".

Lord Olivier on S. African Indians.

(1)

In February 1926 Lord Olivier wrote the following in "The New Statesman":—

There shall not be in the eye of the Law any distinction or disqualification whether founded on mere distinction of colour, origin, language or creed, but the protection of the Law in letter and in substance shall be extended impartially to all alike. (Queens' Proclamation, annexing Natal May, 1843.)

General Hertzog and the South African "Labour" Party are setting out to make history in two continents, by calling the moral bluff of the established English doctrine of principles of British Imperialism (set forth in the above-quoted proclamation) and by challenging the British Government, as responsible trustee for the interests and rights of the King's Indian subjects, to prove itself prepared to defend them as those of British nationals, domiciled in any dominion, as in any foreign State, would be defended against oppressive encroachment there. This view of the menace of General Hertzog's activities and of its necessary reaction on Indian politics is no sudden alarmism. General Smuts, in opposition has joined its prophets. A year ago he warned the Union Government that the effects of their policy would not stop in South Africa, but would provoke a world-conflict. This month he repeats that

> "an extension of the colour-bar at this moment, when the Prime Minister is on the point of bringing forward a new native policy, would be disastrous. . . . Native opinion is largely in revolt. The natives are seething with discontent all over South Africa. . . . It is not only the natives who are making difficulties. There is no doubt that when the Asiatic Bill is passed then the trouble will begin. We know it is coming. The Asiatic Bill must lead to the gravest troubles of administration. I knew that in 1924. It is inevitable. In these circumstances the colour Bar Bill gratuitously produced here is a firebrand flung into a haystack."

And by way, it may be supposed, of a counterpoise, to prove to African natives that the principle of "white hegemony" is to be impartially administered to Crown Colonies also the Colonial office, we hear, is discussing a scheme for dividing the oil-palm forests of Sierra Leone into estates, within each one of which the native gatherers are to be allowed to sell to one merchant only. This in the hope of redressing in part (for the merchants) the damage done to the trade through the results of that export duty, of the folly of which, in past years, vigorous warnings have been published in these columns Lord Milner's prize pupil called in to alleviate by homœopathic methods, the effects of his preceptor's prescriptions. But we must return from Mr. Amery's oil-barrel to General Hertzog's haystack.

What does the Colour Bar Bill do? It purports to amend the "Mines and Work Act. 1911." upon the plea that it is necessary to enable certain colour-bar regulations t

be validly made which when attempted under that Act, were declared by the Courts *ultra vires*. Combined with the 1911 Act it empowers the Government to prohibit the employment of any persons not furnished by the appropriate Minister with "certificates of competency," as managers, overseers or surveyors in mines, as mechanical engineers, engine-drivers, or blasters, or in any other class of job in, at or about Mines Works and Machinery which he may from time to time deem it expedient to specify. "Mine" is defined with extreme comprehensiveness, and "Works" as including certain specified manufacturing industries, other than mining (such as brickworks, lime kilns, sugar mills) and generally "all places where machinery is erected or used"—except State Railways and Harbours and Agricultural dams and reservoirs outside mining areas. The Courts having held that colour could not be made by Ministerial order a determinant of "competency" for employments, the new Bill takes off the gloves and boldly enacts that certificates of competency shall not be granted to natives or Asiatics "natives' meaning African racials of unmixed blood and "Asiatics" meaning Indians, but not Malays—the Malay population and the people of mixed colour being shielded by the antique British sentimentalities of the Cape Colony where they are most numerous, by their established social and economic position there, and by the fact that they have both Parliamentary and municipal votes.

Detestable and despicable Legislation.

I am not concerned to discuss the excuses of the South African Labour Party for seeking to protect their industrial position by this detestable and despicable legislation, rather than by the methods of European Trade Unionism—for example, of the British Medical Council in regard to the "competency" of Dr. Axham. That Party frankly describes itself as a white aristocracy, and purposes to reserve all South African skilled employment for whites. There is no question of the capacity of Africans or Indians for becoming fully competent engineers and artificers. In some employments they do better, when trained, than white men. In Johannesburg white men can and do take their monopoly jobs at £50 a month and employ Kaffirs at £3 or £4 a month to do them. The white skilled workers, taking short views, are doubtless not greatly concerned, as is General Smuts, about the future reactions in Africa of this policy. It is, in effect, an outspoken declaration of a war of enslavement against natives and Asiatics, prescribing that in no industry using mechanical power, and in no other that this Government (in which they have no franchise) may hereafter designate, are they to be allowed to work except as unskilled labourers or to be deemed competent of exercising the abilities they possess, or of profiting by technical education. No enactment so abominable and so insane could be discovered among the records of legislation in British communities since slave-owners ceased to struggle against the tide of the human will to freedom. Fortunately, it is still only a South African party policy, even with white ascendancy secured by an exclusive franchise. There is strong opposition (voiced by General Smuts) and the Senate has already once rejected the Bill. If passed, it will assuredly be remembered as a landmark in history. The gravity of its reaction on India's attitude towards British Government will be out of proportion to the positive oppressiveness of its application to Indians (which is far less serious than its threat to Africa) because, as General Smuts points out, it is concurrent with the Areas Regulation Bill, which is specially aimed at Indians.

Class Areas Bill.

The purpose of this Bill is to diminish by means of oppression the Indian population in South Africa with the ultimate aim of expelling it entirely. "The Bill," said Dr. Malan, on introducing it,

> "frankly starts from the general supposition that the Indian, as a race, is an alien element in the population, and that no solution of this question will be acceptable to the country unless it results in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population. . . . The method which the Bill will propose will be the application of pressure. . . . To a certain extent we go on the path which has been trodden before by my friends opposite, but this Bill does not rest there, it goes a good deal further."

The "pressure" upon Indians to make life in South Africa unendurable to them is to be exercised.

(1) By restricting, in townships, the right to acquire or lease real property, or to be licensed to trade, to defined areas. The urban authorities are to advise as to the setting-up of these ghettoes. Indians, having no municipal vote, will have no say in the matter. They will suffer from the extinction of their business outside, and their congestion within

the ghettoes. Their streets, sanitation, lighting and water-supply are likely to receive very little attention from the Town Council, and doubtless (as occurred in Nairobi) this neglect will aggregate the reproach against them of insanitary habits of living. Further turns of the screw may then be plausibly clamoured for. The power to grant renewal of trading licences anywhere is also discretionary, and this discretion is meant to be used.

(2) By taking away the right of buying or leasing land anywhere in South Africa except in such areas as Natal only as may be allowed for them within thirty miles of the coast, and within such areas only from Indians already settled there.

(3) It increases from £31 to £100 the bail which may be demanded from a returning domiciled Indian pending his demonstration by evidence of his right to return.

(4) It includes in the Transvaal, for the purposes of this Act only, the districts of Utrecht and Vryheid, in order to enable Indians to be expelled from those mining districts by the operation of Transvaal law.

(5) It encroaches, or opens the door for encroachments, on existing rights to domicile. The purpose of this (viz., to reduce numbers) is declared by the Minister. It restricts the already limited permission for the importation of wives and children of domiciled Indians, and curtails the existing rights of registration (for employment) in the Transvaal.

Pettifogging Campaign of Argument.

Indians claim that the Bill infringes the *modus vivendi* established by the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1914 and the principles agreed in the Imperial Conference of 1917 and 1918. A pettifogging campaign of argument has been set afoot at the Cape, pretending that the Smuts-Gandhi agreement guaranteed the then existing rights of Indians only in so far as they had been threatened by the Transvaal Gold Law, and further that Mr. Gandhi's quite proper and properly timed declaration to General Smuts that the agreement did not fully satisfy what Indians felt to be their rightful claims (which, obviously, so long as full civic rights were denied them no agreement could be expected to do) had absolved the Union Government from regarding it as binding upon themselves—notwithstanding that the Indians have made no move to disturb it. These quibbles are idle. The present Union Government requires no such eyewash to tone the aspect of their avowed policy. Dr. Malan himself informs General Smuts that he is going further than he did, that his Government is not limited by its predecessor's engagement, that he aims at driving Indians into the sea by pressure exercised through diminishing the rights that were left to them in 1914. Signor Mussolini could not be more explicit.

Contrary, therefore, to Queen Victoria's Proclamation annexing her Birth-day Colony, these two Bills declare that "there shall be in the eye of the Law distinctions and disqualifications founded on mere distinction of colour or origin," and that "the protection of the Law" under which Indians have settled—introduced by the State—in South Africa shall *not* be extended impartially to them.

Now, quite apart from the intense indignation which Indians necessarily and honourably feel at discrimination against them on account of their race—a discrimination which, following Gandhi's advice, they have endured patiently, in the hope of the education of Afrikander public opinion, here are substantial infractions of Indians' rights and means of existence deliberately contemplated for the purpose of "pressure." Appeal to the Secretary of State for the Dominions to interfere with the Union Government's action they know would be futile; they remember its futility within this Colonial Office's own preserve in Kenya. Their case with the British Government, then, is thus

Infractions of Indians' Rights.

"Your Secretary of State for India and your Parliament are concerned for our rights exactly as you would be for the rights of your own people when threatened in a foreign country. More so; for we acquired their rights under the sanction of your own (however nominal) sovereignty. You declared that responsibility when you wished to annex the Transvaal, making claims then on behalf of the Queen's Indian subjects. We allege infractions of our rights as the King's subject. Your Governors-General, in an unbroken series, have told you, uncompromisingly that these claims, ever since our rights began to be threatened, were in their judgment just. They have held some ground for us. Gandhi showed us how to hold some on our own behalf. But the battle has been a losing one all along. We are now to be subjected to further pressure. Either you must take such steps on our behalf as you would take on behalf of your own nationals as the Irish Free State would take if Liverpool and Glasgow demanded that pressure should be exercised upon Irishmen because they are industrious and prolific, or you must admit your guardianship to be impotent and a pretence. You, our self-appointed trustees, must yourselves intervene as a party in this contention in

which your agent, the Viceroy, tells you our rights are at stake. Some Court must be found which if it cannot enjoin suspension of this persecution can at any rate impartially and equitably assess the weight of our claims and elaborate some compromise, conciliation or compensation. We have revered your Sovereigns, the symbol of British Power, because they stood in our minds for those principles which South Africa is now openly abrogating. Be assured that these principles are a bond between us, and that reliance upon them is the only bond effectual to maintain our consent to be part of your Empire. Your Government in 1923 was prepared to sacrifice us to Afrikanderism in Kenya That policy was in some degree restrained by the Labour Government, and we, in response, have abandoned our policy of intransigence there. But if you cannot protect us against aggression, if your Dominions insult our people unchecked, if even their material and economic interests can be strangled without redress under your protection, the Indian people will judge that what the Swaraj Party tell them is true, and that under such conditions membership of your Empire is for India both unprofitable and dishonouring "

(II)

A month later Lord Olivier wrote the following in the "Foreign Affairs" :--

The measure described as "The Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill," recently introduced in the South African Union Parliament, has for its declared object the diminution of the existing population of Indians in South Africa, by the exercise of what the Minister introducing it described as "pressure," or more definitely speaking, by oppression, that is to say, by the withdrawal of existing rights and the application of increasing disabilities to a degree which may render life in South Africa intolerable to Indians who have settled and founded families there, under the direct encouragement of South African Governments, especially that of Natal, during the last sixty-six years.

There are now about 155,000 persons of Indian birth or descent in the Dominion. Of these about 133,000 are in Natal, 12,000 in the Transvaal Province, 8,000 in the Cape, and 600 in the Orange Free State. In the Transvaal, ever since the establishment of self-government under the Union constitution, special disabilities have been imposed on Indians, in accordance with the Dutch Afrikander Colour Policy, but in Natal and the Cape they have been under no disabilities, except that of disfranchisement, for Parliamentary purposes, founded on a provision in the Constitution excluding from such franchise natives of any country not at the time possessing elective representative institutions. This disability was not removed from Indians when the new Indian constitution establishing such institutions was established Until quite recently Indians in Natal enjoyed, as they do in Cape Colony, the municipal franchise, but this was withdrawn last year. The Government of Natal had twice previously enacted this disfranchisement but the laws had been disallowed. On this last re-enactment, General Hertzog's Government allowed it.

Anti-Indian Legislation.

The legislation now on the stocks proposes to withdraw from Indians the right of buying or leasing land anywhere in the Union, except within a belt of thirty miles from the Natal coast, and within this belt only inside such areas as may be determined. It also provides that in township Indians are not represented. Within the Natal Coast belt Indians will only be permitted to buy or lease property or to be licensed for business within certain defined areas, to be set up on the recommendation of the local municipality (in which Indians will only be permitted to buy or lease property from other Indians already in possession of it) Indians' licenses to trade where already held outside the permitted areas will ostensibly be renewable to their present holders, but they may be withdrawn and the unconcealed intention of the policy is that they shall be withdrawn.

The Indian population in Natal was founded by the introduction of immigrants by the Government for the sugar plantations, and this immigration was energetically pressed for many years. Recruiting was persistently carried on in India, and its purposes were effected by persuasion and promises of the advantages which Indians would enjoy in a British Colony, founded on the basis of a Royal Proclamation decreeing that no disability or limitation of legal rights should be imposed upon anyone by reason of colour, race, or religion. The earlier immigrants were encouraged to settle by grants of land. They were not allowed to return to India until five years after the expiry of their first indentures. Concurrently with the importation of labourers for the sugar plantations many free Indians were encouraged to come in as traders for the supply of the needs of

their fellow countrymen. Of these traders and their descendants, as well as of those of the plantation coolies, a good many flocked into the South African Republic after the gold discoveries, and in spite of the persecution to which they were exposed, and which was made a special cause of complaint against Kruger's Government and one of the pleas for the South African War, established prosperous business there.

Afrikander Policy.

The present policy of the Anti-Indian Legislation is partly a manifestation of the colour prejudice and the deliberate policy of subordinating coloured races which is specially characteristic of Dutch Afrikanderism, and is the accepted policy of General Hertzog's Government in its present association with the White South African Labour Party, who also aim at establishing, by legislation, a privileged position for themselves. This aspect of the policy I shall deal with in a later article on the Colour Bar Bill now also under consideration of the Union Parliament. The other plea for the Areas Reservation Bill is the fear of trading competition by Indians This can only be regarded as deserving of consideration in the Colony of Natal. I do not propose to go deeply into the case for it. The Indian population in Natal is now increasing very slowly whilst the white population is increasing comparatively fast, thus showing that Indian competition does not depress it. The great bulk of the Indian population is, in fact, agricultural, and does not seriously compete to the detriment of the classes of cultivation carried on by white residents. The strongest outcry comes from the small trading classes The whole case for disquiet at Indian competition was examined and reported on about five years ago by a special commission under Mr. Justice Lang This commission, which was appointed rather in the hope of finding a case for anti-Indian legislation made an exceedingly perspicuous and fair-minded report from which, reading between the lines, it is abundantly clear that they thought the case for such legislation an exceedingly weak one. Nevertheless, General Smuts' Government was forced by the clamour of his constituents among the enfranchised interests concerned to propose legislation somewhat on the lines of the present Bill. That legislation did not reach maturity, and the Bill now introduced by General Hertzog's Government is a good deal more drastic.

Encroachment on Guaranteed Rights.

Whatever may be, from the point of view of South Africans, the justification of a policy of excluding Asiatics from settlement which, so far as immigration is concerned, is now completely established, and not protested against by Indians, or of a desire that the present Indian population should, if possible, be by equitable means reduced, the questions raised by this Bill are far wider. Repeated attempts have been made in South Africa to encroach upon the rights both actually guaranteed to Indians when they entered the country and assured to them by the unquestioned common law and principle repeatedly proclaimed as dominant in the British Empire. The Indian Government have, with more or less success and with some defeats, continuously protested against and resisted encroachments upon these rights. The Imperial Government have supported them and have on occasion disallowed local laws infringing them. In 1914, Mr. Gandhi, by organising passive resistance in the Transvaal, succeeded in bringing the South African Government to a moderately reasonable attitude and an agreement was entered into by General Smuts, which was regarded both by Gandhi and by the Indian Government as a guarantee against further encroachments. Further encroachments are now threatened with all the authority of a self-governing Union Parliament. Existing rights are to be taken away and disabilities are to be imposed without compensation in order to exercise effectual "pressure." Having regard to the peculiar position of the British Government in relation to the Indian Constitution, the situation is one which calls for a new departure and development of the principles of inter-dominion Imperial policy. So far the Indian Government has been left to negotiate the best case it can with the South African Government. The attitude of the latter was at first entirely obstructive. What they did in South Africa on lines of settled policy they considered their own concern, and that of no one else. Recently, perhaps in view of the speech of the Viceroy of India in the Legislative Assembly, and possibly of expressions of opinion in the English Press, the Union Government have indicated their willingness to treat on the matter; and whereas they had at first refused to allow the Indian deputation a hearing, they have now gone so far as to allow the Bill to go to a Special Committee before the Second Reading is moved. The Indian Deputation has been arguing before that Committee.

Wanted—An Imperial Court of Equity.

But it is not the Indian local Government that has the final responsibility in this matter. The Secretary of State for India is the authority finally responsible to the Crown

for the interests of India, and his reponsibility is to and through the Imperial Parliament. The Secretary of State is therefore a party in this case, and he is bound to see that the interests of Indians are properly maintained and guaranteed just as the Foreign Secretary would be bound to see that the interest of British subjects were guaranteed against any similar encroachments of threat by a foreign Government.

In view of the recurrent and apparently increasing tendency in South African policy to persecute Indians, against which there has been an unbroken and most impressive stream of protest on the part of responsible English statesmen, leaving no doubt of the views of successive British Governments on this subject, the time is come when a period should be put to this policy of pin pricks and aggression, against which the Indian Government has to contend in the first place with its own energies and cannot rely on any authoritative exercise of the Royal prerogative in defence of its Nationals against the Dominion Laws.

Indian Emigration in Fiji

Mahatma Gandhi wrote the following in "Young India":—

The report on the condition of returned emigrants stranded in Calcutta submitted to the Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association makes painful reading. It appears that there are over 2,000 returned emigrants in Calcutta living in squalid surroundings. They are from Fiji, Trinidad, Surinam, and British Guiana. 'The desire to visit their motherland and the rumour that India had obtained self-Government were the two chief reasons which led them to leave their birth-place.' But they find that their own people in their villages will not have them and so they want to go back to the place where they have come from. "Anywhere out of India' is their cry" Meantime they are eking out a miserable existence in Calcutta. "They all looked famished. Their lot is the lowest ebb of human misery." The fact that the majority of these men are Colonial born aggravates their misery. The reader will not appreciate the full meaning of being 'Colonial born.' These men are neither Indian nor colonial. They have no Indian culture in the foreign lands they go to, save what they pick up from their uncultured half-dis-Indianised parents. They are not Colonial in that they are debarred access to the Colonial i.e., Western culture. They are therefore out of the frying pan into the fire. There at least they had some money and a kind of a home. Here they are social lepers, not even knowing the language of the people.

Therefore the report suggests that it is the clear duty of the Government to send them back to the most suitable colony that would receive them. The tropical Colonies must be glad to have them in preference to raw recruits who have to be initiated. The duty is clearly the Government's. For they alone can carry on negotiations with the various Colonies This duty should have been discharged long ago, The Imperial Citizenship Association has made the following appeal to the Government —

"With reference to returned Indian emigrants from Fiji, British Guiana, Trinidad and other Colonies, now stranded in Calcutta, the Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, through a representative specially sent from here for the purpose, has made investigations on the spot, and in the light of those investigations, I have the honour to submit the following recommendations for the immediate consideration of the Government of India.

1. The Government of Fiji should be requested to extend the duration of the moratorium for free passages to Freed indentured labourers from 1930 to 1935.

2. The returned Indian emigrants from British Guiana of whom there are several hundreds now in Calcutta and elsewhere and who are anxious to go back should be included in the Government of India's scheme of emigration of 500 families to British Guiana.

3. The Government of India should, without further delay, establish Emigrants' Depots in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras These Depots should be organised on the basis of the Indian Emigrants' Friendly Society which was established in Calcutta in 1922 and was dissolved in 1923. This Society looked after the interest of emigrants in

every way and was managed by a local Committee of both official and non-officials and was very largely financed by the Government of India.

"In view of the fact that another boat with several hundreds of emigrants is expected in Calcutta next month, my Council hopes that the Government of India will realise the gravity of the situation and act in a manner which will not only relieve the distress now prevalent but also effectively prevent further congestion and suffering"

For the time being it will be enough if the stranded men get the relief asked for.

But the innocent-looking appeal raises broad and fundamental questions which must not be discussed in this brief notice of the special circumstances brought to light by the report. They must not be allowed to confuse the one clear issue which awaits immediate treatment. The broad questions however are —

1. The whole of the emigration policy.
2. The special case of British Guiana and Fiji.
3. The scope of the friendly societies referred to in the appeal
4. The duty of the nation by the outgoing and returning emigrants.

The consideration of these questions requires a more favourable occasion and a more thorough treatment that can be given them at the present moment.

Govt. Reply to Mr. J. B. Petit.

The following is the copy of the communication addressed to Mr. J. B. Petit, Honorary Secretary of the Imperial Citizenship Association by the Deputy Secretary of the Government of India, Education Department.

In my letter No. 498, dated the 24th July, the Association were informed that the suggestions made in its telegram, dated the 20th July, 1926 were under considerations. These suggestions were :—

(1) That the period, within which certain class of persons who had emigrated to Fiji under indenture may claim free repatriation, should be extended to 1925.

(2) That returned emigrants from British Guiana, several hundreds of whom are alleged to be stranded in Calcutta should, if they are anxious to go back to the colony, be allowed to avail themselves of the scheme of emigration which has recently been approved by the Government of India ; and

(3) That friendly emigration depots, similar to the one which was established at Calcutta in 1921 should be set up at Calcuttta, Bombay, and Madras.

Recommendations (2) and (3) were presumably based on investigations which a representative of the Association had made at Calcutta into the conditions of repatriates who have settled there. I am to state for the information of the Association that the Government of India had also seen accounts of distress among these returned emigrants in the press and asked the local Government to make enquiries From the report received by them it appears that there are about 800 repatriates from the various colonies who are living in the neighbourhood of Calcutta There is said to be considerable discontent among them owing to the fact that they find conditions of work in this country harder and less remunerative than in the colonies. They also probably find the social restraints of their class in India somewhat strange and not altogether agreeable For these reasons they appear anxious to return to the colonies. But almost all of them are said to have found employment in the dock and local mills and a few are earning rather good wages. In the circumstances, the Government of India do not think that any real need exists to give effect to suggestion (3). The circumstances of 1921 were exceptional as distress among newly returned emigrants was considerable. The Government of India propose, however, to consult the local Government concerned regarding the need of Government initiative in the direction suggested. The question of permitting such of these repatriates as can be assisted under Section 2 (1), (b), (i) of the Indian Emigration Act, 1922 (VII of 1922) to return to British Guiana is receiving consideration. They will also be permitted to participate in the scheme for the immigration of 500 families to British Guiana under the terms and conditions set forth in the notification of the Government of India No. 240-Overseas, dated 23rd March 1925, as soon as that scheme comes into operation.

2. As regards suggestion (1), I am to say that the Government of India do not think that there is any necessity at this stage to ask the Government of Fiji to extend by another five years the period within which indentured labourers introduced into that colony who are now free may claim a return passage to India.

The Legislative Assembly

and

Provincial Councils

July–December 1926

The Legislative Assembly

SIMLA—17TH AUGUST 1926.

H. E. Lord Irwin, in his first address to the Central Legislature in opening the autumn session on the 17th August in state, made striking observations on matters constitutional and communal. He also briefly surveyed the various administrative matters engaging the attention of the Government. Public galleries of the Assembly were packed to the full. Lady Irwin was in the Viceregal Box. The Chamber was full, a large number of members of both houses with the exception of the Swarajists being present.

The Viceroy's Address.

Lord IRWIN, in welcoming the members, declared that he intended to dissolve the Assembly next month to be followed by general election in November. In the circumstances, he thanked the members for affording him an opportunity of making their acquaintance and of acknowledging the work they had done in the past session of both houses. Apart from the needs of public business, it was the desire to provide himself with such opportunity that was largely responsible for his decision to hold this session, for he did not forget that when he would next address the Legislature in January the ballot box would have had to bow to its remorseless decree.

Foreign Relations.

Touching foreign relations, the Viceroy referred to the continuance of friendly relations with Nepal, Afghanistan and the adjoining countries.

The Mosul settlement had removed an outstanding obstacle to an understanding with Turkey and been hailed with satisfaction by the Muslim community.

The South African Conference.

In the sphere of Imperial policy, the tact and dignity with which the Paddison Deputation stated the Indian cause combined with the valued support from the unofficial labours of Mr. Andrews and the broad-minded statesmanship of General Hertzog had resulted in the forthcoming Conference at Cape Town. The personnel of the Indian delegation to this Conference which would shortly be announced would satisfy the Indian public that India's case would be worthily presented. Meanwhile a representative deputation from South Africa was visiting India. This exchange of visits would enable both countries to appreciate one another's difficulties, leading to harmonious relation. India could not afford to treat this question of which the roots lay more deeply bedded in human nature than our philosophy could discern as susceptible of easy decision by the application of coercive force. The solution must be based upon mutual accommodation and carry free assent of both communities.

Government Loans.

Coming to domestic matters, the Viceroy alluded to the conspicuous success of the recent rupee loan the terms of which compared very favourably with those obtained for long term loans by even those Governments whose credit stood highest in the world's money markets. There would, therefore, be no difficulty in replacing on favourable terms the remaining short term liabilities.

The Currency Bill.

The Currency Bill which would be introduced this session would embody two chief recommendations of the Hilton Young Commission and Lord Irwin hoped that so great and weighty a subject would be examined not in the light of any local interests upon the economic and commercial prosperity of the whole country.

The Agricultural Commission.

His Excellency informed that reports of enquiries by the Tariffs Boards into the steel industry and the textile industry would be submitted within the next three months in time for consideration at the next Delhi session. The Royal Commission on Agriculture had, in Lord Linlithgow, one who combined practical experience in farming with lifelong study of its scientific theory. His colleagues had knowledge of practical agriculture, rural economy, science and engineering and were, therefore, well fitted to analyse allied questions on which agriculturists' prosperity depended.

Railway Development.

The Railway Board had also devoted particular attention to the development of traffic and it was hoped to add six thousand miles of railway which would be remunerative and a boon to the country they would serve.

The Public Service Commission.

The Public Service Commission would commence its work in October. Orders passed on the Lee Commission Report involved marked increase in the Indianisation of the great public services. The Public Service Commission would improve our machinery for recruiting Indians. The Commission would also assure to the services, in their capacity as an impartial Court of reference, protection in the honest performance of duties from all influences, political personal or communal. The power which had already been given to local Governments to organise such new provincial service as they may require represented an important step in increasing the control of Ministers over transferred subjects.

In regard to the Central Services with a few exceptions it had been decided that the central should be delegated by the Secretary of State to the Government of India. Necessary rules on the subject were under preparation. With the completion of this task and the settlement of the problem of the Indian Medical Services, action on the Lee recommendations would practically be complete and a reorganisation of the service of a very striking character would have been accomplished.

The Constitutional Problem.

Referring to the constitutional problem the Viceroy pointed out that they could no more deny the fundamental duty of Parliament to assist India and judge of the progress made than they could deny the ultimate claim which India made and to the satisfaction of which they work. It was certain that before this claim would be fully realised, many obstacles imposed by history, circumstance and nature would need to be surmounted. While past achievements of progress had been the happy fruit of joint Indian and British effort, now in the solution of the present difficulties, each race had an indispensable part to take The purpose of the statutory enquiry in 1929 was to ascertain the degree of efficiency or otherwise with which the policy of 1919 had proceeded. The existing scheme had been criticised in various quarters.

Lord Irwin acknowledged the honesty of conviction of those who criticised it. He should be the last to desire that, in taking their share of the common task for the service of India, anybody should be required or expected to abandon the principles which they revered. It was no part of British purpose to seek to force India into a mould, unfriendly to the main feature of Indian life and character. Events between now and the Commission's enquiry could not fail to exert great influence upon the conclusions of that body.

Communal Relations.

Unhappily, the burning question was the feeling between the communities. Time was required to lay its healing hand on the wound that was now wasting the civil life. Meanwhile the Government had obligations to law-abiding citizens. Although these matters were the primary concern of Provincial Governments, the form in which they were now emerging made them of an all-India interest. It was the duty of the executive authorities to secure that subject to the rights of others and the preservation of public peace, which the enjoyment of those rights has secured to every individual. This duty which the Government of India, in co-operaton with local Governments desired, should be performed with fairness and scrupulous impartiality. In times of communal tension, untenable claims of rights and exaggerated opposition had from time to time caused anxiety to the authorities.

The antagonism which some members of sections of communities had recently displayed appeared, to some extent, to be based not so much on traditional loyalty to any creed as on new assertions of abstract principles. The Government had no intention of allowing

any unjust or unreasonable claims, still less any violence or threat of violence to deter them from the duty of maintaining public peace and so far as was compatible with the rights of others, the right of individual citizen to pursue unhampered his lawful avocations. The present state of affairs was one which must, so long as it lasted, cause the gravest anxiety to all well-wishers of India. The Secretary of State had reaffirmed not only his real sympathy with the hopes of Indians but also his determination to lead them by the safest and surest path towards the goal they desired to reach.

Conclusion.

It is my earnest hope, therefore, said Lord Irwin, that the course of public affairs in the years immediately before us may be such as will justify the hopes of those who have seen in the Reforms, tentative and imperfect as they may be, a generous attempt to equip India with practical experience which is requisite if she is to undertake successfully an increasing share in her own government India has an abundance of ability but some of it in the past had been directed along lines that could at best lead to no useful result. In future, the whole of India's resources are needed for constructive tasks which have ever enlisted human energies and hopes.

SIMLA—18TH TO 20TH AUGUST 1926.

The Hon'ble Mr. Patel took the chair at 11 A.M., on the 18TH AUGUST when the Assembly met for the first day of its last session. Attendance was fair. The Swarajists' benches were generally empty.

Playing of Music before Mosque.

During interpellations, the first important question was asked by Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas regarding communal riots and playing of music before mosque. To this Sir Alexander Muddiman, replying, explained the Government's position as follows :—

" The Government agree that every citizen has a right to use the public highways for religious and other processions in the manner established by custom and tradition, but the right is subject to the exercise of similar rights of others and to any orders passed in public interest by competent authority. Religious disturbances in India are no novelty unfortunately. They have occurred from time to time in many places, particularly when festivals or holidays of two great religions have fallen at the same season and when one party desires to lead a procession past the places of worship belonging to the other, or raises objection to observance of some religious rite. I may mention as an instance that a memorial was submitted to the Government of India in 1882 asking them to maintain the existing practice by which music was stopped before a mosque in a certain town. The correspondence of the period show that the question was then the cause of acute friction between the parties. It is impossible to say when this particular objection was first raised or first gave rise to rioting. It is reasonable to suppose that it also dates from a period of which no exact records remain. The Government of India do not contemplate introducing legislation of the kind suggested, Apart from the difficulty of ascertaining, in the face of conflicting reports and claims, what the custom in a particular locality has been, H. E. the Viceroy, in his recent speech at the Chelmsford Club, Simla, made it clear that in the view of the Government of India, the remedy for the present troubles is not to be sought in legislation but in an improvement in the mutual attitude of leaders and members of the communities at variance. Executive action must clearly be left to the authority in immediate charge of the area in which trouble has arisen or is likely to arise and its character must vary with circumstances of place and moment."

Sir Alexander then placed on the table a statement giving statistics of communal rioting for the whole of India for the last three years. So far as details of occurrences had been reported to the Central Government, the statement shows that riots occurred in 71 places and were responsible for about 3,000 injured both slightly and seriously and about 260 deaths. The series of recent Calcutta riots alone were responsible for half the number of total deaths and little less than half the number of injured. Next to Calcutta stood Kohat and Saharanpur.

Official Bills Introduced.

The business of the day consisted of swearing in of 16 new members and motions for the introduction of eight official bills. These were (*a*) The Currency Bill (*b*) The Workmen's Compensation Act Amend. Bill (*c*) The Usurious Loans Act Amend. Bill (*d*) The Civil Procedure Code Amend. Bill (*e*) The Factories Act Amend. Bill (*f*) The Negotiable Instruments Act Amend. Bill (*g*) The Civil Procedure Code Amend. Bill and (*h*) The Indian Succession Act Amend. Bill. The Assembly then adjourned to meet again on the next day, the 18TH AUGUST when the Taxation Enquiry Committee Report was discussed.

The Taxation Committee's Report.

Sir Basil Blackett moved: "This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that he be pleased to take into consideration the report of the Taxation Enquiry Committee".

In moving the resolution Sir Basil stated that it was human to regard all taxation as robbery. His appreciation of the popular sentiment, however, did not allow him to suggest that taxation should be lessened and eventually withdrawn altogether. He emphasised that the Meston settlement would not end until the bugbear of provincial contributions was abolished. The Government of India's policy was, therefore, to extinguish provincial contributions first before attempting reduction in the central taxation in such a manner as would enable the provincial tax-payer to be capable of meeting the advance on his purse that would be made by local Government, in order to expand their nation-building activities.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer started the opposition ball rolling. He explained how it was premature, unwise and impracticable for non-officials to offer their views. It was premature because the Government had not come forward with their own proposals. It was unwise because any opinion offered by the Assembly in favour of any taxation might amount to giving a *carte blanche* to the Executive Government to raise their sources of revenue and possibly swell Army expenditure. It was impracticable because, under the statute, the non-officials had no responsibility for any constructive proposals in taxation. He, therefore, warned the Assembly not to fall into the trap set by Sir Basil in his apparently innocuous but really dangerous motion for the Indian non-officials. The adjournment *sine die*, moved by Mr. Rangachariar, was eventually carried, the Government remaining neutral. The House then adjourned.

Confiscation of Communal Literatures.

On the 20TH AUGUST, the House re-assembling, Sir Alexander Muddiman moved for leave to introduce the bill to amend the Criminal Procedure Code so as to bring all documents which offended against

section 153 A. I.P.C., within the scope of power of forfeiture conferred in respect of seditious documents by section 99-A of the Criminal Procedure Code. He said that the Government of India, in the course of a general examination of the possibilities of ameliorating the communal situation, took up the question of sufficiency of the existing law to deal with one danger, namely circulation of pamphlets and newspaper articles tending to promote communal hostility. It was undoubtedly true that such writings were in some cases the direct cause of outbreaks of violence.

Continuing the Home Member explained that it was possible under section 108 of Cr. P. C. to proceed against those who promoted by speech or disseminated by literature communal hatred. Thus individual speakers and those engaged in the actual publication and distribution of literature could be dealt with, but while under section 153-A, it was possible to take proceedings against individuals there were no effective powers to search for or confiscate newspapers or leaflets containing matters offending against section 153-A. I.P.C. This was a very serious defect in law. Indeed, the absence of this power was a serious handicap to the Government in preventing excitement of communal feelings and his bill proposed to amend section 99-A. to give power to search and confiscate all matters punishable under section 153-A. in the same way as was at present provided for in respect of seditious matter. He was sure that at the present juncture when this house had recently received a long list of communal outbreaks which he laid on the table, the House would give him leave to introduce the Bill.

Sir H. S. Gour's Questions.

Sir Hari Singh Gour asked whether local Governments and public opinion had been consulted in the matter. The Home member replied that the public had not been consulted, but the local Governments were consulted, when a few months ago they were addressed on the general question of communal situation with a view to find out how the unhappy communal troubles could be alleviated.

Dr. Gour. Will this correspondence be made available to the member?

The Home member:—No. Because it contained many other matters besides the subject matter of the bill. My proposal will stand on its own merit.

Dr. Gour:—Then circulate relevant extracts.

The Home member:—In the course of my speech in moving consideration of the bill, I will no doubt refer to the opinions of local Governments, but I am not prepared to separate from the text opinions on this matter and even if I did, it would not be of any great use to the members.

Dr. Gour:—Will the Home member circulate this Bill for public opinion.

The Home member.—I consider that the communal situation is so serious that I propose to ask this House to take the bill into consideration at the earliest opportunity. The Home member then introduced the bill and the House adjourned till the 23rd after only half an hour's sitting.

SIMLA—23RD—27TH AUGUST 1926.

The Currency Bill.

Tense excitement prevailed when the Assembly met on the 23rd August in the afternoon. The sitting was in some respects of exceptional interest since the Swarajists, had, for the first time after their walk-out

last March, walked in on this day to take part in the discussion on a matter of vital importance, namely, the Currency Bill.

In moving for the introduction of the Currency Bill Sir Basil BLACKETT briefly gave a historical retrospect beginning with the Herschell report of 1893 which definitely marked the end of the mono-metallic silver standard for India. Since then, India had been endeavouring to cover the chasm between gold and silver standard. He rapidly surveyed the conditions brought about by the war and how the attempt to stabilise it in 1920 failed as it was bound to fail. Since his arrival he said he had never defended the pre-war system or the system or want of system that prevailed when he came out to India. He had since then advocated that another attempt to stabilise must wait till world conditions held out the hope of stabler conditions, and that in the meantime India's finances should be put in order. He was sure that as within five years of the Herschell report sterling exchange standard was established in the place of the old mono-metallic silver standard, so within five years from now would the Hilton. Young report lead them from the transition exchange standard of the last 30 years to real gold standard The Commission's proposals regarding gold standard and a reserve bank offered the quickest possible means of advance to gold currency if India so desired. He did not entirely agree with the Commission's criticism of the Finance Department's plan for gold currency but arguments regarding the effect on the silver market were formidable. He was convinced on reading the evidence that in the absence of American collaboration, the Commission had properly recommended a more cautious method of progression in future. However, gold currency could be grafted on to the gold bullion standard now recommended. The report was really unanimous except on the question of a reserve bank where the views were not really irreconcilable and on exchange ratio. While considering the fundamental structure proposed by the Commission, the question of ratio was of minor importance in the final analysis. Big legislative measures ultimately resulting from the report would be of vastly greater importance. The Bill before the House was purely a transitional measure and the question of exchange ratio was of immediate and vital importance to the interests of India. He emphasised that unless he was assured that the control of currency and credit policy and of banking and currency reserve was to be united in a single authority outside the Government, he would have hesitated before advocating the assumption of indefinite statutory obligation to maintain the exchange within upper and lower gold point of any fixed ratio.

Sir Basil Blackett here made an impassioned appeal to either side for conceding to the other the same honesty of purpose and loyalty to the interests of India as it claimed to itself in pressing its own point of view. He has according to his conscience and judgment done the best to serve India. Let suspicion be removed. Otherwise they ran the risk of the prize being snatched away from their grasp, for the report was epochmaking and immense benefit was derivable from it. "Let us avoied hitting below the belt. I repudiate as utterly baseless the suggestion that 1s. 4d. is the Indian view and 1s. 6d. the non-Indian view." The Bill was to give effect to the recommendation for immediate action embodying in a statutory form the public announcement already made by the Government of its acceptance of an obligation. Statutory enforcement of this obligation on the Government, so long as it remained the currency authority, was the

first and main purpose of the Bill. These provisions would automatically give India what she never had before, namely, a standard definitely linked to gold by statutory enactment. India would, when the Bill became law, have advanced definitely on to a statutory currency standard for the first time since the closing of mints to silver in 1893. The House, in agreeing to take the Bill into consideration, would be committed only to this, that the stabilisation of the rupee was desirable at once and that a statutory obligation to maintain the rate within gold points was imposed. To undertake this obligation, gold parity of the rupee must be fixed by the statute and rate chosen for the purpose was 1s. 6d. recommended by the Commission. He would defend this against 1s. 4d. later. Similarly he would defend later the proposed demonetization of the sovereign, for the Commission held that the adoption of the gold bullion standard made it impossible to have any gold coin as legal tender without risking the stability of the new system.

The Finance Member finally defended himself against unjust accusations of precipitancy. Would they not have accused him of deliberately ignoring, flouting and insulting the legislature? Would not a torrent of accusation have rolled forth in the House and in the press if the Government had quietly announced the intention to maintain the ratio of 1s. 6d. without asking for the Legislature's opinion from August to February? It was in the interest of India, particularly in view of the forthcoming busy season, that the uncertainty which was now avoidable should be removed. India wanted first and foremost stability. Uncertainty would have benefitted only the profiteer and speculator at the expense of both the producer and the consumer. He agreed that both members and the Government would have liked to have more time to consider the report, and the Government would have been glad to come with a full statement regarding their conclusion on the report as a whole, thereby avoiding the accusation of piece-meal legislation, but once the report was published, the uncertainty had to be removed and the period of consultation with the Legislature had to be as short as possible. He recognised the desire of the House to secure ample time for a considered judgment. His motion raised three issues. Did the House consider that the time had come to stabilize the rupee at the ratio which would be at once statutory and effective? Did the House wish to impose a statutory obligation, never before imposed, to maintain the ratio in all circumstances and did the House wish immediate legislative action in advance of the consideration of other recommendations in the report? The Commission had unanimously recommended that these steps be taken. He therefore commended the Bill to the House.

Mr. Rangachariar's Amendment.

Dewan Bahadur RANGACHARIAR moved for circulating the Bill for eliciting opinion thereon. He moved his proposal with diffidence as the subject was technical. He felt that the matter was so complex that more time was required for considering the various issues. He joined with the Finance Member in paying tribute to the members of the Commission who had produced an able and lucid report and had acted honestly, primarily in the interest of India. He acknowledged too the ability with which Sir Basil had handled India's finance for the last four years. They all had their bias and he was sure the Finance Member too, being human, had his bias. The selfish interests of the speaker as a big landlord

dictated the support of 1s. 4d. but he realized that the interest of the country as a whole should influence their judgment. He confessed that he was at sea in reading the report. There was also the consideration that an atmosphere of prejudice had been worked up immediately on the publication of the report. The House was expected to give its best judgment in considering the proposal to impose the statutory obligation that Sir Basil had asked for. The speaker had read some parts of the evidence, but he wanted more time to finish the rest. In his professional capacity, he had dealt with many problems, but currency and exchange were beyond him, and the same must be the feeling of most of the members of the House. Where experts differed the best method was to mark time and proceed cautiously. He argued in reference to Sir Basil's argument that it was no use in the House assenting to the principle that the time had come to stabilize the rupee without at the same time deciding what the ratio of the exchange should be. He had no doubt that they accept the Commission's unanimous view that if prices had adjusted to a *de facto* rate it must be accepted, but it was in dispute whether adjustment had already taken place and whether it was not being maintained by artificial means. Moreover, he felt that internal prices had not been taken fully into consideration by the Commission. He also felt that mercantile interests affected by the ratio had not been given time to examine the report and express their considered opinion. He considered it unwise on the part of the Government to have come forward with the bill so soon. He read from the evidence of Sir Stanley Reed that the Government deliberately prevented the ratio falling while the Commission was sitting. This artificiality was to be deprecated especially as it could not enable them to judge whether the *de facto* rate was truly representing the natural position of the market. Decision should, therefore, be referred to the next session. Probably, some of the sitting members would not be returned. He for one did not expect to be in the next Assembly. The speaker finally declared that he would prefer to see all the proposals of the Commission being dealt with together as a comprehensive whole. He particularly deprecated the Government picking out one proposal of the Commission. This could not be dealt with independently of the others. He readily admitted that the Finance Department deserved well of India for the past four years.

Sir Alexander MUDDIMAN explained at this earliest opportunity the Government view on the motion of Mr. Rangachariar, though he had felt a little doubt for the necessity of the motion after finding that Mr. Rangachariar had already studied it with considerable skill. The Finance Member had already stated that it was their imperative duty to bring the measure before the House. The Government have no wish certainly to throw this report down the unwilling throat of the House. They do not desire that the members should be deprived of the opportunity of discussing a document which the Finance Member had rightly described as epoch-making and which will undoubtedly have the greatest influence on the future finance of the country. "I will say openly that if there is a general desire in the House for supporting the motion of Mr. Rangachariar, the Government will not oppose it but will support it."

Sir P. S. Sivaswami AIYAR, in supporting the motion for postponement, hoped that the Government would reconsider their position and when they came next before the House there would be a declaration that whoever

wanted gold any time he would get it. The motion of Mr. Rangachariar for eliciting opinion was put and carried without any dissentient voice. After this the Swarajists walked out of the Chamber in a body.

Government Bills.

On the motion of Sir B N. Mitra, the Factories Act Amendment Bill was allowed to be circulated for opinion. The House then passed the Usurious Loans Act of 1923 Amendment Bill and the Negotiable Instruments Act of 1881 Amendment Bill. The Assembly then adjourned.

Retention of Rameswaram Station.

Next day, the 24TH AUGUST, was the day for non-official resolutionss. Mr. Rama IYENGER was ironically cheered by some members on official benches when he rose to move his resolution recommending to the Government that the Railway Board and the South Indian Railway be directed to retain the present Rameswaram station as such even if new alignment is adopted and that protective embankments be put up south of the line to ensure safety to the line. Mr. Rama Iyengar hoped to make the Government realise the importance of his resolution. He said when he visited Rameswaram he wrote to the South Indian Railway making certain enquiries but got a curt reply from the Railway Company. He was afraid that the Railway Board did not possess adequate information on the subject. About 20 lakhs of pilgrim visited Rameswaram annually and proportionate expenditure for Rameswaram station should be 12 to 15 lakhs.

Mr. Rama Iyengar, continuing, said that the matter was important and the Government should take full responsibility for it by accepting his resolution and should not force the House into a division. He also suggested that if the retention of the present station proved absolutely impossible, the Government should make a metalled road and maintain it up to as near the point of pilgrimage as possible.

Sir Charles INNES did not under-rate the importance of the question. He asked the House to take Mr. Rama Iyengar's figures cautiously because the line, far from being profitable, was hardly paying. To understand the problem required local knowledge. The Railway Board would not do anything to make it more difficult for pilgrims to proceed to Rameswaram, but they had difficulties provided by nature. The south-west monsoon threw sands every year and the sand line was rapidly advancing at the rate of thirty yards a year. Sir Clement Hindley, himself an eminent engineer, personally visited the station and discussed the position with the South Indian Railway engineer. The Railway Board's Chief Engineer also discussed the position but every time they found no other alternative to save the line except to divert it. The new station would make pilgrims travel a distance of 3½ miles. As regards Mr. Rama Iyengar's suggestion for the construction of a road, this raised a constitutional issue. Central revenues could be spent for the construction of military roads only. Road construction was the function of local bodies and the Railway Board could not establish a dangerous principle. He assured the House that the Railway Board would not think of tearing up of the existing line unless there were compelling reasons. He would again look into the matter and see what could be done by way of providing convenience for pilgrims.

The resolution was then put to vote and rejected by a narrow majority of one, voting being 32 for and 33 against.

The Andamans Scheme.

Mr. Syed MURTUZA then moved that Government should abandan the Andamans as a penal settlement by sending back all Moplahs and other prisoners and also to throw it open for free colonisation removing all restrictions on communications in settlements etc., and also giving all necessary facilities to the settlers.

Syed Murtuza dwelt at length on the deplorable condition of the Andaman islands which was situated far away from the principal ports of India. He characterised it as a living grave. At the instance of the Home Department, a deputation of which he was a member visited the islands last year to report on the conditions prevailing there. Their report which was still under the consideration of the Government of India contained some interesting facts and figures which he said, if known to the house, would have convinced it of the desirability of his present demand. He reminded the Home Member of his promise in the Assembly in 1924 to throw open the island for colonisation by the general public and trusted that he would adhere to his promise. He appealed to all members to support the resolution which he said was of all India importance and hoped that the Government members would remain neutral.

Mr. Schamnad made an impassioned appeal for the thousands of His Majesty's subjects living in this hell. He pictured a poor meek Moplah in the middle of a swampy jungle surrounded by fever and always open to the attacks of wild men.

Sir Alexander Muddiman, explained that the Government had already laid down the policy of abandonment of the Andamans as a penal settlement, but the process must be slow. There were local free born persons who had settled down and were living in comfort despite the wild men. Numbers of those under sentence far preferred to serve their term in a place where they could be self-supporting and in the open air, than in a central jail in India. The prevalent idea that the Andamans were inhabited by savages and hence impossible to live in was ridiculous. The climate was damp, but the scenery was beautiful, and were an hotel built there, Sir Alexander prophesied that persons from Calcutta and Bombay would visit the islands and turn them into a pleasure resort. The country was rich in so far as cocoanut, tea and rubber could be given, and there was no reason to shed crocodile tears for those poor ill-treated criminals. They were far happier there than if confined in India.

Communal Disputes.

Mr. Mahomed YAKUB next moved: "This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that legislation be immediately taken in hand in order to regulate the performance of religious festivals, rites and ceremonies of different communities in India."

In moving the resolution Moulvi Mahomed Yakub made it clear at the ousett that he had no desire to import communal feeling in the House. Nor did he wish to enumerate the wrongs of one community or another. It was a pity that Mr. B. C. Pal should, at a time when the atmosphere was saturated with communal feelings, be writing to the press in the way he was doing. He did not agree with those who said the Government had a hand in fomenting communal riots and communal

feeling or that they had ever shown any partiality to any community in communal matters. In this connection, he entered a strong protest against Lord Olivier's statement in the House of Lords. It was surprising that the ex-Secretary of State should be so ignorant of the methods of administration in India. Of course, it would have been better if leaders of the communities had themselves decided the communal question effectively, but past experience had shown that the communal leaders had hopelessly failed. The Unity Conference passed certain resolutions, but there was no sanction behind them. If the principles laid down in those resolutions had been placed on the statute book, communal feeling would not have been so acute as it was to-day. No doubt there were certain sections in the Penal Code and Cr. P. C., but they were only for the preservation of peace. The different orders of different provincial Governments had made the position still more difficult. He would have brought forward a bill if he thought there was any chance of introducing and carrying it through, but there was no chance for non-official bills in this House. Hence his resolution for official legislation. In conclusion he indicated his support of Mr. Rangachariar's amendment for a conference.

Mr. Rangachariar's Amendment.

Mr. Rangachariar moved the following resolution to be substituted for the original one :—"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that he may be pleased to convene an all India conference of selected leaders of public opinion and experienced officials to examine the present communal situation in the country and make recommendations to regulate the performance of religious festivals and rites and ceremonies of different communities in India". He said his amendment had to be restricted to the scope of the original resolution. Otherwise he would have widened it. He did not believe in the hush-hush policy adopted by certain persons. Facts must be faced if they were anxious to attain Swaraj and still more to retain it. He had begun to believe that it would be easier to attain Swaraj but not as easier to maintain it. He particularly noted with regret that on an occasion like this when the Swarajist benches were empty, it would serve no useful purpose to elaborate on the causes of communal disputes. He hoped no member would dwell on them.

The speaker felt bitterly the soreness of the disgraceful position with which they were faced. Honest and earnest attempts have been made by the communities to come to a settlement; but these had failed. What was required was the driving force which the Government alone could bring to the movement. The Unity Conference failed and success could not be achieved without co-operation of officials and non-officials alike. Mr. Rangachariar did not want to insist that the constitution of a Conference must provide for a majority of non-officials. He did not mind the personnel so long as those who took part in it were really bent on changing the situation. The Conference should be private and not open to the press. The Viceroy should open it by a speech which he alone could make. The Conference would fully examine the causes of outbreaks and try to bring about amity. He wanted to sit in the Conference not moderate Hindus and Muslims, but staunch Hindus and Moslems. Both parties were to blame. The Viceroy's speech and the Home Member's statement showed that the Government recognized the seriousness of the situation but mere recognition of it and an assurance regarding maintaining peace did not carry them very far. The

Government's duty was to take definite action instead of edicts from hill tops. The country wanted serious and earnest action and they should put their heads together to find a solution.

When Mr. Rangachariar resumed his seat, the House was adjourned and the debate was continued on the next non-official day, the 1st September.

Next day, the 25TH AUGUST, the Assembly re-assembled to consider the official bills.

Security for Costs in Second Appeals.

Sir Alexander Muddiman moved for consideration of his bill which is based on the Rankin report and gives effect to the proposal for security for costs in certain second appeals. The Home Member said that the Bill was improtant though not of immediate urgency. If there was a general desire in the House for the circulation of the Bill he would not oppose it. Authorities concerned were undoubtedly consulted about the general principle underlying the Bill but not on the exact procedure now proposed in the Bill. On Sir H. S. Gour moving for the circulation of the Bill, it was put to vote and agreed to.

Provincial Insolvency Act Amendment.

The Home Member next moved and the House agreed to take into consideration the Bill amending the Provincial Insolvency Act introduced on the 18th instant. The Bill is based on the Rankin Committee's recommendations which laid down that a notice be issued under Section 33 to the receiver instead of to the insolvent. Dr. Gour's amendment that such notice be issued both to the receiver and to the insolvent, was rejected and the Bill was passed without alteration.

Indian Succession Act Amendment.

The Bill amending the Indian Succession Act introduced on the 18th was next taken up. Sir Alexander Muddiman said that this Bill too was based on the Civil Justice Committee's recommendation and proposed to the Hindus in general provisions of the law already applicable in parts of the country. The Bill was passed with some dissentient voices.

Cr. P. C. Amendment Bill.

Forfeiture of Communal Leaflets.

Sir Alexander MUDDIMAN next moved the consideration of the important Bill to amend the Criminal Procedure Code to bring all documents which offend against 153-A, I. P. C., by promoting communal hatred within the scope of the power of forfeiture conferred in respect of seditious documents by Section 99-A of Cr. P. C. Sir Alexander Muddiman declared that the measure was reasonable and would, he hoped, command the sympathy and support of the House. He maintained that the communal situation had grown to a pitch, that, but for the official precautions, these would have multiplied a hundred times compared with the long list of riots he recently placed on the table. He paid a tribute to civil and military officers, both British and Indians, who had been handling the difficult situation throughout the hot weather. He was most anxious that the House should show that it was as a body on the side of law and order in endeavouring to prevent terrible happenings. He did not claim that the measure would strike at the root of the trouble, but if it in any way strengthened the hands of the Government and of those good-thinking citizens who represent a large majority of the two communities to deal with the difficult matter, he should have the support of the House.

The Bill would not be very effective in dealing with newspapers, for it would have already reached its ordinary subscribers before the mischievous nature of the writing was discovered. The Bill would, however, be useful in the case of inflammatory pamphlets,

The Home Member had with him an extract regarding sixteen successful press prosecutions in Bengal, but the results of these prosecutions were very largely vitiated by the fact that there was no power to check the circulation of inflammatory matter. In his judgment, the accumulation of pamphlets of this sort was dangerous. The measure was immediately needed and he hoped the House would not accept dilatory motions which had been put on paper. The Bill should be discussed here and now. He finally appealed to the House to collaborate with the Government to show that they were willing to give full support to the Government and to those in charge of the difficult task of maintaining order in these troublesome times.

Mr. Mahomed YAKUB liked the Bill from the bottom of his heart. It was his firm conviction that the press had played a great part in creating the present situation This was done by publishing objectionable matter in communal papers. He did not think the executive had sufficient powers to stop sowing by the press of the seeds of communal bitterness. Their powers must be enhanced. As regards the Anglo-Indian press, he emphasised that it should not be exempted from the provisions of the proposed Bill. Referring to the remarks of the previous speaker, Mr. Yakub said that is was for the sake of stopping objectionable matter in the Anglo-Indian press and elsewhere that such a Bill was most essential.

[At this stage Lala Lajpat Rai entered the Chamber and was cheered by official benches. He took his seat in one of the back benches in the Independents' block. He had resigned the membership of the Swaraj Party and attended on this day to take part in the debate on the Bill relating to Newspapers and on Bar Councils Bill whose extension to Lahore High Court he intended to advocate].

Sir H. S. GOUR moved for the circulation of the Bill. He held that Government was taking undue advantage of the present passing phase of communal tension which was subsiding, if not dead, to re-enact a provision of the Press Act of 1910 which the last Assembly repealed. The Bill was dangerous to the liberty of the press and the public. It was liable to abuse by local authority and they had the recent example of such abuse of power in the Bengal Government's action regarding Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The Government was taking advantage of the attenuated state of the membership of the House. They were winding up the session. Was it fair to the members of the Assembly to load them heavily, at such a time, by asking them to assent to a measure which would not be liked by the public? He recalled that the President himself had, when the Swarajists were withdrawing from the last session, warned the Government against bringing forward contentious measures. He did not appeal to the chair but to the good sense of the Home Member who had plenty of it not to rush it. It would not make considerable difference if the measure was delayed for four months.

Home member It may not make considerable difference to the Home Member, but it will make considerable difference to the member from Nagpur. (Laughter.)

Concluding, Dr. Gour added that the interests concerned had not been consulted, nor had local Governments' opinions been made available to the member.

Mr. K. C. ROY, being the journalist member of the House, was applauded when he rose to move his motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee consisting of the Home Member, Mr. Graham, Mr Jinnah, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Neogy, Mr. Dumasia, Colonel Crawford and the mover. Mr. Roy said he had received a commission from all members to include their names but had received only provisional commission from Lala Lajpat Rai. He was glad to welcome him to the House, for Lalaji was a doyen of the speaker's profession and an expresssion of views coming from him would carry great weight.

Mr. Roy made it clear that he entirely accepted the principle underlying the Bill and in this, he had the support of a most influential paper, *The Leader* of Allahabad. He did not deny that an unparalleled situation existed, that objectionable writings were in circulation and that the Government had a right to demand some powers from the legislature. He, however, maintained that the House had a right to demand careful examination of the Bill by the Select Committee which need not take more that two hours to conclude its work. Members were fully sensible of the exceptional emergency in the country, but he for one wanted the Select Committee to examine whether the powers now asked for should not be limited to two years and whether confiscation should not take place after the verdict of a competent judicial court.

Finally, Mr. Roy complained that the Government had singled out the press in the matter. The Central Government had overlooked the failure of local Governments to take proper precautions. It had left the ring-leaders alone and had only singled out the press for pillory.

Lala Lajpat RAI said that the Bill was a very serious encroachment on the liberties of the press. There were three issues, firstly whether confiscation should take place after the judicial verdict, secondly, whether it should take place also while prosecution is on; and thirdly, whether summary powers be given to local Governments to determine what came within the purview of Section 99-A. He assured co-operation in finding a suitable remedy, but maintained that the present bill was insidious. Section 153-A was not necessarily confined to communal writings, but might as well be applied to controversy between capital and labour. Moreover, he did not know of a single case where the legislature sanctioned measures to strengthen the hands of Governments which were not abused and were not kept longer than needed. (Hear, hear.) He admitted that newspapers very largely were responsible for the present communal trouble, but the present Bill was no remedy and not even a part remedy. "No legislation. I declare, will deliberately cure communal trouble so long as the leaders of the two communities do not sincerely try to bring about peace."

Continuing, the speaker held that a good part of the trouble was attributed to the Hindu Police or the Muslim Police. If this was true, then this Bill by putting additional powers into the hands of the Police would only make the situation worse. Moreover, what right had the Government so quietly to come and ask the legislature to reinsert the very provisions which the legislature deliberately annulled by repealing the Press Act "I appeal to the Government Don't hit below the belt. Think of the permanent injury you will be doing to the liberty of the people and of the press".

Mr. RANGACHARIAR supported the motion for a Select Committee. The principle underlying the Bill was that prevention was better than cure There was no doubt that pamphlets and such other publications were some of the causes of communal bitterness. This was admitted by Lala Lajpat Rai, but the question was whether the Executive should have the power proposed under this Bill. The existing law did not give them the necessary powers for prevention but they all had an instinctive dislike of the Executive. This was based on their past experience, because such powers had been abused in a number of cases. But the Bill contained language which was vague and defective and must therefore be substantially modified. The shortness of the session need not deter them from supporting the motion for the Committee.

Mr. Neogy complained that the Home Member had not fulfilled his promise of giving the House the views of the local Governments on the proposals embodied in the Bill.

The Home Member I thought it would not be right to add to the communal tension by reading them, but if the Hon'ble Member wants them, I shall read.

Mr. Neogy replied that if they could not be read in the interest of communal amity, that was all the greater reason why a Select Committee should sit and examine those views. Mr. Neogy was convinced that the Calcutta riots were to a large measure due to injudicious writing in the press, but when the riots broke out, the Bengal Government was nowhere near Calcutta and its head was breathing the cool hill atmosphere.

Sir Alexander Muddiman How is this relevant?

Mr. Neogy I know the Home Member feels uncomfortable at these statements.

Home Member. Nothing of the kind. I only hold that it is not relevant to the Bill

The President called Mr. Neogy to order. Mr. Neogy declared that his contention was that the Bengal Government knew that such writings in the press were being indulged in and yet although it had power to take prompt action against such writings it did not act. That showed that if the local Government could not use even its existing powers it was no use arming it with additional powers. The speaker did not want to blame anybody.

The Home Member Except the Government. (Laughter).

Mr. Neogy admitted the existence of the evil, but the Bill would have to be fully examined.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami AIYER said he had no objection to pious conferences of leaders to bring about reconciliation. At the same time he welcomed the principle of the Bill but felt that the Government had not made adequate use of the existing powers. Though the Bill left the decision to the local authorities, the provision of reference to a High Court against such decision was a proper safeguard. However, he agreed that the provisions of the Bill were wide and supported Mr. K. C. Roy's motion for a Select Committee.

Pandit MALAVIYA said the criticism that the Home Member wanted to rush the Bill through a thin house was not relevant. The Home Member had been prompted by a sincere desire to seek one more means, of meeting the situation which the leaders had miserably failed to handle. The reason for this failure of the leaders was that the leaders of either community did not courageously condemn their co-religionists publicly whenever they committed excess. It was true the Government officers too failed in taking prompt

and impartial action though a great bulk of the officers did their duty honourably. But mention of this also was not relevant nor were the statements that communal electorates were the main cause of the riots relevant. He personally did not subscribe to this view and felt that a solution was the maintenance of law and order in a simple style that this Government had done for a long time.

The question before the House was whether pamphlets of an inflammatory character were published. The speaker admitted that these were published by both sides. Indeed, he found that the continuance of the Calcutta riots was in no small measure due to the circulation of such pamphlets The necessity for stopping this circulation therefore existed. The local Governments unfortunately went wrong on occasions, but they must trust the same authority and he found that the discretion vested in local Governments and the obligation to state their reasons for forfeiting a document and the power of appeal to a High Court were proper safeguards against the abuse of power. Nevertheless, there was need for greater caution and there was time enough to refer the Bill to a Select Committee. He did not want to provoke the Home Member to read the local Governments' opinion; but these should be placed before the Committee. They had at the same time to keep in view a series of blunders committed by local Governments since 1921 in disregarding the provisions of the law, especially in the application of Section 144, in the Punjab, United Provinces and Bengal. Apprehensions expressed in the House about the abuse of the new law were not therefore groundless. Moreover, the power given to a Police Sub-Inspector to search any premises where copies of a prescribed pamphlet "may be or may reasonably be suspected to be" might, in the present state of communal tension make such Police officers search the places on communal considerations. This would therefore work a great deal of hardship.

Pandit Malaviya also felt that responsible officers were sometimes in their zeal a little too meddlesome to prevent abuse. He threw out a suggestion that an advisory board of three persons be constituted to advise local Governments in the matter of forfeiture of inflammatory writing. The Select Committee might or might not materially alter the bill, but, after it had examined it, they would vote on it with clearer minds.

Mr. JINNAH supported the motion for a Select Committee, but he was anxious that the operation of the Bill must be limited to a number of years. He was not sure that communal bitterness would continue for an indefinite length of time. Where was the need of placing permanently on the statute book a bill which gave extraordinary powers to the Executive? The language of the bill was much too wide and he was afraid that no High Court would consider a revision application put in by an aggrieved party against the order of a local Government and give a decision different from the views of the local Government. He appealed to Sir Alexander Muddiman not to be intoxicated with the power of the majority on his side and press the issue but accept the motion for a Select Committee.

Sir Alexander MUDDIMAN regretted that he could not agree to a Select Committee although that move came from quarters which commanded the attention of the Government. He did not see what the Committee could discuss. The principle of the bill was accepted, namely that there must be power to the Executive to seize documents which were likely to excite communal hatred. There was a defect in the law which must be removed in the interests of communal concord.

As for the limitation of the period of operation of the bill, Sir Alexander emphasised that the bill would not be a temporary measure, but a permanent one on the statute book in order always to provide the Government with the necessary powers in dealing with communal excitements whenever they arose. No one in this house could say that the communal situation would immediately or in the near future improve. There was always the danger which they must guard against. Much had been said that the bill was wide and vague! It did nothing more than incorporate Section 153 of Penal Code. Therefore, there is nothing to justify reference to a Select Committee.

The Bengal Government in the course of their replies had pointed out that the existing law was defective and failed in achieving the object. The Punjab Government had quoted an instance of prosecution under Section 153 under which proceedings in Court against a communal leader had a worse effect in striking up communal feeling than the object of the prosecution. If, therefore, the bill was to be watered down in a Select Committee, there was nothing left in it. He appealed to the Assembly not because he had any majority to support the motion for consideration. He had no desire to appear unreasonable, but he earnestly appealed to the House to be unanimous and support the Government If the members wanted to make any suggestion to improve the bill they could do so on the floor of the House.

After Sir Alexander's speech the motion for a select committee was put and lost by 25 against 50 votes. The motion for consideration was then passed without a division. The House then adjourned till the next day, the 26TH AUGUST, when after consideration of the bill clause by clause it was passed. The motion of Mr. Rangachariar for limiting operation of the Bill to two years was lost by 19 against 48 votes. No non-official cautioned the Government against misuse of the power given.

The Bar Councils Bill.

The Bar Councils Bill as it emerged from the Select Committee next came up for consideration. Sir Alexander Muddiman, in explaining the provisions of the Bill, pointed out the important changes made by the Select Committtee and emphasised that there had not been any departure from the original Bill except in cases of sections dealing with seniority and right of pre-audience.

Motion for Re-circulation.

Dr. Gour moved that the Bill be re-circulated for eliciting further opinions thereon. He said there was a large class of barristers and advocates, both European and Indian whose rights were directly affected by the changes made in section 8. The change constituted a departure completely altering the scope and scheme of the Bill. Under the change proposed if a barrister of 20 or even 30 years' standing wishes to practise in a High Court and gets himself enrolled, his seniority would be counted from the date of his enrolment and not from the date he was called to the bar. It, therefore, established an artificial rule of seniority which was a departure from English practice. Frankly speaking, he was anxious that the English Bar should preserve its individuality. There were no less than seven members of the Select Committee who had appended their minutes of dissent (Mr. Rangachariar :— Only on minor points). and there were 28 amendments to the Bill. If the vakil members in this House wanted to assassinate the class of barristers and deprive them of their rights and privileges which they enjoyed for several decades, then it was only due to them that they must be given a hearing.

Sir Alexander Muddiman asked the Assembly to realise that if the bill was not passed now, then the Government would have to reintroduce a bill in the new Assembly. The bill embodied moderate opinion. The objection was only in regard to clauses dealing with seniority and right of preaudience, regarding which the opinion of the Bombay and Calcutta High Courts would be welcome. At the same time he did not want the fruits of so many years' labours to be wasted. He, therefore, was prepared to delete the two new clauses for reference and bring in an amended bill whenever possible and now allow the bill to be passed with the exception of those two clauses. This was a graceful concession which would tend to reconcile the contending parties.

Dr. Gour's motion for recirculation was lost.

Amendments to the Bill.

The bill was then considered clause by clause. Mr. K. C. Neogy moved for deletion from Clause 3 relating to the composition of Bar Councils that portion which stated that not less than one half of the persons who would constitute the elected portion of the Calcutta and Bombay Bar Councils should be barristers of England or members of the Faculty of Advocates

in Scotland. His object was that the proportion should be the same as would be in the case of Councils of other High Courts.

Sir Alexander Muddiman opposed Mr. Neogy's amendment which was lost.

Sir P. S Sivaswami Aiyar then moved that the proportion of elected members to barristers should be such as might be fixed by the High Courts (of Bombay or Calcutta). Sir Alexander Muddiman accepted the amendment which was carried.

Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed moved that barristers to be elected on the Calcutta and Bombay Bar Councils should be elected by barristers themselves. Sir Alexander Muddiman opposed this amendment which he thought attempted to introduce as it were communal representation. The amendment was lost.

Enrolment of Advocates.

When Clause 8 relating to the enrolment of advocates came up, Sir Hari Singh formally moved for deletion of sub-clauses three and four which ran as follows :—(3) Entries in the roll shall be made in the order of seniority and seniority of each advocate shall be determined by the date of his admission to be an advocate or in the case of a person referred to in Clause (a) of sub-section 2 by the date of his admission to be advocate, vakil, or pleader as the case may be of the High Court. (4) Subject to any special orders which the High Court may think fit to make in individual cases, the respective rights of preaudience of advocates of the High Court shall be determined by seniority, provided that the advocate shall have preaudience over all other advocates and King's Counsel shall have preaudience over all advocates except the Advocate-General. He moved for deletion of these two sub-clauses in accordance with the suggestion of the Home Member so that they might be circulated for opinion and an amending bill brought forward if the opinion was favourable.

Sir Alexander Muddiman promised to circulate the sub-clauses. The deletion was agreed to.

Admission of Advocates to Bar Councils.

Mr. Neogy then moved an amendment to the clause relating to rules for the admission of advocates to Bar Councils. The object of the amendment was to delete sub-clause four which stated that nothing in the rules to be framed by the Calcutta or Bombay Bar Councils should affect the powers of the two High Courts to prescribe qualification of persons who practise on the Original Side. Mr. Neogy objected to legislative restrictions being imposed in the case of Calcutta or Bombay Bar Councils.

The Hon. Mr. Das, Law Member, opposed the amendment of Mr. Neogy on behalf of the Government. The amendment was lost.

Thereupon Mr. Rangachariar, by an amendment, sought to restrict the period of time by the 1st January 1935 within which the powers of the High Courts of Calcutta and Bombay should not be limited regarding prescription of qualifications for persons practising on the Original Side. Sir Alexander Muddiman promised to consider this question after the Bill was passed. The amendment was then withdrawn.

Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed moved an amendment that vakils, pleaders, advocates and barristers must wear their respective prescribed robes. Mr. Ahmed caused considerable amusement on the adoption of barrister's robes

by some vakils who are not entitled to them. The President was at one stage constrained to ask Mr. Ahmed to be dignified in his language. The amendment was lost,

Other clauses were passed without amendment. The Bill as amended, that is, with the deletion of two sub-clauses relating to seniority and rights of preaudience was then about to be passed. Sir Alexander Muddiman suggested that if some members wanted to speak on the next day on the Bill as amended, he would not then move that the Bill be passed.

Accordingly, the House adjourned to meet again on the next day, the 27TH AUGUST, when the third reading of the Bill was resumed. The first attack was launched by Mr. K. Ahmed. His grievance was that the proposed legislation would lower the standard of the Bar. He strongly objected to the admittance of advocates to the High Court Bar unless they had qualified in England as barristers and had been "called" at Home. Sir Hari Singh Gour was extremely sorry that the Bill was to be passed, for he wished to have time to compare with the rules of the English Bar Council. Mr. Neogy was bitingly sarcastic and suggested that if Mr. Ahmed's recent speech evidenced the advantages derivable from education in Europe the Indian Bar would benefit from the inclusion of lawyers educated in India. The Vakils' Association, which he told the House he represented, opposed the clause, ruling that the majority of members of the Bar Council should be barristers. He characterised this as a rule of the minority over the majority. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya criticised the utterances of barrister members of the Assembly, which, he suggested, comprised the strongest possible argument to show the necessity of admitting advocates. Sir Alexander Muddiman emphasised that the Bill was an attempt in the direction of the creation of a united Indian Bar. The Bill as amended was ultimately carried.

Indian Succession Act.

The other business was the consideration of a Bill to amend Section 33 of the Indian Succession Act. The mover Sir Walter Wilson explained that the object of this Bill was to ensure that when an estate was of less value than Rs. 5,000 and the deceased died intestate without lineal descendants, then the widow should have the whole of the money. When the amount was larger the widow should have the first Rs. 5,000 without prejudice to her right to share the residue later. The measure does not concern Indian Christians or persons professing Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh or the Jain religion. Dr. DATTA emphasised that Indian Christians often marry Anglo-Indians and a question would arise concerning the children by such marriages. His amendment that the Bill should not apply to the child or grandchild of any male person who is excluded from the measure was carried and the Bill was passed. The House then adjourned.

SIMLA—31ST AUGUST TO 2ND SEPT. 1926.

Official Bills and Supplementary Grants.

The next meeting of the Assembly took place on the 31ST AUGUST when Sir Basil Blackett placed on the table the report of the Public Accounts Committee for the year 1924-25. The House then passed without much discussion six bills as passed by the Council of State amending the

Evidence Act, the Administrator-Generals Act, the Companies Act, the Cantonments Act and the Indian Limitation Act and the Sind Court Supplementary Bill. The House next agreed to voting supplementary grants of Rs. 2,00,000 for ports and pilotage, Rs. 1,43,000 in respect of aviation, Rs. 2,41,000 under miscellaneous, Rs, 13,000 in respect of refunds and Rs. 5 lakhs for loans and advances bearing interest.

The main discussion of the day however centred round the proposal to advance Rs. 5 lakhs on interest to the Imperial Gymkhana of Delhi which sum the standing Finance Committee had agreed to. After some discussion the grant was agreed to. The House then adjourned.

Communal Disputes.

Next day, the 1ST SEPTEMBER, the debate on the solution of communal trouble was resumed in the Assembly and discussed for nearly six hours and resulted in nothing more than eliciting an assurance from the Government that they would consider carefully any practical suggestions from the public. The debate itself was kept on a high level except for slight aberrations on the part of the communally disposed individuals. There was a small section headed by Lala Lajpat Rai, who feared a possibility of the debate taking an acrimonious turn. He therefore suggested a postponement of it sine die, but Sir Alexander Muddiman's opposition to it on the ground that the Government could not pass two speeches already made to stand on the paper without official reply thereto, determined the issue.

Lala Lajpat Rai's motion being defeated, the debate was resumed in full vigour in which fourteen members representing various shades of opinion participated. The start was made by Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed who opposed an All-India Conference to find a solution of the problem and incidentally pressed the claims of his community for greater representation in legislatures and in public services.

In refreshing contrast was the speech of Dr. Datta who raised the tone of the debate to a moral pitch. He was heard with the greatest attention when he analysed the causes of the present troubles to practical and economic rather than religious and asked the Government to reassert its moral leadership from which it had dethroned itself. Personally he feared that there was not among the people the will to unite and so feared that no useful result would ensue from the deliberations of the proposed conference.

Swarajists Twitted.

Sir Denys Bray took the first opportunity of the Swarajists' absence to twit their running away from the post of duty on such an important debate. The contribution of Sir Denys Bray to the discussion was that cure must come from within, that is, people must solve the problem themselves, for Government could only handle the vissible symptoms. Mr. Dumasia wanted the communal leaders to unite and present their suggestions for acceptance by the Government. The position of the Government was explained clearly by Sir Alexander Muddiman. He was decidedly against Moulvi Mahomed Yakub's suggestion for a legislation on communal questions as well as Mr. Rangachariar's plea for an All-India conference to which Mahomed Yakub himself had lent his support. The Home Member defended that both administratively and morally the Govt. had done their best and would continue to do their best. The Govt. he affirmed, were ready to bring about reconciliation

and at the same time maintain law and order but the difficulty was that local disputes were taking All-India colour now a days and efforts of local officials to settle disputes in consultation with local leaders were frustrated by mischief-monging outsiders who had their own axe to grind. From the non-official European side, three members spoke. Colonel Crawford hinting that the Government of India had not been as firm as it should have been; Mr. Sheepshanks of Bombay suggesting to the communal leaders to follow the golden maxim of Gladstone · "Never impute motive as the sure road to success" and Dr. Macphail of Madras asking Indians to learn to respect other's wishes and sentiments in the midst of such varying opinions and in face of the Government's decided stand against the conference idea.

Mr. K. C. Roy charged the Government with being solely responsible for the solution of communal difficulties and the obligations that rested on them by statute to help India to reach self-Government. This could not be done, he argued, by the Government shirking their responsibility in the matter of solving communal menace and laying it solely on the shoulders of political and communal leaders. To this view Sir Hari Singh was opposed, for unless politics was divorced from religion as was done in western countries, the situation would continue to puzzle them. But Sir Hari Singh Gour and Lala Lajpat Rai expressed their conviction that the sure remedy to the present trouble was in the grant of responsible Government and the former went to the extent of asking the Government to appoint a Royal Commission on the reforms at once so that it would examine not only the political situation but also this communal situation which was an allied subject.

Pandit Malaviya with his characteristically, persuasive eloquence supported the Government standpoint that there must be no conference but that leaders and every citizen should endeavour to do their best to promote a spirit of toleration and good-will in their respective localities Pandit Malaviya's "wise and sane suggestions" as the Home Member described them, enabled the Government through their spokesmen to induce the authors of different propositions to withdraw them. This was done, Sir Alexander Muddiman assuring that the door for a conference was not closed but would be open whenever a favourable atmosphere prevailed that would yield tangible results.

Removal of Sex Disqualification.

The only achievement to the credit of the Assembly on this day was the passing of a resolution for the removal of sex disqualification in elections to the assembly. The Government position was explained by Mr. Haig, who announced that the Government would frame regulations to have effect before the general election was held. Speeches were made in support of the removal of sex disqualification by orthodox and conservative members of the house, the only discordant note being struck by Moul. Mahomed Yakub. The House then adjourned.

Tributes to Mr. Patel.

The last sitting of the second Assembly, prior to its dissolution, was held on the 2ND SEPTEMBER when eloquent tributes of admiration were paid from all sides of the House to the President, Mr. Patel. Dewan Bahadur Rangachariar, as Mr. Patel's deputy, led the way. He had fought hard last session for this unique honour but lost it by two votes,

because "chance and luck," he said, favoured his rival. He complimented Mr. Patel and this brought Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar on to his feet and he paid his excellent phrased tribute of admiration for the striking ability with which Mr. Patel had conducted the work of the chair. He desired that following the British convention, Mr. Patel be returned uncontested and that he be once again elevated to the same chair from where he has ruled with dignity and impartiality. Sir Walter Wilson paid an equally sincere tribute and assured that European non-official group would vote for Mr. Patel next time. Mr. Venkatapatiraju, in the absence of Mr. Jinnah, extended a similar assurance of support on behalf of the Independents. Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum, leader of the Muslim Parliamentary group which he frankly confessed had acted in the House more out of order than in order, declared that on the question, his group, was unanimous. The Muslims were fully struck with the ability, distinction, tact and impartiality with which Mr. Patel had done his work. He particularly noted how Mr. Patel's eye always caught the most appropriate speaker. He indeed stated unhesitatingly that no other non-official member, to his mind, would have done as well as Mr. Patel had done. Mr. Baptista, on behalf of the Christian minority, and Mr. Neogy for the back benchers and Mr. Dumasia, speaking for the Parsee community, joined in the tribute. Sir Alexander Muddiman too got up to place on the President's table his bunch of roses. He recalled from his experience in the chair that it was not a bed of roses, and acknowledged the courtesy and consideration received from the chair as leader of the House, and asked the members to guess his feeling on the subject of Mr. Patel's return to the chair, for it did not benefit him as leader to express any opinion on the subject.

Mr. PATEL'S acknowledgment was most appropriate and dignified. He had not only considered it a solemn obligation to be impartial, but being an elected President he had to inspire members with the feeling that he was impartial. How much he succeeded in so doing was fully established from the chorus of congratulations that was heaped on him from all sides of the House as some members had made reference to his past, when he was considered to be the stormy Patel of the Swaraj Party. Mr. Patel asserted emphatically that he had come into the chair with the desire to prove to the British Government that if Indians were described as irresponsible and destructive critics of the existing system, they were so because they had not been entrusted with responsibility and that the only way to fit them for responsible Government was to entrust them with the working of such a Government. That Mr. Patel has proved to the hilt Indian's fitness in this most responsible post in the country made even the Home Member confess that the first elected President's work in the chair would go down as a landmark in constitutional history.

Congratulations took most of the time and other business of the day was concluded in ten minutes when the Assembly agreed to the amendment made by the Council of State to the Bar Councils Bill not because every member approved of it, but because the Council of State having been adjourned *sine die*, any further amendment would leave the Bill unpassed and make it lapse.

The House then adjourned 'Sine dine'.

The Council of State

SIMLA—18TH TO 31ST AUGUST 1926.

The Council of State held the first business sitting of Simla session on the 18TH AUGUST with non-official resolutions on the agenda, with Sir Henry Moncrief Smith, President, in the chair. There was a fair attendance of members including three Swarajists, namely Dr. Rama Rao, Mr. Lokenath Mukherji and Rai Bahadur Nalini Nath Seth.

Pay of Madras Customs Clerks.

The first resolution was moved by Mr. P. C. Desikachari who wanted to level up the scales of pay of clerks in the Madras Customs House to that of clerks in Bombay and Calcutta. He clearly pointed out that in Madras where the cost of living is as high as in other presidency towns, the clerk could not expect to rise beyond Rs. 65 after a service of even twenty-two years. No doubt the revised scale of pay was announced last year, but the maximum under that even at the retiring age, if one has life in him, came to no more than the grand figure of Rs. 3 per diem or Rs. 90 per mensem. He twitted the Central Board of Revenue which was an increasingly revenue-earning department not to treat those who brought the revenue by paying mere starvation wages. The clerks in Madras were ill-clad and hunger-stricken as it were and they could not expect to make both ends meet with their miserable pittance.

The appeals for sympathy and support which Mr. Chari raised on behalf of the literate labourers found support only in Mr. Syed Mahomed Padsha. But Mr. J. E. C. Jukes, the new Finance Secretary put up a determined fight against the resolution which he characterised was mischievous in its effects, for according to him, the scale granted last year represented a considerable advance over any that existed before, and it was "unjust to the poor taxpayer" to raise the level of pay further, because, forsooth the cost of living in Madras is not so high as in Bombay or Calcutta. The Government's policy, he affirmed, was to pay the same scale as was granted to similar class of labourers by the local Government and if this principle was violated there would be introduced a vicious circle of competition between the Central Government and local Goverument. Mr. Chari was inclined to regard the Madras Government's scales of pay to their own staffs as famine rations. Mr. Jukes angrily resisted this view and averred that if Mr. Chari wanted to accuse the Madras Government of sweating their local labourer, then that accusation should have been made in the Madras Council and not in the Council of State. After further discussion the resolution was lost.

Enquiry into Co-operation Movement.

The other resolution was moved by Sir Ibrahim Jaffar for an expert enquiry into the working of the co-operation movement. The idea was in itself a happy one, but the weakness of it lay in the fact that the subject is to be examined, partially though, by the Royal Commission on Agriculture. Sir Ibrahim's main plea, however, was that expert enquiry might go into the question of establishing a central co-operative bank, practicability of co-operative farming and encouragement of old handicrafts. Even Sir Umar Hayat Khan and Syed Raza Ali lent their support to the idea underlying the motion. But Sir Mahomed Habibullah met the mover in a skilful manner and quoted the figures relating to the progress of the co-operative movement during the last five years. By offering the bait of a promise to circulate to Local Governments copies of the debate, he managed to induce Sir Ibrahim to withdraw his resolution.

Official Bills—The Evidence Act.

On the 19TH AUGUST seven official bills were introduced. Four of the Bills introduced, all by the Hon'ble Mr. Das, were intended to give effect to certain recommendations of the Civil Justice Committee. Mr. Das, in introducing the Bill to amend the Evidence Act 1872 pointed out that Section 68 provides that if a document is

required by law to be attested, it should not be used as evidence until one attesting witness has been called for the purpose of proving its execution if there be an attesting witness alive and subject to process of the Court and capable of giving evidence The Civil Justice Committee recommended an amendment so as to empower courts in the case of non-testamentary registered instruments to dispense with the requirement of that Section unless execution or attestation is expressly denied and to provide that, in the case of suits execution or attestation should not be deemed to be expressly denied, unless it is specially denied in the pleadings and an issue has been framed thereon. Local Governments and High Courts were consulted on the recommendations and opinion generally is in favour of it.

Administrators-General Act.

Mr. S. R. Das, in introducing the Bill amending the Administrators-General Act of of 1913, said that Sections 31 and 32 of the Act 1913 authorise the Administrator-General in certain circumstances to grant a certificate to a claimant to the assets of a deceased person entitling him to receive them to a value not exceeding on the whole Rs. 1,000. The Civil Justice Committee recommended that this limit should be raised to Rs 3,000. Local Governments were consulted and the Committee's recommendation has met with almost unanimous acceptance In principle, the Bill gives effect to that recommendation except that the limit is raised to Rs. 1,000 instead of Rs 3,000. Reasons for preferring a lower limit of Rs. 2,000 are firstly, that there will be less loss of revenue to the State on account of Court fees for letters of administration and secondly that the grant of letters of administration is accompanied by a number of safeguards which do not attach to the grant of certificates by the Administrator-General. The pecuniary limit prescribed in Section 9 of the Act which requires the Administrator General in certain circumstances to take proceedings for obtaining letters of administration of the estate of a person other than an exempted person when the assets exceed the value of Rs. 1,000 has been similarly raised to Rs. 2,000 The alteration in Section 37 is consequential.

Companies' Act.

Mr. Corbett introduced a Bill amending the Companies Act of 1923 and 1913 the object of which is to enable associations formed for religious purposes to be registered under Section 26.

Sind Courts Act.

Mr Crerar introduced a Bill to supplement the Sind Courts Act 1926. This was a formal Bill necessitated by passing the Act and gave effect to the amendment or repealed the demand to have been made by Section 49 of the Act.

Cantonment Act.

H E the Commander-in-Chief, in introducing the Bill amending the Cantonment Act of 1924, said this was, firstly, intended to transfer authority under Sections 47 and 48 to the Governor-General-in-Council, from officer Commanding in Chief of the Command. Secondly, it provided for exemption of any person or class of persons from Cantonment taxes. Thirdly, it makes provision for furthering educational object outside a Cantonment. Fourthly, it empowers the Government to make remission or refund of taxes on buildings in Hill Cantonments.

Limitation Act.

Mr. S. R. Das in introducing the Bill amending the Limitation Act of 1908, said that this was also in accordance with the recommendation of the Civil Justice Committee so as to make payment of interest in Section 20 subject to the conditions that the fact of payment should appear in the handwriting of the person making it Secondly, that limited owners under the Hindu Law and Karta or Manager of a joint Hindu family should be enabled to make acknowledgments under Sections 19 and 20. Thirdly, the amendment is intended to make it clear that a suit to recover the value of paddy and such like produce charged on immovable property comes within article 32, and lastly that article 166 applies to petition by a judgment debtor under Section 47 of the Civil Procedure Code.

Mr. Das finally introduced the Bill providing that partitions and separations of interest among members of Hindu undivided families and other transactions among persons governed by the Hindu Law shall, in certain cases, be effected by written and registered instruments. The Council then adjourned.

Government Press Employees.

The Swarajists attended in large numbers on the 23RD AUGUST when the Council of State re-assembled after three days' interval.

After questions, Mr. Lokenath Mukherji (Swarajist) moved for an early abolition of the piece-wo k system in the Government of India presses or for a committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into the grievances of press employees and suggest remedies, The mover gave an outline of the disabilities of peace-workers by pointing out that they had to work long hours. Consequently, their health broke down frequently and they were liable to fine and similar punishment in cases of absence. The system was expensive and complex and under it, one set of workers profitted and prospered at the expense of another. Moreover, the older man grew the less was his income, whereas it ought to be the other way about. If any reduction in establishment was effected, the class of persons affected was the piece-workers. Concluding, Mr. Mukherji complained that the recommendations of the Piece-workers' Committee had not been fully given effect to. For example the provident fund system had not been introduced

Mr. Ley (Industries and Labour Secretary), on behalf of the Government, pointed out that all the recommendations of the Committee had been given effect to with the exception of the provident fund, but the provident fund question for piece-workers was merged in the general question of provident fund for Government employees and the framing of rules which was an elaborate process and took time. But when the rules were ready, they would be given retrospective effect The piece-workers' system had done well, for under it the worker got the full benefit of his labour and the employer the full benefit of his money. The maximum salary paid under this system was over Rs. 190 The position of piece-workers had improved considerably after 1921 If the system was abolished, then the Government had to increase the ordinary establishment enormously The Committee appointed in Bengal recently on piece-work system had endorsed the conclusions of the Government of India Committee It would, of course, not be correct to say that piece-workers had no grievance but the managers of presses under whom they directly worked knew their particular grievances and could always be expected to consider them sympathetically.

After further discussion, the resolution was lost by 18 against 28 votes.

Enquiry into Indian Banking.

The Council then resumed discussion on the resolution of Sir Ibrahim Jaffer for an enquiry into the question of the desirability of legislating with a view to place Indian banking on a sound footing. It will be remembered that this motion was first discussed in the Delhi session on the 10th March.

Sir Phiroze Sethna (Bombay), in supporting the motion, said that in Canada they regarded investments in banks and insurance companies as requiring protection by law. It was necessary that an Indian banking system should progress on right lines with the help of right legislation. No doubt, India had its own banking system for centuries, but with the growth of Western education and with commercial advancement along with other nations of the world, it was necessary that they should improve the system and the Government of India should do all they could to further the cause of banking in this country. It was true that the Imperial Bank had increased the number of branches, but there was much to be done. As it was possible that the doors of a perfectly strong and sound banking institution might be closed by malicious reports of interested persons, it was necessary to legislate against the actions of such persons But the Bombay Government had opined that the existing legislation will enable a bank to proceed against any person who made such malicious reports and it was drastic to proceed against undesirable shareholders and that the banks had the remedy in their own hands. The Bombay Government did not also think that vexatious proceedings in civil suits were to be legislated against and that there could be legislation in regard to criminal suits only, provided the person who brought the proceedings had obtained permission from a High Court or District Court. The Government of India, in reviewing the Bombay Government's view, had expressed fear that if legislation was passed to protect banks, then there would be any number of small institutions which were not banks in the full sense of the term which would claim the benefit of legislation. Mr. Macwatters, speaking in March last, pointed out that the External Capital Committee, the Currency Commission and the Taxation Committee were engaged in the question and that the problem was one of co-ordination of improving the law relating to Negotiable Instruments, of starting banking institutions and reduction of stamp duties on cheques If any of these points had not been disposed of, then the Government of India should take up the matter for enquiry.

Sir Ibrahim Jaffer said that he had a discussion with Mr. Jukes regarding this resolution. It appeared that the reports of the Taxation Committee, the External Capital Committee, and the Currency Committee were still under consideration. It was no use, therefore, postponing the discussion of the motion. Mr. Jukes was willing to accept the

motion on condition that, if the enquiries now in progress and about to be undertaken did not provide sufficient material for a decision as to the desirability of banking legislation, then the Government would be prepared to institute further enquiries. In any case, if the result of the enquiries made was to indicate the need for legislation, the Government would certainly take legislation in hand. He had accepted the conditions mentioned above. He, therefore, begged the Council to pass the resolution unanimously.

Mr. Jukes said the Government was prepared to accept the resolution on the conditions stated. The resolution was carried. The House then adjourned.

Personnel of League Delegation.

The Council of State re-assembled on the 24TH AUGUST when official bills introduced a few days ago were taken into consideration and passed. At the outset, Mr. S. R. Das announced the complete personnel of India's delegation to the League of Nations, namely, Sir William Vincent, Maharaja of Kapurthala and Sheikh Sir Abdul Qadir as delegates and the following as substitute delegates: Sir Edward Chamier, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and Sir B. K. Mullick.

The Evidence Act.

The Bills were then considered one by one. On the motion of Mr. S. R. Das, the Bill amending the Evidence Act 1872, was passed, the Law Member agreeing to bring before the Assembly a small amendment.

Administrator-General's Act.

There was a good deal of discussion on the next Bill which was to amend the Administrator-General's Act 1913. Under this Bill, the Government proposed to extend from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 the limit of value of assets of a deceased person which would entitle a grant of certificate to a claimant.

Sir Manekji Dadabhai drew the attention of the Council to the fact that the Civil Justice Committee had recommended the limit to be put at Rs. 3,000. He had shrewd suspicion that some local Governments were in favour of this figure whereas the Government of India had limited it to Rs. 2,000 chiefly on the ground of revenue. Sir Manekji who moved that the limit be put at Rs. 3,000 stressed it in the interests of a large class of people who could not afford the expense of litigation.

Syed Raza Ali asked whether the High Courts were consulted and what the preponderating view of the Judges was. Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir Arthur Froom, Rai Ramsaran Das and Sir Umar Hayat Khan supported the observations of Sir Manekji Dadabhai.

Mr. S. R. Das pointed out that the question of revenue was no doubt of some importance but the main reason which prompted the Government of India to fix the limit at Rs. 2,000 was on the question of safeguards. Moreover, there was opposition on the part of some authorities to the extension of the limit to Rs. 3,000 although he (the Law Member) admitted that local Governments and High Court Judges favoured more the Rs. 3,000 limit than the Rs 2,000 limit.

The amendment of Sir Manekji Dadabhai was lost by 12 against 22. The Bill was then passed without any alteration.

Sind Courts Act and Companies Act.

On the motion of Mr. Carzett, the Bill amending the Companies Act 1913 and on the motion of Mr. Crerar, the Bill supplementing the Sind Courts Act 1926 were passed, the latter with consequential amendments.

The Cantonments Act.

The Commander-in-Chief then moved for the consideration of the Bill amending the Cantonments Act 1924. Sir Ibrahim Jaffer, in supporting the motion, suggested that it would be better to examine the whole of Cantonment legislation instead of this kind of piecemeal improvements every year. Sardar Jaidev Singh considered the provisions of the Bill praiseworthy. After a short discussion, the Bill was passed.

Other Bills.

The Council then passed the Bill to amend the Limitation Act 1908. Lastly, on the motion of Mr. Das the Council agreed to the Government eliciting public opinion on the Bill which provides that partitions and separation of interest among members of Hindu undivided families and other transactions among persons governed by Hindu law should, in certain cases, be effected by written and registered instruments.

Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu, while agreeing to circulate the Bill, entered his emphatic protest against both the principle and details of the measure. He described that the Bill was a retrogade one and attempted to take away the good work done by judicial tribunals during the last quarter of the century regarding partition in Hindu undivided families Sardar Jaidev Singh, Rai Ramsaran Das and Mr. Chari spoke generally supporting Mr. Ramadas Pantulu's views. Sir Manekji Dadabhai did not consider that the Bill in any way meant any invasion on the principles of Hindu law as enunciated by eminent judges of the High Courts. He could not see how compulsory registration in the case of a partition deed would cause inconvenience The advantages to administration of civil justice and security to parties concerned far outweighed the expenses that would be incurred in connection with registration. The benefit, far from being of a doubtful character, would be absolutely real. Mr. S. R. Das pointed out that the motion for circulation was aimed definitely at eliciting all opinions with a view to see that no hardship should be felt by the class of persons concerned. The Council then adjurned.

Taxation Committee Report.

The Government resolution for consideration of the Taxation Committee's report came up in the Council of State on the next day, the 25TH AUGUST.

Mr. J.E. C. Jukes in a speech lasting half an hour traversed the grounds covered by Sir Basil in the Assembly. He said that the terms of his resolution were non-committal, but there was already a member of the House who evidently suffered from intellectual indigestion and wanted to follow the example set by the other House in declining the invitation of the Government to the banquet It would be interesting to see whether Dr. Rama Rao who had tabled the adjournment motion would follow his consistency sufficiently far and refuse to join in the general budget discussion next spring.

Dr. Rama Rao moved that the discussion on the report of the Committee be adjourned till the next session of the Council. He said that it would be improper, unwise and premature for this House to make any suggestions unless the Government came forward with definite proposals. Any discussion without Government proposals before the Council would be merely academic. Moreover this Council had no power or responsibility under the statute to initiate any proposals for taxation.

Mr. Chari agreed with Mr. Rama Rao and contended that no country should be obliged to tax itself unless it was able to govern itself. He objected to the Government putting the burden of responsibilities for initiating proposals on the non-official members.

Sir Sankaran Nair, in opposing the adjournment, argued that because the Council had no statutory power to initiate proposals for taxation there was all the greater reason why the Council should make constructive suggestions and advise the Government not to take wrong decisions in respect of any objectionable proposals of the Committee. Some of the recommendations vitally affected certain classes of people and the Council was given an excellent opportunity of discussing them. There were many suggestions for relief to some people and there were statements made in the report, all of which run counter to the popular view. These must be knocked on their head. If the Council did not discuss the report, the Government would proceed with the recommendations at the wrong end.

Sir Manekji Dadabhoy remarked that if the Government brought forward any definite proposals there would be complete dislocation of the market consequent on speculation. Mr. Jukes had said that it was not the intention of the Government to bring any additional taxation. On the other hand, he had indicated that the tendency was rather towards reduction than increased taxation. If the Council wanted mere adjournment of discussion till the next session then he would not oppose it.

The adjournment motion was pressed to a division and carried by 24 against 9 votes, the Government members and officials remaining neutral. The House then adjourned.

Official Bills.

The Council of State met again on the 28TH AUGUST when three official bills passed by the Assembly were taken into consideration and passed without alteration. First of all Mr. Crerar in moving the consideration of the Usurious Loans Act Amendment Bill pointed out that it enabled the debtor to initiate litigation as under the English Act and extended the period of limitation from six to twelve years. This Bill had received a substantial measure of support from local Governments. The Bill was considered clause by clause and passed.

On the motion of Mr. Ley, the Bill amending the Workmen's Compensation Act 1923 was passed. This Bill enables the Government to give effect to provisions in respect of anthrax of the draft convention concerning workmen's compensation for occupational

diseases. Lastly, the Council passed the Bill amending the Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881, and Civil Procedure Code 1908 so as to enable a plaintiff to get interest at six per cent in cases where the rate of interest is not specified on the instrument itself. The House then adjourned.

The Bar Councils Bill.

The last Sitting of the Council was on the 31ST AUGUST when the Bar Councils Bill as amended by the Assembly was taken into consideration.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy led the opposition to a measure which he considered was revolutionary in character. The Bill made drastic changes in the traditional constitution of the Indian Bar. It was an irony of fate that one of the most distinguished members of the Calcutta Bar should, by virtue of his office, be used as an unwilling instrument to move a Bill of this character.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy was desirous that the legal profession in India should follow the high traditions of the English Bar and should not be led away by sentimentality. The Government of India, in a moment of weakness or in a moment of enthusiasm in 1921, yielded to pressure exerted by the Vakil hierarchy in the Assembly. The Government did not consult the Council of State on the recommendations of the Bar Committee before proceeding with legislation. The present tradition of the Vakil's profession in India was due to the Vakils' association and contact with members of the English Bar. The Bar Council which would be constituted under this Bill would in course of time have a preponderance of vakils who would be guided by political, communal and professional jealousies in the conduct of their profession

It was monstrous to place the members of the English Bar below the rank of Vakils who were men of inferior knowledge and education.

He was sure that English barristers would hesitate to come to India under conditions of indignity and inferiority. So far as Government was concerned the Bill was " fait accompli " To oppose the motion resembled " crying in the wilderness," but he could not refrain from uttering the warning that the Bill would give trouble to the Government. It would create bitterness, and in about 20 years the Bar in India would be reduced to a collection of mukteals.

Mr. P. C. Desikachari contested the arguments of Sir Maneckjee. It was too late in the day to question the capacity of Indian vakils, most of whom were equal to, if not better than, their English colleagues. The introduction of Bar Councils would be a happy augury in the constitution and development of the Bar in India.

Sir Pheroze Sethna, in supporting the Bill, said it was the first step towards not only the creation of a United Indian Bar, but the beginning of the establishment of a Supreme Court. If there was merit in a man, whether English or Indian, the legal fraternity in India was always prepared to recognise it He characterised the Bill as a great advance of which they must be proud. The Bill contemplated nothing more than the levelling of vakils who were, as a class, as able as the barrister class from England

Syed Raza Ali asked Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy to understand the injustice of the present system, under which the ablest vakils were treated iniquitously, while persons who failed to pass the Indian Matriculation Examination and yet who passed the easy Bar examination in England returned to India to be treated better than the vakils. There was no reason why men of high qualifications should be subjected to disabilities simply because they did not go to England for training. The Bill did nothing more than level up the vakils and contained ample provisions to safeguard interests of barristers. It was always open to the Government of India to make amendments to the Act.

The motion for consideration of the Bill was passed. The Bill was then considered clause by clause. Mr. Kumar Shanker Ray Choudhri moved in respect of clause 9 relating to qualifications and admission of advocates that no person should be disqualified for admission as an advocate into any High Court merely on the ground of his not being domiciled within the jurisdiction of that High Court. The amendment supported by Mr. Chari was negatived by 11 to 29 votes.

Mr. S. R. Das moved in respect of clause 14 the addition of a sub clause that nothing in this section (relating to rights of advocates to practise) should be deemed to limit or in any way to affect the power of the High Courts of Calcutta and Bombay to make rules determining the persons who should be entitled respectively to plead and to act in the High Court in exercise of its original jurisdiction. The amendment was in accordanc with the recommendation of the Bar Committee that the dual system, as existing at present, should not in any way be effected. The amendment which was opposed by Mr. Kumar Shankar Roy was carried. The Bill, as thus amended, was passed unanimously.

Bill to Consolidate Forest Laws.

Syed Raza Ali then moved for leave to introduce a Bill to consolidate the law relating to forests, the transit of forest produce, and the duty leviable on timber and other forest produce. He said the general law relating to forests in British India is contained in the Indian Forest Act of 1878 and its amending Acts. The present Bill brought the law together within the scope of one enactment. The Bill was introduced.

On the motion of Mr. S. R. Dass the Bill to amend the Provincial Insolvency Act of 1920 was taken into consideration and passed without discussion.

C. P. C. Amendment Passed.

Consideration of the Bill to amend the Criminal Procedure Code of 1898 as passed by the Assembly was next moved by Mr. Crerar, Home Secretary.

Sir Pheroze Sethna, while supporting the measure, contended that its life must be limited on the statute book to two years.

Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy gave his whole-hearted support to the Bill. He submitted that a Bill which gave Government powers which would have prompt and deterrent effects should be on the statute book, not for two years as was suggested by some but permanently.

Mr. A. M. Stow, Chief Commissioner, Delhi, in supporting the measure spoke with some practical experience in Delhi of how communal bitterness was aroused.

The motion for consideration was passed without opposition.

Mr. Ramdas Pantulu moved that operation of the Bill be limited to two years. The amendment was lost by 8 against 30 votes. The Bill was passed without a division.

Indian Succession Act.

On the motion of the Law Member the Council then passed the Bill amending the Indian Succession Act 1925 as passed by the Assembly. Sir Arthur Froom moved for the acceptance of amendments made by the Assembly in the Bill to amend provisions of Section 33 of the Indian Succession Act 1925. The Council agreed.

This disposed of the business before the House and the Council was then adjourned *sine die.*

The Bengal Legislative Council

CALCUTTA—17TH & 18TH MAY 1926.

The Security Bill.

With the sole object of throwing out the Security Bill which was introduced on the 17TH MAY at an emergent session of the Bengal Legislative Council, the Swarajist members came to the Council, for the first time, after they had left it during the budget discussion in march last. The Swarajists solidly voted against it, but they were defeated, 61 voting for and 46 against the motion. The Swarajists and some of their Nationalist friends left the hall, after which the clauses of the Bill were considered.

Lord Lytton's Opening Address.

H. E. Lord Lytton, addressing the Council on the necessity of the Bill reminded the members of the criticisms which had been brought against the Govt. Because a majority of the Police were Hindus, some Mahomedan critics had felt justified in making a general accusation against them of partiality, and of even aiding and abetting their co-religionists in looting Mahomedan property. Then, Government were blamed for not having foreseen the recrudescence of rioting, which started with a drunken quarrel on the 22nd April. Taking the two periods together, they had been told that they had shown indifference and incompetence, that they had not used the powers they already possessed to get rid of bad characters, and that to cover up their own sins of omission, they were now asking for new and wholly unnecessary powers when it was too late for them to be of any use in the present emergency but which might be put to improper use in future in connection with political agitation or trade disputes.

There had been evidence, all over India, continued His Excellency, of growing tension between the two communities; but there had been no previous indication that Calcutta was likely to be the battle-ground. There was absolutely no justification, either in the first or second phase of the riots for any greater demonstration of military force. Indiscriminate shooting of innocent people, because of the lawless acts of a few, would have been a crime.

After thanking the Police and the Military for the part they had played in the suppression of the riots, His Excellency proceeded to meet the charges brought against the Hindu Police in the first riots. He had only this to say. Every well-supported accusation would be fully investigated. Four constables had been dismissed from the force for having taken part in the looting of Mahomedan property. There would be no screening of individuals who were proved to have failed in their duty, although His Excellency did not admit that the discipline of the whole force was found wanting in the present riots. But he could not too strongly deprecate the general and unsupported charges which had been made and which only tended to accentuate communal bitterness. If the Hindu Police Officers were to be mistrusted by Mahomedans,

and the Mahomedan Officers were to be mistrusted by the Hindus, the only conclusion they should be forced to was, that the Indian Police could not be employed to keep order in India, a conclusion which he absolutely refused to accept.

Regarding the second riots, His Excellency said there was no justification for declaration of martial law, or for the use of military force to deal with the disturbance. An ugly feature of those riots was the series of brutal and cowardly murders of individuals and no amount of military force could have prevented these. These murders were rendered possible by the existence in the city of a class of hooligans belonging to both the communities, to whom violent crime was not abhorrent. To the Goonda element which the Police were engaged in clearing out, a new element had recently been added, arising out of the growing tension between the Hindu and Muslim communities and accentuated by the panic created by the first riots. Both sides had imported men from upcountry, both for their individual protection and for the strengthening of their communal forces. That had been the chief cause of the recent riots, and that still constituted the chief menace to the peace of Calcutta. The problem, therefore, before them, was how they might most effectively rid Calcutta of this dangerous element, imported from upcountry, and arm the regular Police force of the city with sufficient powers to protect the lives and property of the defenceless citizens. The demand that the citizens should be allowed to arm themselves and become responsible for their own defence led straight to the conditions of the jungle; and the issue before them, therefore, was between the rule of law, by which civilised communities were governed, or the rule of claw by which the beasts preserved their lives. The charge was that they had already powers to deal with these imported hooligans, that they had not used them, and that if they need them vigorously there would be no need for the summary powers they were asking for. The charge was based on ignorance both of the problem and of the existing law. The problem was not merely a Goonda problem, and it could not be solved by the application of the Goonda Act alone. If this Bill was passed, it would be possible for the Government to deal with this new danger, and thereby lessen the chances of a fresh outbreak.

The powers of the Bill were limited to a state of emergency. A large number of those persons against whom the Bill was directed, had already been arrested and induced to leave Calcutta. If the Bill was not passed, there would be nothing to prevent a return of those bad characters. Those now in custody would soon be released. In addition to those who had left, there still remained in Calcutta a large number of men who could not be dealt with effectively under the Goonda Act, and who would constitute a very real danger in the event of any further recrudescence of disturbances. Such was the case for the Bill, which the Council had been summoned to consider.

In assuring the House, that the term of these powers had been limited to three months in emergency, His Excellency said that, although the powers would be exercised by the Commissioner of Police, they could not be so exercised whenever he pleased, but only with the authority of, and subject to the control of, the Government. It was a mistake, therefore, to describe these, as powers given to the Police. They were, in fact, powers given to the Local Government. There was a complete safeguard that the powers of the Bill should only be used in emergencies. The decision, as to whether or not a state of emergency existed, was, of necessity, left to the Executive,

since it was essentially an executive responsibility. His Excellency continued :—"Lest any one should be afraid that these powers would be abused, I would point out that, in Bombay, the Police are empowered, by the City of Bombay Police Act of 1902, to remove at any time, persons whose presence is thought likely to cause danger or alarm." This, he added, was a far more general power than was now being asked for in Calcutta, and it had been in force for 24 years without any suggestion of its having been abused". His Excellency concluded .— "I now leave that issue in your hands, in the confident expectation that you will give it the careful attention which the importance of the subject deserves, and that your decision will reflect the calm judgment of responsible citizens."

After Sir Hugh Stephenson moved for consideration of the Bill (THE PRESIDENCY AREA EMERGENCY SECURITY ACT, 1926) an objection was taken on the ground that, under Standing Order 51, the Bill ought to be published seven days prior to its consideration. But the President ruled the objection out of order.

Mr. M. N. Roy, Swarajist, said the Bill seemed to them so monstrous that they could not remain outside the Council. According to them, the Bill had been brought as a justification for the inaction of the Government during the early stages of the riots. The existing powers of the Government, had they been exercised in time, would have been adequate enough to deal with the hooligans. Moreover, there was no safeguard against misuse of the measure. The legislation had created panic and apprehension that any person who would incur the displeasure of the police would be liable to suffer.

Mr. Villiers, in supporting the motion, said that in a measure of public safety too many safeguards should not be introduced as to make it useless.

Mr. Khaitan held that the Mahomedans were responsible for riots.

Mr. Kader Bux opposed the motion because he thought Mahomedans would be first to fall victims to the Act.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta said if the Government had used the powers they had got under the ordinary laws, the riots would not have been prolonged. The real purpose of the Bill was to cover up the charges that had been made against the Executive and the Police, namely, that they had failed to do their duty.

Mr. Ghuznavi supported the motion, and said that Mahomedans suffered very much at the hands of up-country Goondas brought down by a certain section of the Hindus.

After the motion was carried, the Bill was discussed clause by clause, and a number of amendments were thrown out. The House then adjourned to meet again on the next day, the 18TH MAY, when Sir Hugh Stephenson, member in charge, accepted some safeguards to the Bill, and he himself moved some of them.

The new clauses accepted on this day give an opportunity to the person against whom an order under the Act is proposed to be made, to show cause against that order. The authorities making an order under the Act are required to forward, in writing, to the Local Government, their reasons for making the same. Another amendment, which was accepted by the Government gives an option to the person against whom an order is made, to petition the Local Government to revoke or modify the order, and the Local Government is to consider such facts as might be placed before it, and is empowered to modify or annul the order.

An attempt was made to have orders issued under the Act to be revised by High Court Judges ; but the proposal was not accepted by Sir Hugh Stephenson, who was of opinion that in a case like this, the Executive Government would be in a far better position to come to a true decision about the circumstances than the Judiciary.

The Howrah Bridge Bill and the Bengal Tenancy Bill of 1926 were allowed to lie over till the next session of the Council.

The Council was prorogued.

The July Session.

CALCUTTA—6TH TO 13TH JULY 1926.

The next Session of the Council commenced on the 6TH JULY in a true moonsoonish weather. The Swarajist and Nationalist members excepting 5 Muhammadan Swarajists were conspicuous by their absence. The business of the day consisted of the introduction of seven non-official bills, all of which, except one, were rejected at the time of reference to Select Commitees. The Council then adjourned.

Enquiry into Police Administration.

The next meeting was on the 8TH JULY when two resolutions were discussed and both of them elicited a heated debate and display of communal feeling. The first resolution urged an enquiry into the Calcutta Police administration and the second urged for the appointment of more Mahomedans in the Government service. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy who moved the first resolution, said that they lived in Calcutta entirely at the mercy of the Goondas. There was great disparity between the Hindu and Mahomedan police officers. The number of Hindus in Calcutta Police far exceeded that of the Mahomedans. It was well-known that, during the second communal riot in Calcutta, casualties among the Mahomedans were far greater than casualties among the Hindus. Further, more Mahomedan shops were looted than Hindu shops, and the number of the Mahomedans, sent up for trial, far exceeded that of the Hindus. He also pointed out that severer sentences were passed on the Mahomedans than on the Hindus charged with the same offence. The President called him to order, as the police had nothing to do with it.

Mr. P. N. Guha characterised Mr. Suhrawardy's speech as nothing but a hymn of hate against the Hindu police officers. The object of the enquiry was to decrease the number of the Hindu officers in the Calcutta Police and increase the number of the Mahomedan officers in proportion.

Sir Abdur Rahim, supporting the motion, said that, though he was not making any insinuation against any police officer, he observed that there was something in the organisation, something in the administration and something in the working of the Calcutta Police, that did not appeal to the Calcutta public. The recent communal riots had shown that there should be considerable reorganisation of the Calcutta Police. The police were powerless to protect those who needed protection. Rich Marwaris imported up-country Durwans to look after their lives and properties. In conclusion, he said that there was an organisation and brains behind these communal riots which had a very serious political significance.

Mr. Debi Prasad Khaitan said that Sir Abdur Rahim had the fullest knowledge of the organisation behind the riots and, as regards the brains working behind these organisations, the Kushtia and Pabna incidents were still fresh in their minds. As regards Marwaris employing Durwans, he said that they were employed for making collections.

Mr. Ghuznavi said that Hindu constables had a hand in looting Mahomedan shops. The constables came from the same class as the Goondas.

Mr. Birley, replying, opposed the motion. He said it was true that a large number of Mahomedans were sent up for murder and that was because in one case, 37 persons were sent up. On the other hand, on the charge of hurt, the number of Hindus exceeded that of the Mahomedans. 100 Hindu shops and 118 Mahomedan shops were looted and 97 Hindus and 106 Mahomedans were sent up for trial. Without admitting the charges against the Hindu police officers, Mr. Birley recognised that, if there was a large number of Mahomedans in the Calcutta Police, both in the superior grades and among the constables, the Mahomedan community, in times like these, would have greater confidence in the Calcutta Police. That was an aspect of the question which the Government could not ignore. On the subject of enquiry, he said that it was undesirable in the present state of communal feeling to hold any enquiry, as it would only lead to the increase of communal bitterness.

The resolution was put and negatived.

The second resolution urged that immediate steps be taken to give at least 50 per cent of the Government posts to the Mahomedans. After an hour's discussion, the resolution was withdrawn. The House then adjourned.

Establishment of Union Boards.

On the 9TH JULY there was some discussion when a resolution, urging the postponement of the establishment of union boards under the Village Self-Government Act was moved. The Hon'ble Mr. Birley, in opposing the motion, referred to the activities of the Congress candidates in the election of the union boards in the Midnapore District. It was given out by the Congress candidates that four annas subscription to the Congress would exempt people from all future taxation.

The Maharaja of Nadia said that when the Non-Co-operation movement gathered force, the union boards became a target for the attacks of agitators. As regards Congress opposition, the Maharaja said that it was surely a paradoxical situation that the so-called popular movement was directed against increased powers of self-government. The resolution was rejected.

Another resolution urging the prohibition of the slaughter of calves and prime cows was rejected.

The Council adopted a resolution urging the appointment of a non-official Committee to prepare a Bill for affording Government assistance to industries in Bengal. The House then adjourned.

The Howrah Bridge Bill.

On the 12TH JULY the Swarajists attended the Council for the first time since their walk-out.

The Hon. Mr. Donald presented the report of the Select Committee on the Howrah Bridge Bill after which the Bill was taken up for consideration clause by clause. Mr. Donald began by remarking that this bill was introduced in Council so long ago as August 1924, and it would be desirable to refresh the memory of this Council with the question of the replacement of a bridge

which had been in existence for over 50 years. The present Howrah Bridge was finished towards the end of 1874 and was opened in 1875. It had carried on very well till about 1909, when the question of a new bridge came up for consideration. From 1909 down to the present day, the question of the Howrah Bridge had become a hardy annual. The port Commissioners who were the authorities in charge of the present bridge, had managed to maintain it, up to the present time, as a good connection between Calcutta and Howrah. The proposals in the Bill, now before them, were based on the recommendations of two committees, one in 1921 presided by Sir Rajendranath Mukerjee. That committee sat to determine the type of bridge. The other committee was appointed to determine whether Bengal was able to afford a bridge. It would be within the recollection of the members of this House that the Engineers' Committee recommended a cantilever bridge. They thought that a floating bridge was the second best and they rejected a pier bridge. As there had been much discussion on this question of a pier bridge, a suggestion was made that they might experiment with piers in the river, because the objection to a pier bridge was that there was grave danger. The Port Commissioners and the engineers strongly objected to putting piers in the river, because, in the first place, such an experiment would take at least seven or eight years and the present bridge would be in the river long before that. Then the tides and the whole flow of the river would be affected miles away, as well as the docks and mills. Next, if by laying the piers any danger was caused, or any sign of danger being caused is shown, they would have to take those piers out at once. It was rather difficult matter to take out big piers in the river and it would very considerably interfere with the working of the port. The Select Committee, therefore, came to the conclusion that any attempt to experiment with piers involved too great a risk. The Finance Committee considered the cost of the bridge. The Select Committee came to the conclusion that the estimated amount was far too much for Calcutta to spend on a cantilever bridge and they decided on a bridge of the cheapest type possible. They were, therefore, back again on what was called a floating bridge. At any rate it must afford more convenience as a bridge and must be twice the width of the present bridge. For the maintenance and upkeep of a bridge of this sort, they must provide 15 lakhs a year. As soon as the Bill was passed tenders would be called for. Several repairs were being done to the present bridge which would carry matters on to the time when a new bridge could be constructed. Therefore it was imperative that they should get through this Bill on Monday or Tuesday in order to get on with this work. There was no question of rushing this Bill. On the other hand the progress was very leisurely, as the Bill was introduced two years ago.

The motion was carried.

Calcutta Riots.

The Calcutta riots of April and may last again loomed large at question time in the Council on this day, the spokesmen of the two communities being Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Deputy Mayor of the Calcuttta Corporation, and Mr. Deviprased Khaitan. Mr. Suhrawardy put a number of questions asking for full information regarding the personnel of the City Police classified communally, as also the number of injured, wounded and killed among his co-religionists.

Mr. Deviprasad's interpellations elicited exhaustive replies on communal lines as to the number of applications put in by members of the different communities for licences for possessing firearms. One of his questions suggested that the attendance at the premier Hindu School in Calcutta had fallen down owing to the sense of insecurity on account of the school being situated in a dangerous locality. He was assured by the Hon'ble member in charge that lives of boys and property of the school were secure and the police were able to afford the necessary protection.

Mr. Suhrawardy's questions elicited the information that the total number of killed and wounded during the first and second phases of the riots was as follows :—

Killed : 50 Mahomedans, and 54 Hindus. Wounded : 451 Mahomedans and 499 Hindus. As the result of riots, 242 persons were treated in temporary Muslim hospitals and by Muslim doctors. One hundred and ten persons died in consequence of injuries received during the riots. The total number of persons admitted in the hospitals and discharged was 975, of whom 451 were Mahomedans and 499 were Hindus and Sikhs.

Levy of a Tax on Calcutta.

Then followed a heated discussion as regards a tax to be levied on Calcutta. The Select Committee suggested one and a quarter per cent on the valution of Calcutta holding. The mofussil members wanted to raise it.

By a narrow majority, the Council decided to raise it to one and a half. The discussion was not concluded when the Council adjourned.

Howrah Bridge Bill Passed.

On the 13TH JULY the Howrah Bridge Bill was passed by a majority of 18 votes, 59 voting for and 41 against.

The Calcutta Municipal Act Amendment Bill was then passed.

The Bengal Motor Vehicles Tax Bill was referred to a Select Committee. The Bill empowered local bodies to impose a moderate tax on the owners of motor vehicles in the mofussil to improve the roads maintained by the district boards and municipalities.

Calcutta Port Trust Amend. Bill.

The Hon'ble Mr. Donald introduced a bill to amend the Calcutta Port Act. The Bill was designed to increase the number of representatives on the Calcutta Port Commission. There will be four members of the Bengal National Chamber on the Port Commissioners' Board instead of one. The Agents of the East Indian, Bengal Nagpur and Eastern Bengal Railways, the Collector of Customs and the Port Officer would be ex-officio Commissioners.

The Council was then prolouged.

CALCUTTA—16TH TO 20TH AUGUST 1926.

Calcutta Port Trust Bill.

The last session of the Council commenced on the 16TH AUGUST. The Swarajists attended to oppose the passing of the Calcutta Port Trust Amendment Bill on the ground that the Indian representation on the Board of the Port Trust was inadequate. The Board of Trust, as given in the Bill, will consist of 19 membersof which 7 will be ex-officio and 12 elected. These elected members will be represented as follows :—Six by the Bengal

Chamber, one by the Calcutta Trades, three by the Bengal National Chamber, one by the Indian Chamber of Commerce and one by the Calcutta Corporation.

There was another amendment moved by Sir Abdur Rahim and supported by Mr. Ghuznavi which was described by the Swarajists during discussion as verging on communalism. The amendment urged that instead of four representatives by the Bengal National Chamber and the Indian Chamber of Commerce, these four will be represented by such body or bodies as the local Government shall, from time to time, select as best representing the interests of the Indian mercantile community. The object of the amendment, according to the mover, was to include Mahomedan interests in the constitution of the Port Trust. This amendment was supported by official members and carried inspite of opposition by the Swarajists and the Independents. There was a funny incident while the amendment was put to vote. The amendment urging an increase of total representation on the Board from 19 to 20 was declared carried by the President, when Mr. A. C. Bannerjee, Nationalist, taking the declaration to be otherwise, demanded a poll which resulted in a loss of the amendment by 13 votes. The Bill was then passed.

The Council also passed the Bengal Cruelty to Animals Bill without opposition. The Council then adjourned.

The Grand Canal Scheme.

On the 17TH AUGUST, sixteen supplementary demands for grants were discussed and all, except one in connection with the Grand Canal scheme, were carried. This was a demand for Rs. 25,000 in connection with the scheme, the cost of which was estimated at Rs. 2,79,23,122. Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerji, Nationalist, in moving that this demand be refused, protested against the manner in which the Grand Canal scheme was sought to be rushed through a dying Council. It was a demand for a very large sum, by sanctioning which the Council would commit itself to an expenditure of about 3 crores. It would prejudicially affect the sanitation of Bengal. It was intended for the benefit of steamer companies and was opposed by the Calcutta Corporation and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce. The same was opposed by all sections of non-official members. The amendment was carried and the original demand was refused. The remaining demands were granted without opposition, the most important of these being the Police demand.

Police Expenditure.

The Hon. Mr. Birley moved that a sum of Rs. 2,50,000 be granted for expenditure under the head Police. He said that the Bill was a large one but the expenditure was unavoidable and it was not unlikely that a further grant would be necessary before the close of the year, because full information was not yet available about the expenditure incurred, namely, in Pabna in connection with the hire of motor transport. As far as possible, much expenditure would be met by the reappropriation, but this sum, of course, represented a very small portion of the loss which had resulted from the succession of riots from which this city had suffered. Apart from the loss to the trade and the actual damage done during the riots, there had been an enormous loss in wages to those who had been thrown

out of employment for long periods, in very many cases through no fault of their own.

The motion was carried and the Council was adjourned.

Non-official Bills.

On the 18TH AUGUST four non-official Bills were discussed, two of which were rejected, one recommitted to the Select Committee and the other passed. Dr. Moreno's Bengal Pasture Bill to improve the condition of cattle by providing sufficient pasture land was recommitted to the Select Committee as the Bill had not been adequately considered. The Bengal Cattle Bill, also moved by Dr. Moreno, intended to stop deterioration of cattle was thrown out. The Village Self-Government Amendment Bill which intended to give more powers to Union Boards was also thrown out.

Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill.

Dr. A Suhrawardy, Deputy President, then introduced the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill. The object of the Bill was to separate Cossipore and Garden Reach Municipalities from Calcutta Corporation. In 1923, these two Municipalities were amalgamated with Calcutta and taxation there had been raised from 11½ to 19½ per cent. The people there were unable to pay so heavy a tax and wanted separation. The mover said that the people of Cossipore and Garden Reach were paying the taxes of Chowringhee, but enjoyed the advantages of Timbuctoo. Representatives of these areas, Hindus and Mahomendans, supported the Bill.

Mr. A. C. Banerji, Nationalist, opposing the Bill said that the Calcutta Corporation was not in favour of the separation and they had already expressed in favour of the extension of Calcutta. It could not be denied that Calcutta required expansion. There was more demand for houses than supply. The reason why the Bill was brought so hurriedly was that the general elections were coming and Cossipore and Garden Reach had votes.

Mr. S. C. Mukherji said that in this matter they must have a decided opinion of the Calcutta Corporation and the Mayor of Calcutta was not heard on it.

The Hon'ble the Maharaja of Nadia opposing the Bill referred to Mr. Mukherji's remarks when Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta. as a personal explanation, said he was there not as the Mayor of Calcutta but to represent his electors and to look to the interest of the people of the whole of Bengal.

Maharaja Nadia: "I am glad Mr. Sen Gupta has an astral existence somewhere else. We want to know what the Mayor of Calcutta has to say?

Mr. Sen Gupta: The Mayor of Calcutta cannot make any statement here. The Calcutta Corporation makes its own statement.

After some discussion the Bill was passed. The House then adjourned.

Non-Official Bills.

On the 19TH AUGUST, there were three non-official bills, two of which the Village Self-government Bill and the Calcutta Rent Bill were thrown out. The Bengal Local Self-government Bill was introduced but the motion for its consideration was negatived. The Council then discussed non-official resolutions.

Free and Compulsory Primary Education.

Of the 43 resolutions on the agenda, two were carried, three withdrawn and one was being moved when the Council adjourned for want of a quorum.

The first resolution urged for the inauguration of a system of free and compulsory primary education in Bengal. The Finance Member wanted to know the ways, and means to carry out the scheme which would cost about one crore of rupees at the start. The members agreed to the imposition of an education cess. The Finance Member, in accepting the motion in an amended form, said that the money to be raised by tax and provincial contribution would be placed under a special educational authority to be spent exclusively for this purpose. The Government also promised to publish its views and the scheme for public discussion. The resolution was carried.

Another resolution that was carried urged that the mouths of certain dead rivers and canals in the Rajshahi District be opened and joined with the river Padma for the purpose of improving the health of the villagers.

Enquiry into the Riots.

The third resolution which stood in the name of Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy urged for the appointment of a committee to make enquiry into the incidence and cause of riots in Calcutta and to suggest ways and means to prevent a recurrence of riots in future. Objection was taken to the moving of the resolution as Mr. Suhrawardy had not taken permission of 7 members forming the Committee. The objection was over-ruled as a majority of the members had agreed to serve on the Committee. Mr. Suhrawardy then formally moved the resolution and as he proceeded to read his speech, the House became thinner. All Hindu and non-official European members left the hall and even officials followed suit. It was then found that there was no quorum and the President adjourned the meeting for ten minutes. When the Council reassembled after ten minutes all benches were empty, only 15 Mahomedan and official members being present. The President adjourned the Council which met again on the next day, the 20 August, when it was prorogued by H. E. the Governor.

The Bombay Legislative Council

POONA—26TH JULY TO 6TH AUGUST 1926.

The last Session of the Bombay Legislative Council opened at Poona on the 26TH JULY 1926 in the afternoon. The Swarajists were conspicuous by their absence. The President announced that the Governor had given his assent to the following Acts passed during the previous session: The Bombay Port Trust Act, the Act to give wider powers to certain Municipalities, the Indian Stamp (Amendment) Act in its application to certain cities, the Court Fees Act, the Cattle Trespass Act, the Act for the Prevention of Gambling and the Civil Courts Act.

Chief Court for Sind.

Mr. J. E. B. Hotson, Home Member, moved the second reading of the Bill to establish a Chief Court in Sind. The Bill laid down that the Chief Judge and Judges must each be either a barrister of not less than 5 years' standing, or a member of the Indian Civil service of not less than 10 years' standing and having for at least three years served as, or exercised powers of, a District Judge.

Mr. H. B. Shivadasani moved an amendment that I.C.S. officers appointed to posts should have served as District Judge in Sind for three years.

The Home Member, opposing, pointed out the absurdity of such a proposition for a court in Karachi. Commercial experience was indispensable and that experience was better gained in Ahmedabad than in any other part of the Presidency or Sind. The amendment was lost and as there were no more contentious clauses in the Bill, it was passed.

Bombay City Police Act.

The following other Bills were passed by the Council without much discussion: The Bill to amend the Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act and the Bill to amend the Bombay Port Trust Act, but the Bill to amend the Bombay City Police Act raised a stormy debate.

The Bill provided powers to police officers to destroy animals which are diseased or so severely injured that it would be cruelty to let them linger on. It extends to cases of such animals as are injured in street accidents. Several non-official members opposed the Bill from a sentimental point of view. They said the Hindu and Mahomedan communities alike disapproved of taking life whether of animals or of men. Mr. Delhavi, Minister, expressed surprise at the inconsistent attitude of the opposition. The Government had often been blamed for not killing wild pigs and wild elephants in the interests of agriculturists and in the same breath they objected to this Bill.

The Home member assured the House that the Government had no desire to offend the susceptibilities of the members of any religion. If the Bill were referred to a select committee changes would be made in order to meet Hindu sentiments. The idea of the Bill was that if the Police took action immediately somebody would come forward and claim the animal, as in most cases the owners were not to be found. Moreover, if the extreme step provided by the Bill was not taken several hours and sometimes even days might elapse during which the animal would be suffering pain. The motion for the first reading was put to the vote, carried to a division and lost by 39 votes to 6. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee consisting of most of the objectors to the Bill.

The House was then adjourned.

Next day, the 27TH JULY demands for supplementary grants were taken up and after a brief discussion were granted.

Discussion on Major Pogson's Appointment.

There was only one Government resolution which evoked an interesting debate and was regarding Major Pogson, water diviner. At the last session of the Council, his appointment was sanctioned in the teeth of non-official opposition. His appointment expires on the 28th September. So the Government brought forward a resolution that his appointment should be continued till the end of the present financial year. In support of the resolution, the Government circularised to the members a pamphlet

giving the results of Mr. Pogson's operations and success in water divining during the year. Several members opposed his reappointment and expressed surprise that in this 20th century, the Government should put faith in superstitions.

Two non-official members, one on the Government benches, the other on the opposition side, supporting the original resolution gave personal testimony to Major Pogson's success in divining water on their estates under circumstances which went to show that this power was genuine. They also argued that the primary duty of any civilised Government was to relieve the suffering of the subjects from scarcity of water. Here in the Bombay Presidency, there were vast tracks where the people suffered from lack of water supply and it was, therefore, incumbent on the Government to avail themselves of the opportunity of utilising the services of a man whose success in water divining had been proved to the hilt.

The resolution was carried by a large majority. The house then adjourned.

Discussion on Mr Bole's Bill.

Next day, the 28TH JULY, the Swarajist members mustered strong to oppose the bill moved by Mr. S. K Bole to amend the law relating to the emoluments of the Hindu priests. The member in charge of the bill presented the report of the Select Committee on the bill. The principle underlying the bill was that there should be full liberty of conscience to every individual to perform his religious ceremonies in any way he liked. The bill naturally affected the priests who have been thriving on the unsophisticated masses and enriching themselves at their expense. The bill took away the monopoly of the priests who have been enjoying it from time immemorial. The Swarajist members held brief for the priests At the outset, several members raised points of order pointing out several alleged irregularities of the bill such as that the Select Committee's report must be discarded, because the Committee was not presided over by the member in charge of Revenue, but the objections were overruled by the provision in the Council Standing Orders, enabling such member to delegate his functions to his accredited representative. Other objections, put forward by the Swarajists, were similarly overruled by the President as being of a technical character which hardly vitiated the principles of the policy of the bill. After the Select Committee report was admitted, several amendments were brought forward to adjourn the discussion to the next session of the Council and to recommit the Bill to the Select Committee for amendments.

After hearing the representations of such classes as objected to the Bill, the first amendment was voted upon, carried to a division and lost by an overwhelming majority, the Government benches solidly voting for the Bill. When the discussion on the second amendment was proceeding, Dr Paranjpye, in the course of his speech, sought a *via media* for effecting a compromise between the opposing forces and suggested that some relief by way of compensation should be granted to the priests whom the bill was going to dispossess of their hereditary rights, monopolies and vested interests Appealing to the Government benches, he reminded them of the clamour made by the I C. S members on proportionate pensions and compensatory emoluments for the loss of vested rights contingent on the introduction of the reform. The speaker asked them to put themselves in the position of the priests who were going to be deprived of their monopolies which they had been enjoying for several centuries and perhaps for several thousands of years. He wanted the bill to be referred to a Select Committee for compensation being provided for these Joshies. The Minister for Education, opposing the suggestion, said that he thought that the scheme of compensation was absurd, the object of the bill being to give complete freedom of conscience to villagers who have been ground down by age-long tyranny. To afford compensation to those who were responsible for perpetuating this vicious system, was prepostrous and unmoral. The debate was adjourned.

Next day, the 29TH JULY, two principal clause of the bill, namely that no priest should be entitled to claim as a matter of right emoluments from those Hindus who do not call his service and that he should be relieved of his obligations to perform religious services when required by any villager came in for a good deal of opposition. It was argued by those against the bill who sought to deprive individuals of their properties and rights enjoyed from time immemorial accrued not by law, but by ancient custom and upheld by local High courts In this respect, it was argued that the bill was Bolshevik in principle. The supporters of the bill pleaded for liberty of conscience and liberty of action. They were even prepared to support Dr. Paranjpye's proposal to give a reasonable measure of compensation to the priests affected. There should be no recognition of a legal claim since emoluments to priests have been always made as a voluntary contribution.

The Hon'ble Sir Chunilal Mehta, Finance Member, put forward the Government point of view that the Government had no desire or object in confiscating the rights and properties of priests. The bill was as much protection to the priests for whom several members had expressed desire to compensate as it was protection to the Hindu public. There was a sort of property right vested in the priestly class but the fundamental principle in compensation was that there should be loss. He challenged the members to prove that in this case there was any loss. Mr. Bhopatkar, leader of the Swaraj party, strongly opposed the bill. After a number of other speakers had spoken, the debate was adjourned.

On the 30TH JULY, Dr. Velker, in opposing the measure, appealed to the mover to withdraw the Bill, pointing out the danger of anti-Brahmin feeling engendered by the Bill, when the country was seething with communal hostilities.

Mr Surve (Non-Brahmin member) denied anti-Brahmin motive of the mover of the Bill and quoted instances to show that non-brahmin grievances were real. He added that if the enlightened classes had of their own accord alleviated the Non-Brahmin grievances, there would not be any necessity on the Government's part to interfere. The speaker warned the members that with the growing consciousness of the people regarding their civic rights, such disconcerting situations were bound to arise more frequently. The Bill was the outcome of the fact that Brahmin priests did not perform the ceremonies in the manner their clients wanted. He opposed the proposal of compensation made by the oppositionits.

After Mr. Bole had replied to the debate, the motion for second reading was put to vote and carried. The opposition did not ask for division.

The House then proceeded to consider the Bill regarding the emoluments to priests, clause by clause. A number of amendments were moved. One moved by Dr. Velkar to the effect that one rupee should be paid to the Watandar priest by such Maharattas, who wished to get rid of the liability of calling his service instead of Rs. 25 as suggested by another amendment, was rejected by the House. Other amendments also met the same fate. The House then adjourned.

On the 2ND AUGUST the House discussed clause four of the Bill which provided that no person should be entitled to claim ceremonial emoluments from a Hindu who did not call in the services of persons claiming those emoluments. Mr. R. G. Pradhan moved an amendment that the clause should not affect the rights of priests as regards Inam lands and cash allowances attached to such office as regards the performance of the service pertaining to it. Discussion on this clause was adjourned.

Bill to Amend Mamlatdars' Courts Act.

Mr. D. R. Patil next moved the Bill to amend the Bombay Mamlatdar's Courts Act. The present Act provided no right of appeal over a mamlatdar's decision in land disputes. The Bill sought to confer the power of appeal to the Collector against a mamlatdar's decision. On the Home Member's assurance that sufficient check would be maintained over a mamlatdar's decision and officers should be communicated with immediately, the mover withdrew the Bill

Bill to Amend. City Police Act.

It was a Bill to amend the City Police Act. Under the existing law the amount of compensation awarded by the Chief Presidency Magistrate to sufferers or survivors of sufferers in a riot or disturbance was recovered through the agency of the Municipal Commissioner. The Bill seeks to transfer the above duties on the shoulders of the Collector of Bombay who, as the term signified, was the collector of revenue. The mover and his supporter argued that the Corporation was in no way concerned in the matter which primarily rested with the Government who stood for law and order. The speaker argued that the police were responsible for riots because their strength was so diminished by reduction of the staff that they were unable to cope effectively with riots and disturbances at their initial stage. Why, the speaker argued, should the Municipal Corporation staff make themselves odious with the public ?

The government, opposing the measure, pointed out the administrative difficulties of accepting it. For one thing, the Government did not get a single penny ont of this punitive tax. For another thing, the burden of the expenditure incurred in employing collecting staff would naturally fall on the general taxpayer and why should the taxpayer of Ahmedabad pay towards the collection of a tax imposed on the erring people of Bombay Thirdly, the employment of temporary staff would result in extreme inefficiency and probably in extreme corruption on the part of the collecting staff. Lastly why should the servants of Government incur the odium of the public ?

The Bill was thrown out and the Council then rose.

On the 3RD AUGUST the discussion on Mr. Joshi's bill was continued. Mr. G. B. Pradhan moved an amendment to substitute the word 'hereditary' for 'watandar.' The amendment was put to vote and adopted. Mr. Bole moved the third reading of the Bill, which was put to vote and passed by the House, no member opposing.

Bombay Local Boards Act Amendment Bill.

Sardar Bhasaheb Raisinghji Thakor Kerwada moved the first reading of the Bill No. 10 of 1926 to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act 1923. The Bill aimed at securing to Inamdars the right of returning one representative of the local Boards to represent the interests of the class which is in a minority. The principle of the Bill, he said, was accepted in regard to the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly and provincial Councils and the Bill was based on the approved principle that those who contributed towards general taxation must have their voice in the management of affairs, both of the country and the district.

Messrs. Swami Narayan and Kambli opposed, while Mr. Sardesai supported the first reading of the Bill. The Council then adjourned to meet on the next day,

The 4TH AUGUST when discussion on the Bill continued, and the motion for its first reading was voted upon and lost. Leave was not given to Mr. Pahaljani to introduce his Bill to amend the Bombay Civil Courts Act 1869.

Prevention of Gambling Act.

Mr. J. Addyman's motion for leave to introduce his bill to amend the Bombay Prevention of Gambling Act met with a similar fate. It was disallowed by the Honourable President on constitutional grounds. He said that in the case of bills dealing with central subjects, notice of one month was provided and it was further provided that the Governor had the power of extending it to two months. There was no power of curtailing the period either to 15 days or 30 days. There was considerable difference of opinion as to whether the notice provided should be counted from the first day of the session or up to the day that the Bill could come up for the consideration of the House. The President said his personal view was that in the interest of a definite and clear procedure, notice should be from the first day of the session. It would be wholly indefinite to know when the Bill would come up for discussion in the House and therefore, if that interpretation was to be upon the rules and standing orders, one would never know whether the Bill of which notice has been given short of 15 days would or would not come in for discussion in view of the fact that the matter was referred to the Government of India and they had decided that notice should take effect from the day they received notice, up to the day the Bill came for the consideration of the Council and that was the procedure that had been adopted in regard to all non-official bills. In this case notice was received on July 6th and one month would expire on the 6th August and to-day was August 4th. The Bill was, therefore, not due for discussion during this session. There was unfortunately no power vested in the President for curtailing the period of notice In accordance, therefore, with the rules and standing orders, the President announced that Mr. Addyman's Bill lapsed and could not be considered.

Mr. Surve's motion for leave to introduce the Bill to amend the Bombay District Municipalities Act 1901 was also disallowed for want of sufficient notice as per standing orders. The House then adjourned.

Salaries of Primary Teachers.

Mr. Deo then moved his resolution recommending to the Government to give effect to the Sathe-Paranjpye scheme as regards salaries of primary teachers in view of their pecuniary hardships. He (the speaker) told the house the woeful tale of primary teachers who have to resort to extra occupations as they cannot make both ends meet.

Messrs. Advani and Shamdasini, in supporting the resolution proved the necessity of increment to salaries of teachers.

Dr. Paranjpye, after tracing the genesis of Mr. Sathe-Paranjpye scheme, informed the house that the scheme was not accepted then by primary teachers as the standard of living was costly due to the after effects of the Great War. He (the speaker) appealed to the Minister for Education to meet the reasonable demands of primary teachers and assured him (the Minister) the support of the House in raising fresh taxation for the scheme.

After Khan Bahadur Bhotto supported the resolution, Mr. Turner, Secretary to the Education department, quoted figures and said that the adoption of the resolution would have an unwholesome effect on the financial position and there is nothing to prevent local bodies from paying whatever scale of pay to teachers,

After Messrs. Pradhan and Moulvi Rafiuddin supported the resolution, Mr. Shinde, opposing the resolution, defended the policy of the Minister and opined that the adoption of the Sathe-Paranjpye scheme would retard the progress of primary education. Messrs. Jog, Noor Mahomed and Sardesai supported the resolution and the House adjourned till next day,

The 5TH AUGUST, when the Minister of Education, in opposing the resolution defended his educational policy and remarked that the resolution was merely an election stunt and Dr. Paranjpye was responsible for not giving effect to the scheme during his regime.

The resolution was carried, the Government not opposing it.

Bombay City Police Amendment Bill.

The Home Member then moved the second reading of the Bill No 5 to amend the City of Bombay Police Act 1902. The Select Committee amended clause 2 by restricting the powers of the police officers to kill animals found in the street of public places only and bulls and cows were excluded and a provision was made for the removal of the wounded animals to veterinary hospital or pinjrapoles.

Mr. Swaminarayan moved an amendment to refer the Bill to a Select Committee to enlist opinions of the Jains and the Hindus. The Home Member, in opposing, referred to the representation signed by Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy, President of the Bombay Pinjrapole and remarked that no constructive suggestions have been made to the Government. After this amendment was lost, similar amendments to postpone the Bill till the next session of the budget were thrown out by the House. The second reading of the Bill was passed after the Home Member's assurance that all precautions to screen animals would be taken. The Bill was next considered clause by clause and the third reading of the Bill was passed after some discussion.

Admission of Depressed Classes.

Then Mr. Bole's resolution asking the Government to refuse grants to the municipalities and local boards which do not allow the depressed classes the use of public schools, tanks and Dharmasalas The Minister for Local Self-Government pointed out that the Government was bound to give grants to municipal and local bodies by statute. The debate continued, when the House adjourned till,

The next day, the 6TH AUGUST, when after a short discussion the House accepted the Bill with an amendment that no discretionary grants be given to such local bodies.

Removal of Sex-Disqualification.

Dr. Paranjpye's resolution for the removal of sex disqualification for women voters to stand as candidates to the Legislative Council came up for discussion. He (the speaker) referred to a similar resolution passed by the Madras Legislative Council and the opinion of the Government of India to alter the rules if provincial legislatures pass such a resolution. Proceeding, the speaker said that women would be of more help to the deliberations of the House in subjects like Chidren's Act, temperance and law of property. Dr. Paranjpye concluded his speech with an appeal to the House to pass the resolution by way of justice and fairness to women. After Messrs Mansuri and R. G Pradhan supported, Hon. Mr. Dehlvi opposed the resolution on national grounds and remarked that the sphere of activities for woman is her home and not the arena of practical politics. He warned the House not to imitate western nations by introducing this kind of reform as the nations which adopted it are now deploring the evil effects of the reform,

Mr. Gunjal moved an amendment that women of 45 years of age only are eligible for election. After some lively speeches from members on the subject, Mr. Gunjal's amendment was thrown out and the House accepted Dr. Paranjpye's resolution as amended by Mr. Shivdasani that women voters be nominated to the Legislative Council amidst great applause.

A resolution to express the sense of gratitude and appreciation of the services of the Hon. President for conducting the deliberations of the Council on democratic lines was carried after being supported by all parties in the House.

Then His Excellency the Governor drove in state to the Council hall and, after addressing the House on economical, social and political conditions of the presidency, formally prorogued the Council.

The Madras Legislative Council

OPENING DAY—MADRAS 10TH JULY 1926.

With a heavy agenda before it and with fairly good attendance the Madras Legislative Council met on the 10TH JULY for the last time before its dissolution. The Swarajists and the Nationalists, who had "Walked out" last March, "Walked in" on this day to take part in the Malabar Tenancy Bill and the Irrigation Bill.

The Malabar Tenancy Bill.

After interpellations the House took into consideration the Malabar Tenancy Bill. An initial division occurred over the Government to begin the discussion from clause 3, as that involved important questions of policy. The non-officials lost the division.

The Government's amendment to omit Kanomshar variety of tenure from the operation of the Act occasioned heated debate. The Swarajists spoke on the motion and condemned Government's attitude. Mr. Narasimharazu, leader of the Nationalists, pointed out that the Government's amendment was reactionary.

Mr. Satyamurthy accused Government of going behind the principle of the bill when once the bill had been referred to a select committee. He said, they knew Government was opposed to the bill and even if the House passed it, it would be vetoed. The Government's objection that failure to pass the amendment would induce tenants in other parts to a similar agitation was puerile. This Government, he concluded, must soon give place to a Swarajist government and finding the Government members laughing, he retorted "he laughed best who laughed last." Continuing he said, the Swarajist Government will put through a more liberal measure of reform. Meanwhile he exhorted the tenants to carry on the fight bravely as their case was just.

Pay of Unpassed Clerks.

The House then adjourned for lunch. After lunch the House took up for discussion the adjournment motion regarding the suspension in pay granted to unpassed clerks. In moving the adjournment Mr. Ranganadha Mudaliar dwelt at length on the hardships caused to poor clerks by this surprise order. Mr. Thanikachellam Chettiar supporting him traced the history of the question in detail and asked if Government were right in penalising clerks for what should have been mistakes of the heads of departments. When the new scales of pay were sanctioned after the armistice no distinction was made between the passed and unpassed clerks. The heads of departments were empowered to exempt the unpassed clerks to allow them to draw annual increments. If it was now discovered that heads of departments had abused their discretion, clerks should not be made to suffer for it. Coming to the figures there were about 4,000 unpassed clerks. They all have been drawing increments of rupee one and annas eight a year since the new scale came into operation. The present

order has suspended the increment and premises to go into the question of exemption again. Was it worth while to add to the existing discontent by withholding this pittance? He condemned the proposal to recover emoluments in certain cases as unduly harsh and trusted that the Government would now at least realise the situation and do the clerks some justice.

The Government member opposed the motion saying that exemptions had to be reviewed and that Government had waived the recovery rights up to March 1925. Ultimately the motion was carried by 43 votes to 30. Ministerialists voted for the motion. The House then adjourned.

The Malabar Tenancy Bill.

On the 13TH JULY the discussion on the Malabar Tenancy Bill was resumed in the Council. An amendment to give occupancy rights to a tenant who had been in continued possession for 12 years was discussed. The Law Member said that as they were definitely against the proposal to give occupancy rights to any tenant under this clause, they did not propose to intervene any further in the discussion of this clause. The amendment was defeated by 22 against 23 votes. A member from Coimbatore proposed an amendment, the object of which was to give no occupancy rights to any tenant coming in possession of land after the passing of this act. He said if the clause as framed by the select committee was passed, no "Jenmi" would give his land to any tenant knowing that tenant would get permanent occupancy rights. The amendment was put to the vote and lost. After further discussion of the bill the house adjourned.

On the 14TH JULY the discussion commenced on the Government motion to omit the clause seven of the Malabar Tenancy Bill which gave non-cultivating tenant permanent occupancy right. The motion was put to the vote and lost.

After the voting on clause seven was over, a surprise was sprung on the House by Sir Alexander Macdouggal suggesting the dropping of the Malabar Tenancy Bill. An animated discussion centred round this motion. Sir Alexander appealed to the mover of the Bill to drop the Bill and also appealed to the Government to promise to make an enquiry into the whole of the conditions of Malabar Tenancy either by a committee or any other way and bring forward Government measure which might meet with a great deal more unanimity than the present measure seemed to have got.

A point of order being raised by Mr. Satyamurthi to the wording of the motion, Sir Alexander on the suggestion of the Advocate-General who intervented moved that the discussion on the Malabar Tenancy Bill he adjourned sine die.

Mr. Narasimha Raju, leader of the oposition, remarked that it had been moved perhaps under official inspiration. Sir Alexander denied any official inspiration.

Continuing, the leader of the opposition said, with reference to the Government it was evident they had made up their mind long ago. The elected members had a tangible responsibility to discharge to the electorate, while the Government had only imaginary responsibility to certain people who were not in India. The elected members were resolved to get this Bill through whatever its fate be later on.

The Law Member said he had not given any stimulus or inspiration to Sir Alexander Macdouggal as regards the statement of irresponsibility

of the Reserved half. He agreed they could not be turned out as Ministers could be, but he denied any spirit of irresponsibility on the part of the Reserved half if, by that was meant lack of care, circumspection, anxious scrutiny and investigation into the materials on which alone they might come to decision. It was only after deliberate consideration they came to the conclusion that clauses six and seven as they stood could not and ought not to become law. If the parties affected by the measure could come together even approximately, the Government would only be too glad at it. Concluding, he said Sir Alexander's motion had great deal to commend it.

Dewan Bahadur Krishnan Nair in a vigorous speech opposed the motion. He said that it was with great pain he heard the speech of the Hon. Law Member. The people were not judged by their words but by their conduct. He regarded Reserved half of the Government as most irresponsible Government that ever existed in any country. Before the house had gone through half the length of the Bill, the Law member had the audacity to say that even if this Council passed this Bill, if it contained sections six and seven, he would certainly advise and do every thing in his power to have the Bill vetoed by the Government.

Continuing, Mr. Krishnan Nair said Sir Alexander had been a member of the House for a long time though not taking active part but listening to the debate on the Bill. Was is not Sir Alexander's duty to give this advice at an earlier stage ? He strongly opposed the motion and declined the advice of Sir Alexander with many thanks.

Sir Alexander's motion was put to the vote and lost, 20 voting for and 49 against it, 18 remaining neutral including three Ministers and their Secretaries.

The Council then resumed the discussion on the Bill and had not concluded when the House adjourned.

Next day, the 15TH JULY the discussion on the Malabar Tenancy Bill was resumed and the clause 7 providing permanent occupancy right to non-cultivating Kanomdar or Kuzhikanom tenant was debated upon at considerable length and carried by 37 votes against three.

The deletion of certain clause was made by the mover of the bill and was accepted. The clause nine, object of which was to confer right on Kanomdars evicted after first January 1923 to recover their holdings was also deleted The clause eleven which sougth that occupancy right shall not extend to buildings constructed by landlord was also passed. A new clause stipulating a tenant entitled to occupancy right shall on termination of known demise and thenceforward at the end of every successive term get a renewal on payment at the rate of one year's net produce of land was accepted.

The debate had not concluded when the Council adjourned till next day, the 16TH JULY, when the discussion on the Bill was continued, the provisions discussed being mostly of a technical kind.

Removal of Sex Disqualification.

On the 17TH JULY the Council passed with but two dissentients a resolution recommending the removal of the restriction placed on women from standing as candidates to the legislatures. Over fifteen members had given

notice of the resolution but the Malabar Tenancy Bill left no time for discussion of the resolution on this day. Special permission was obtained to move the resolution even when the Tenancy Bill was under discussion, as the postponement of the resolution would prevent women from contesting the coming elections. The resolution was moved by Mr. Krishna Nair.

Mr. J. A. Saldanha who had given notice of the resolution rose to oppose it when the President pointed out that the opposer himself had proposed to move the resolution. Mr. Saldanha replied that he had changed his mind. He described the Council as a glorified debating society and said even when the male members of the House were not able to achieve anything against the Government what could women do in such a Council? "Our duty," he said, "should be to acquire more power for the Councils before we thought of admitting women into them."

The House then proceeded with the discussion of the Tenancy Bill and adjourned to meet again on the 25th August.

MADRAS—25TH AUGUST 1926.

After a recess of nearly a month the House met again on the 25th August. The Swarajist members were present to take part in the discussion of the Bill to re-enact the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act of 1923 and the Malabar Tenancy Bill.

After interpellations, the House granted three supplementary demands of which one for meeting the expenses of elections to the Indian and Provincial legislatures elicited a good deal of discussion, one member moving that the provision of Rs. 153,400 be reduced by ten rupees in order to point out certain defects in the method of general elections such as insufficient number of polling offices which put the voters to a good deal of hardships and open voting by illiterate persons which affected free exercise of voters' franchise and gave scope for play of undue influence.

Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell, Law Member, speaking on behalf of the Goverement said that the Government was very anxious to give full freedom of voting to voters, but that he could not make any new arrangement for the forthcoming elections as they were so near.

The Hindu Religious Endowments Bill.

The House then took up for consideration the bill to re-enact the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act of 1923. In moving that the bill be read in Council, the Hon. Raja of Panagal said that the measure was necessitated by the waste of the Trust funds by the Trustees of Temples and Mutts who have now launched on a course of litigation in the Madras High Court to prove that the Religious Endowments Act of 1923 is invalid. It is even said that some trustees intend sending out a commission to Canada and England to examine Lord Willingdon and Lord Reading. The measure is also necessitated by the fact that the Board constituted under the Act of 1923 is handicapped in its working since the contributions to it are withhold. After a motion to adjourn discussion to the next Council after elections was lost, the House proceeded with the consideration of the bill, Swarajists opposing it as a measure of religious interference, as a party move for elections and on the ground of want of sufficient time. Discussion was not over when the House rose for the day.

On the 26TH AUGUST further discussion on the motion of the Minister that the Bill be read in the Council was proceeded with. Member after member from the Opposition Benches raised their voice of protest against the break-neck speed with which the Ministry proposed to rush through the Bill with the help of the nominated and the official votes.

The original motion for the first reading having been passed by 52 against 27 votes the Minister immediately appealed to the President to suspend the Standing Orders and allow the consideration of the Bill in spite of the majority of the Hindu elected members having voted against on two previous motions and in spite of the Bill being quite a new one so far as this Council was concerned. The President readily acceded to the Ministers' request and suspended the operation of the Standing Orders.

The Leader of the Opposition than moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee and gave sufficient reasons for doing so. It was ably supported by a number of members but was lost by 33 against 51 votes.

Mr. Venkatachalam Chettyar then moved that the further consideration of the Bill be adjourned at least for a fortnight to enable the new members to digest the contents of this important measure. It was put to vote and carried. The House then adjourned.

The Irrigation Bill.

On the 27TH AUGUST as soon as the Council met, the President read the message received from the Governor dating as far back as January last recommending adoption of some amendments to the Bill already passed by the House. The Leader of the Opposition raised the question as to why these messages were not communicated to the House all these months. The President answered that the rules were not clear as to the time when message received form the Governor should be communicated to the House. Another member raised another moot point that recommendations made by the Governor six months subsequently to the reservation of the Bill were out of date and could not, therefore, be considered by the House. But he was asked to wait till that recommendation was actually taken up for consideration.

A Ministerialist motion that the Bill be adjourned 'sine die' on the ground forsooth that the Council was at the fag end of its career was carried and the Bill was shelved.

Malabar Tenancy Bill.

The Malabar Tenancy Bill was taken up late in the afternoon and after some amendments were discussed the Council rose for the day.

Next day, the 28TH AUGUST was devoted to the discussion of the Malabar Tenancy Bill. The fight was between the Jenmi representatives of Malabar on the one hand and the tenant representative and the expert member on the other. The Government members were merely looking on without even moving the amendments, of which due notice had been given by the permanent Law Member.

An amendment to exclude north Malabar from the scope of the Bill in view of the conditions on that part of the district being dissimilar to the one prevalent in the other part, was after discussion lost but the permission was accorded to exclude Wynad Taluk from the scope of the act on account of the tenancy problem, not being acute in that taluk, the major portion of the lands being held on Jenmam by the Government itself.

Another amendment was to the effect that the Act should come into force on the 15th of March, 1931, or on such other date thereafter. The Government notification drew forth vigorous protests from the piloters of the Bill who characterised it as " obstructive."

The motion was, however, defeated without a division. The mover of the Bill proposed the third reading and on the objections being taken to the consideration of amendments, the bill was adjourned.

Non-official Bills.

On the 31ST AUGUST the Council reassembled to transact non-official business. Among the important items on the agenda were two Bills to amend the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920, and Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920. The former provided that all public roads and markets under Local Board should be open to all classes of people of whatever caste or creed and that obstruction to the enjoyment of such rights should be penalised by a fine of Rs. 100. The House discussed the Bill as it emerged from the Select Committee and passed it without a dissentient voice.

The Second Bill before the House, as amended by the Select Committee, provided that all public streets under Municipalities should be thrown open to all classes of people irrespective of caste or creed. It was opposed on the ground that the penalty clause added by the Select Committee had not obtained the sanction of the Governor General and the consideration of it was postponed. The House then adjourned.

Religious Endowment Bill.

When the council met on the next day, 1ST SEPTEMBER, discussion on the Religious Endowment Bill was resumed. Mr. S. Muthia Mudaliar, Swarajist, moved for deletion of " Hindu " in the bill. After a short debate the amendment was negatived. A few other amendments to exclude the Presidency town and Malabar from the operation of the Act fared the similar fate. Division was challenged over the amendment to exempt Ashtapathi Muths of Udipi but it was lost.

Malabar Tenancy Bill Passed.

On the 2ND SEPTEMBER the Council, after a full day's discussion, passed the Malabar Tenancy Bill into law by 44 against 23 votes. Government and official members, except the three Ministers who remained neutral, opposed the motion. The mover of the Bill, in the course of his speech, drew attention to the salient features of the Bill which confers occupancy rights to the cultivating tenants and permanent tenure to "kanom" tenants who are the holders of the lands, but not the cultivators. The Bill also deprived landlords of all arbitrary power of eviction and enhancement of rents.

The Hon. Mr. T. E. Moir, Finance Member, who opoosed the passing of the measure, pointed out that the Bill, as it stood, inflicted heavy monetary penalty on "Jenmis" (landlords) by depriving them of the right of ownership without sufficient compensation. For this and other reasons Government found it impossible to accept the measure, but were prepared to introduce as early as possible a measure which would not be confiscatory in character.

Religious Endowments Bill.

On the 4TH SEPTEMBER only about 20 members were present when the Council met. The president adjourned the house for half an hour to allow time for members to come in but Mr. Satyamurthi pointed out that under standing orders, the house could not meet till the next working day. The leader of the house pointed out that the adjournment for half an hour was not without precedent. After interpellations, the member for South Canara again rose to move the adjournment of business on the question of local Government carrying land revenue settlement without Legislative enactment, notwithstanding repeated recommendations of the Council. The President did not see any urgency and disallowed the motion. The house then proceeded with the discussion on Hindu Religious Endowment Bill. The clause validating all actions was taken up and things done under the act were discussed at length. It was contended by the opposition that the section relating to actions taken and things done, the validity of which was being questioned by the High Court interfered with the independence of the High Court. It was also contended that the section was against the provisions of the Government of India Act since religious endowments had not been placed under the jurisdiction of the Local Government. Further discussion was adjourned.

On the 6TH SEPTEMBER the Council granted a supplementary demand of Rs. 60,00 for advance to the Board of Commissioners for Hindu Religious Endowments. In making this demand the Raja of Panagal stated that response to the demand of the board from temples and mutts in the matter of payment of revenues due to the board under the Act of 1923 had been slow and this necessitated an advance of money to meet the expenses. The motion was strongly opposed on the grounds that the Minister had not given a definite account for the eighteen months of its existence and that the money advanced to the Board would not be safe in as much as the validity of the Act under which it existed was questioned in courts of law. After the motion was carried the house resumed discussion of the validation clause of the Bill to re-enact the Hindu Religious Endowments Act, 1923. After the Advocate General replied the President ruled that the present Act seemed to him more in the nature of an indemnity Act than a validating one. As regards the jurisdiction of the High Court he thought that no section or any Act passed in this Council could affect the jurisdiction of the High Court. The motions for the omission of the clause were lost.

Next day, the 7TH SEPTEMBER, further discussion was continued on the Hindu Religious Re-enacting Bill. There were more than 410 amendments to be disposed of and it was stated on behalf of Government that this being a re-enacting measure until some working experience of the Act was gained, Government had made up their mind not to look at these amendments. Mr. Satyamurthi on behalf of the opposition strongly objected to this attitude characterising it inconsistent with dignity and responsibility of the Council. Even though Government was prepared to vote on even most reasonable and modest of their amendments the opposition was determined to move very one of these. The Raja of Panagal and the Government could not accept these amendments without sufficient consideration and there was very little time since the Bill had to be passed as early as possible. Discussion on the Bill was then resumed and continued on the next day, the 8TH SEPTEMBER.

Among others two amendments were considered on this day, one opposing the constitution of a Board on the ground it combined legislative, executive and judicial functions which was against the modern notions of separation of powers, the other relating to the qualifications of the Commissioners of the Board. The Raja of Panagal observed that it was difficult to lay down hard and fast rules regarding the practices of Hinduism. Both the amendments were lost.

On the 9TH SEPTEMBER the Council discussed a number of amendments moved from the opposition benches to the Endowments Bill. And except a few of a very formal nature every one of the other amendments was opposed by the Minister either on the ground that the same had been considered and disposed of while enacting the original Act or that in re-enacting a Bill no radical alterations could be effected.

It was sought to make the position of the Commissioners honorary and less dependent on the whims and fancies of the Government, which, in the case of Hindu religious endowments, really meant the Minister in charge of the department, so as to infuse confidence in the public mind on the impartiality of the Commissioners and on their dealing with all matters coming up before them for decision purely on their merits and not on political or party considerations. But the Minister would not agree to making the offices honorary and allowing them an honorarium.

The Minister refused also to accept the amendment to delete the proviso in clause 2 of Section 14, which gave legislative sanction to the scale of salary of these Commissioners, which according to Mr. Satyamurti, implied the non-necessity of bringing forward specific demands at the Budget time. The Minister also declined to accept the amendment.

Mr. Satyamurti sought to amend the clause relating to the removal of Commissioners, which laid down that "the local Government may suspend or remove any Commissioner from his office for corruption, misconduct, or other sufficient cause" as "if he is found after due inquiry by a competent tribunal appointed by the local Government to be guilty of corruption or serious misconduct, the local Government may remove him." But this amendment was opposed by the Minister and defeated.

There was a heated discussion on the clause which conferred on the local Government the power of appointing members to the local committees newly constituted under this Act. Mr. Satyamurti supporting the amendment to entrust this power in the hands of the District Judge concerned, who is now exercising it under the old Act of 1863, asserted that a ministry whose history in the past had been a black record of gross abuse of powers and a party whose followers shamelessly claimed patronage for themselves were least fitted to be entrusted with this power. But the amendment was defeated with the help of the nominated and official votes. The House then adjourned.

On the 15TH SEPTEMBER, the House re-assembling, an amendment was moved to divest the power, now conferred on the Board, of applying the Cypres doctrine and conferring it on the courts. It was pointed out that a good deal of judicial discretion and enquiry were necessary before creating the atmosphere for the application of this doctrine and the courts alone were competent to discharge that duty satisfactorily. The amendment was negatived.

It was then sought by the Opposition to restrict the utilisation of the surplus funds at least to the objects, allied with and akin to the objects of

the original endowment and then allow the clause as it stood. This was also opposed by the Minister on the ground that it would restrict the choice. This amendment was also negatived. But on the motion, made by a member of the Nadar Community, a provision was added to the effect that in the case of a temple, founded and maintained by a community, the amount of the endowment or the surplus should be utilised for the benefit of the community as far as possible.

A good deal of discussion centred round clause 68 though its marginal note only referred to the recovery of the expenses incurred by the Board or the Committee on legal proceedings from the funds of the endowments concerned. The clause did not confine itself to the expenses, incurred by the Board or the Committee. It says "all costs and expenses incurred in connection with the legal proceedings in respect of any religious endowment to which a Board or a Committee is a party shall, notwithstanding anything contained in the section 74, be payable out of the funds of such endowment."

Mr. Satyamurti who moved for the deletion of this clause pointed out not only its inconsistency with the latter clause but also the restriction which it placed on the discretion of the courts however "mala fide" the action of the board or the committee had been.

Another member pointed out that the wording of the section, as it stood, charged the endowment concerned with the costs of all parties, connected with the suit.

The Minister defended the retention of the clause on the ground that the Board or the Committee instituted the suit or action only in the interests of the endowment concerned and should, therefore, be indemnified.

The motion of Mr. Satyamurti for the deletion of the clause relating to the levy of a contribution from the religious endowments to meet the expenditure of the Board and the Committee evoked considerable discussion.

The mover said that the average Hindu considered it a sin to take anything from God. If Government wanted to have some sort of control by setting up a Board for that purpose, they should either make the officers honorary or meet the charges from the general exchequer.

The amendment was lost.

Attempt was then made to reduce the percentage of the levy. A member of the Opposition went even to the length of saying that there should be a limit to the looting of the temple funds by the Minister to fill up the coffer of his friends.

The Minister opposed this and amendments of a similar character and they were all negatived. The amendment of Mr. Satyamurti that the rules, framed under this Act, should receive the affirmative sanction of the Legislature was negatived.

Consideration of Bill was continued on the next day, the 16th September. On the 17th September, the message of H. E. the Governor in proroguing the Council was read by the President after the motion to pass the Hindu Religious Endowments Bill into law was carried.

The U. P. Legislative Council

NAINI TAL—25TH JUNE 1926.

The Agra University Bill came up for discussion in the United Provinces Legislative Council on the 25th June 1926. The Bill was generally welcomed from the non-official benches, and whatever opposition there was, was based not on the merits of the Bill, but on the fears of some members who fought shy of the idea of raising the number of the Universities in the Province from four to five.

The debate on the official motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee was marked by the inordinate length of some of the speeches.

Before proceeding with the scheduled business, Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram, the President, announced that the United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Act of 1926 had received the assent of the Governor-General, and the United Provinces Municipalities (Amendment) Act of 1926 had been assented to by the Governor.

The Agra University Bill.

Rai Rajeswar Bali Minister of Education, then introduced the Agra University Bill, and moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. In introducing the Bill and in asking the Select Committee to report by the 15th July, the Minister of Education said that the Bill had a little history of its own, in the shaping of which the President, Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram, had taken no insignificant part. It was he (the President) who had moved the resolution on the 27th February, 1923, for the establishment of a University at Agra. The resolution was opposed by the then Minister of Education, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani who took a strong stand, and though the resolution was adopted Mr. Chintamani pointedly informed the House that the Government would not accept the recommendation of the Council in regard to the establishment of a fifth university in the Province. That was the first chapter of the Bill.

The second chapter opened with a resolution moved by Dr. Ziauddin in January 1924, for the formation of a Committee to draft a Bill for the establishment of a University at Agra. The resolution was accepted by him, (Rai Rajeshwar Bali) as Minister, and adopted unanimously. The Bill was accordingly drafted and published in the Government Gazette with a view to eliciting public opinion on it.

Criticisms on the Bill received hitherto had been somewhat of a conflicting character. One section was of opinion that it was in the best interests of unitary teaching and the residential University of Allahabad that there should be a separation between the external and internal sides of that University by the creation of new university of an affiliating type.

Another section apprehended that it was not conducive to the growth of higher education to multiply the number of universities. A third group was of opinion that the establishment of a University of an affiliating type now was a retrograde step.

The Government had given due weight to all these criticisms and to every suggestion received from different quarters. In regard to the multiplication of Universities, the Minister pointed out that the recurring charge to the taxpayer for the establishment of the Agra University would be, if at all, very small. According to the calculations, the cost would be Rs. 10,476 in the first year, and from the second year the University was likely to be self supporting.

The Agra University was not intended to enter into competition with other universities of the Province. It was merely intended to relieve the encumbered Allahabad University of part of its burden. Mereover, sufficient safeguards had been included in the Bill to check the lowering of standards. There would be a Board of Inspection to guard against promiscuous affiliation. Under certain Clauses the Academic Council had been made responsible for the maintenance of proper standards, both of teaching and examinations. There was a Clause providing for the appointment of some examiners who were not teachers in any of the affiliated colleges. The proposed University was not going to be an affiliating university of the old type but one of the reformed type, sharing the advantages of the old and the new model in a consistent manner.

After a few speeches in opposition the motion was put and carried and the House adjourned.

The Agra Tenancy Bill.

On the 28TH JUNE Sir Samuel O'Donnell, Finance Member, presented the report of the Select Committee on the Agra Tenancy Bill and moved that the report be taken into consideration. He said that the Select Committee had made several alterations in the Draft Bill, but they were mostly of minor importance.

Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ismail moved that the consideration of the Bill be postponed till the 1st July to enable the non-official members of different parties to meet together with the object of arriving at a compromise on some of the controversial clauses in the Bill on which there was a wide divergence of opinion as was apparent from the different minutes of dissent appended to the report of the Select Committee. In his opinion important legislation of this nature affecting the vital interests of the people should have the approval of every shade of opinion in the Legislature.

Sir Samuel O'Donnell, leader of the House and Government Member in charge of the Bill, said he did not wish to oppose the motion if there was general desire in the Council that the debate should be postponed till the 1st July. He would, however, point out the difficulties of prolonging the current session of the Council for any length of time during August.

The motion for adjournment was put and adopted without dissent. The Council then adjourned to meet

On the 1ST JULY when the consideration of the report of the Select Committee on the Agra Tenancy Bill was begun. There was a prolonged and heated debate on the definition of *sir* as contained in Clause 4 of the Bill. This particular clause consists of five sub-clauses and includes two provisos *Sir* ordinarily means the demesne of the landlord, that is to say, land kept in the proprietor's own hands as distinguished from lands held by his tenants. One of the aims and objects of the Agra Tenancy Bill is to confer a stable tenancy on all classes of tenants in the province Under the existing Act, which the Bill under discussion seeks to amend, acquisition of *sir* rights by landlords is considerably restricted. But as a compensation for the conferment of a life tenancy to all classes of tenants, the present Bill provides for the acquisition of fresh *sir* rights by landlords in order to give them a scope to carry on cultivation under their direct supervision and management. The Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee, however sets a limit to the total area of *sir* which may be in the possession of a proprietor. One sub-clause of the clause defining *sir* states that the freshly acquired *sir* area added to the area which is already the *sir* of the landlord shall not exceed in the aggregate a certain scale which is in reverse proportion to the extent of his zemindari. While, on the one hand, the landlord members in the Council insisted on widening the scope of the definition of *sir*, the Government members and Swarajists were bent upon restricting the definition to what was contained in the draft Bill.

In moving an amendment which was pressed to a division Mr Hafiz Hidayet Husain representing the landlords advocated that the limit based upon the sliding scale should apply only to *sir* to be acquired under the particular sub-clause and not to the area which is already the *sir* of a landlord nor even to *sir* which may be acquired under other sub-clauses of Clause 4 of the Bill.

After a lengthy debate the House divided on the amendment which was adopted by 51 votes to 47. The House then adjourned.

On the 3RD JULY the Council considered the scale of *sir* which a landlord may acquire by virtue of continuous cultivation of land for a period of ten years. After some discussion a sliding scale, proposed by Sir Samuel O'Donnell, Finance Member, was accepted by the House. According to this scale, a petty zemindar owing 30 acres will be entitled to acquire half of it as *sir* land, a landlord owning less than 200 acres will be entitled to acquire 50 per cent. on 30 acres and 15 per cent. on the balance as *sir* area, a zemindar owning 200 to 600 acres of land will be entitled to 10 per cent of it as his right and a big zemindar owning more than 600 acres will be allowed to acquire only 5 per cent. of 600 acres and 10 per cent. of the balance as his *sir*.

There was a heated debate on one clause of the Bill which purports to place certain restrictions on the existing leases and agreements relating to tenancies. This clause aims at conferring the benefits of the proposed Act, that is to say, statutory tenancy to non-occupancy tenants who hold land under long-term leases or agreements. Landlord members vehemently opposed the inclusion of this clause on the ground that agreements once made could not be altered until the period specified in the agreement had expired. After some discussion the consideration of this clause was postponed for a future date.

On the 5TH JULY Clause 17 of the Bill dealing with the conferment of the right of occupancy on tenants came up for discussion. There was a prolonged debate on an amendment to the effect that a Hindu woman holding a limited estate should be deemed competent to confer occupancy rights with the written consent of the nearest reversioners or with the sanction of the District Judge. The amendment was adopted.

On the 6TH JULY landlord members of the Council faced a series of defeats when some important amendments were adopted, ornegatived, in spite of their opposition. In quick succession the House divided on three occasions early in the day, but finding themselves beaten on every occasion the landlord members were not inclined to call for divisions towards the latter half of the day's sitting.

This state of affairs was to some extent, due to the fact that there was a split in the landlord's camp itself, some progressive landlords, notably the Raja of Tirwa, Thakur Hanuman Singh and Thakur Mashal Singh, systematically voting with the officials and Swarajists, although their party whips were vigorously active. Moreover, early in the day the Nawab of Chhatari, speaking not as an official but as a Zamindar, appealed to the landlords to be more liberal in their attitude towards their tenants who were not only the backbone of the country, but were the children of the landlords, depending on their favours for their very existence.

After disposing of the remaining provisions of Clause 20 and also Clause 21 in its entirety the Council adjourned for the day.

On the 8TH JULY the House disposed of several minor amendments and various clauses of the Tenancy Bill until the clause 40 was reached. This clause deals with the acquisition of land from tenants by landlords for agricultural development including farming on improved lines, dairy farms, poultry farms, stock-breeding, horticulture groves, factories for industrial purposes and other allied objects. To this an amendment was moved by Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ismail. The essential differences between the clause in the bill and the amendments were in the powers of a collector in ordering acquisition and compensation offered in lieu of dispossession of a holding.

Many separate amendments were moved to the same clause by Pandit Nanak Chand who was espousing the cause of the occupancy tenants In clause 40 as it stood in the bill a collector had to be satisfied that reasonable grounds existed for the acquisition of a holding before he ordered such acquisition, while the amendment made it compulsory for him to order the acquisition on the application or a landlord. The clause in the bill did not include the occupancy tenant in the list of tenants whose holdings could not be acquired while the amendment included such tenants as well. The amount of compenpensation offered in lieu of dispose-sion is six times in case of occupancy tenants and five times annual rental value of the land in case of other tenants in the amendments. The clause 40 laid down that compensation should not exceed six times in case of occupancy tenants and four times annual rental value in case of other tenants. There were other minor differences as well between the two.

The Swarajists and zemindar members had arrived at a compromise on this question beforehand and hence speeches delivered on the occasion were couched in felicitous language and no heat and acrbity were imparted in the debate. The division on Mr. Ismail's amendment resulted in 58 voting for it and 21 against it. Swarajists and zemindars voted for it and the Government voted against it. Pandit Nanak Chand's amendments were all defeated. The council disposed of 20 clauses on this day and then adjourned.

Next day, the 9TH JULY, the Swarajist group had a field when the consideration of the Agra Tenancy Bill was resumed. This minority section effectively threw its weight on the side of the zemindars earlier in the day and signally defeated the Government on several important amendments. Later it shifted its allegience to the official section and thereby overwhelmed the zemindars.

The discussion on this day was not only important, but exciting as well. By their co nbined efforts the Swarajists and zemindars managed to omit from the Bill the clauses providing for the determination of fair and equitable rates of rent. The Bill as originally drafted, and as reported by the Select Committee embodied the roster year system for the fixation of fair rents. A roster year is an agricultural year fixed by the Local Government in respect of any district, or other local area, for the determination of a fair rent for the purposes of suits for the enhancement and abatement of the rent of a tenant in that area.

The Bill provided that in every roster year the Local Government should appoint special officers to propose fair and equitable standard rates for tenants according to soil classification and movements in prices and rents. The interval between two roster years

in the same tr ct was to be approximately one-third of the ordinary term of the settle ment.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the leader of the Swaraj Party, moved omission of all the clauses in the Bill relating to the roster year system.

Sir Samual O'Donnell, Finance Member, opposed the amendment, and maintained that the roster year system was recommended by two select committees with a non-official majority on two different occasions.

After a brief but excited debate the Swarajist amendment was adopted by 60 votes to 22.

The zemindars next sustained a defeat on an amendment moved by a member of their party to the clause of the Bill relating to the enhancement of rent. The officials and Swarajists combined to throw out this amendment by 46 votes to 38.

The House divided on six more occasions, but in all cases it was the Swarajist group that threw the winning weight either in favour of the Government, or of the zemindars.

Moharram Adjournment.

When the Council met on the 10TH JULY, a Moslem member expressed his intention to move the adjournment of the House for the Moharrum holidays with effect from that afternoon. Sir Samuel regretted his inability to accede to the request and pointed out that the number of gazetted holidays for Moharrum in the United Provinces was only four. He could agree to an observation of 10 days holiday for the festival, but 14 days were too many.

This reply was apparently not appreciated by the Moslem members and so a formal adjournment motion was discussed just before the Council rose and adopted by 37 votes to 20, only the official members voting against it. The Council was accordingly adjourned.

A large number of clauses of the Tenancy Bill were adopted on this day, the disposal of business being quicker than on previous days By a large majority the Council adopted an amendment deleting certain clauses in the Bill empowering the Local Government to invest, by notification in the "Gazette" certain officers with special authority to settle, reduce and commute rents. Sir Samuel O'Donnell opposed the amendment and emphasised that the Local Government should have some such emergency power.

After a recess of a fortnight the Council re-assembled on the 28TH JULY when consideration of Agra Tenancy Bill was resumed. There was a heated debate when the last clause of the bill came up for discussion. This clause provides for excessive ejectment suits which are pending decision before revenue courts. It was incorporated in the bill to deal with enormous tenancy litigation which sprang up in the province as soon as it became known early in 1924 that Local Government contemplated amending the existing Tenancy Act. In year 1924 as many as 2,72,000 ejectment suits were filed in the whole province and in one district alone number of such suits exceeded 72,000 Same thing happened in 1925 and the Government was faced with a problem. The Government took the view that whereas there was no harm in allowing ejectment on normal scale it would be disastrous to allow wholesale ejectments The Board of Revenue, therefore, issued instructions to Revenue Officers to stay ejectment suits whenever it became clear that wholesale ejectments were contemplated. The last clause of the bill under discussion deals with such suits as had been stayed under executive orders. The clause as originally drafted and passed by the Select Committee empowered the Collector to declare that number of ejectment suits instituted after 30th June 1924 in particular mahal was excessive and in such case if any suit is pending in court of first instance at the commencement of this act the court shall dismiss the suit. Amendments were proposed to this clause on this day from every section of the House including the Government.

Sir Sam O'Donnell on behalf of Government sought to limit the period mentioned in the original clause to two years, that is from 30th June 1924 to 30th June 1926 and in regard to ejectment suits filed after 30th June 1926 the Collector might pass orders declaring the number in any specified mahal to be excessive in which case the court should dismiss all such suits provided that in deciding whether number of such suits was excessive or not the collector should have regard to average number of suits instituted in five years preceding 1st July 1924. Landlord members in the Council pressed a number of amendments. One of them moved for the total omission of the clause.

Swarajist Amendment.

The Swarajists had their own amendments. Pandit Govind Ballav Pant, their leader, pressed that the court should dismiss all ejectment suits instituted even after 30th June 1926 in case the Collector declared that the number was excessive. The Pandit failed to understand why Government wanted to make a distinction between the suits instituted

in 1924 and 1925 and suits instituted in 1926. Suits in these two years would all be stayed but so far as the present year was concerned landlords would be given free license to institute ejectment suits provided they came within a certain limit. The Pandit thought "Government had a very stupid way of doing things."

Sir Sam O'Donnell, in replying to the debate, referred to the Swarajist criticism and said: "It might be that we are stupid, but at any rate we can claim that we are more consistent than some of our critics" Proceeding Sir Sam made it clear that the clause as amended by him would not enable zemindars in the current year to eject tenants from at most 4 per cent of area held by them. Government had taken their stand on a perfectly definite principle that normal ejectment should be allowed to proceed and that wholesale ejectments should be interfered with. That might be claimed as a fair and just principle.

The Council eventually rejected the Swarajist amendment by a very large majority.

The Finance Member's amendment was adopted after some alterations, the alterations being effected by the amendment moved by Rai Sahib Lala Jagadish Prasad (Landlord.) This last amendment provides that when ejectment suits were dismissed under this clause landlords whose suits have thus been dismissed should be entitled to repayments of process and court fees.

There was yet another excited debate on this day on the question as to when should this new Act come into force On behalf of the Government Sir Sam moved that it should come into operation on such a day as the Government might by notification in the Gazette appoint. The Swarajist leader wanted that it should come into force almost at once, but being assured by Sir Sam that there would be no unnecessary delay he dropped his amendment. Some zemindars wanted that the Act should come into force on 1st July, 1927. Some others in the same camp wanted the date to be shifted to 1st July 1928. The latter amendment was withdrawn and the former was rejected by 46 votes to 24.

Sir Sam's amendment was adopted without a division. The Council then adjourned for the day.

The Governor's Message.

Next day, the 29TH JULY, the President announced that he had received a message from the Governor to members of the Council in connexion with the Agra Tenancy Bill. The message ran to 16 and a half pages of printed foolscap and the President took thirty-minutes in reading it. The message after congratulating the members of the Legislative Council on the amicable spirit shown in discussing the Agra Tenancy Bill dealt with the history of the measure and referred to those changes made in the Bill which the Government were far from regarding as improvements but upon which they were none the less prepared with some hesitation to accept the view taken by the legislature. Then it passed on to some graver points of differences upon which the Government felt that they could not acquiesce in the Council's alterations of the bill without abandoning the essential features on their project and expressed satisfaction that such points of substantial difference were very few in number. The message repudiated the suggestion that the Roster system was an ingenious device for supplementing any loss of revenue and recommended that clauses 55 to 59 be restored. A few other clauses which have been either rejected or altered are recommended by the message for restoration. The concluding portion of the message refers to some amendment that were to be made in the bill as already shaped by the Council and that the bill so amended be passed. It puts Government's intention in the following words "Government feel that the bill cannot in all its present details become law. And yet after much reflection I put it to you that to lose this measure of reform which we by common labour and mutual concession have brought so nearer the fruition, could be little short of a disaster. I earnestly advise the Council to take the broadest possible view of their responsibilies and to co-operate with the Government in accepting even against their private inclinations the amendments which will place the bill upon the statute book. By so doing I believe that they will avert the collision of interests which must otherwise come ere long and which when it does come, many shake the peace and stability of this great province to its foundations."

After reading this message the President read out rule 20 (C) of the United Province Legislative Council rules for the information of the council.

At this stage Khan Bahadur Muhammed Ismail, a zemindar, moved for adjournment of the debate till the next day in view of the importance of the recommendations of His Excellency the Governor and which necessitated for the members of the House to sit together and consider their line of action. The motion was accepted and the Council adjourned.

On the 30TH JULY, the Council met to consider the amendments recommended by the Governor to the Agra Tenancy Bill. All the amendments, except one, recommended by the Governor were adopted by the Council. The rejected amendment was one of only minor importance relating to the reduction of revenue due to loss of rents.

Soon after the Council met Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayet Hussain (landlord) raised a point of order, which he said was of some constitutional importance, and related to the privileges and dignity of the Legislatures. The point of order was whether the Governor could recommend, under Section 72-E of the Government of India Act and Rule 20(c) of the Council rules, for reconsideration of any Bill, or its provisions during the progress of a Bill which was not a recommended Bill. Before the application of Section 72-E the Bill should have been recommended by His Excellency. In other words tho Bill should have been a recommended Bill.

Sir Samuel O'Donnell pointed out that it was perfectly clear from the language of rule 20 (c) (3) of the Legislative Council Rules that the Governor could make recommendations at any time during the passage of a Bill. This was ruled out of order by the President.

The amendments recommended by the Governor were next discussed. Landlord members opposed the amendment regarding the restriction of the total "sir" area that landholders could acquire. They strongly deprecated the suspicion of the Government that the landholders would take undue advantage of this section, and would convert every acre of their holding into "sir." Sir Samuel O'Donnell in reply said that the Government had no intention of withholding from landlords reasonable facilities for the requisition of land for their own cultivation. Already the total area under "sir" and khud khast exceeded 6,000,000 acres. Under the different provisions of the Bill landlords could even now add considerably to their "sir" and 'khud khast,' but there should be some limit to the reservation by landlords of land in which no tenant rights might accrue.

The Council by 36 votes to 33 adopted the amendment recommended by the Governor.

His Excellency's recommendation in regard to the clause which makes it imperative a to Collector to grant the application of a Zamindar to oust tenants from holdings if land were needed for purposes of building factories, demonstration farms, etc. was next discussed.

The Governor recommended that a Collector should have discretion either to grant or refuse such an application. The landlord members criticised the Governor's suggestions, and said that it was extraordinary that almost every clause that had been amended in favour of the zemindars was sought to be set at naught. They feared that the Government was treating the majority party in the Council with scant courtesy. The Government should submit to the wishes of the Council. If the majority party erred, they erred honestly and surely the error could be rectified after gaining some experience. There was no reason for suspecting landlords as a band of criminals. They had some regard at least for the welfare of their tenants.

Sir Samuel O'Donnell replying said that the Legislature was no more infalliable than any individual or any body of individuals. There was no Legislature in the world which had not from time to time recorded mistaken decisions. This Council had been asked by the head of the Province to reconsider certain of its previous decisions; and he trusted the Council would do so without passion or heat.

The Governor's amendment was adopted by 39 votes to 37.

The Governor's recommendation regarding the roster year system was next adopted.

When the other amendments had been discussed and adopted the Council proceeded to discuss Sir Samuel O'Donnell's motion that the Bill as amended be passed. The debate and the motion had not concluded when the Council rose for the day.

Bill Passed into Law.

The debate was reopened on the 31ST JULY by a Swarajist member, who expressed the view that the Bill was neither an ideal measure nor had the Government gone long enough with it. In his opinion the statutory rights of tenants should have been made heritable.

Mr. Hafiz Hidayat Hossain (landlord) said that of the three claimants to the proceeds from the soil, namely the State, the landlords, and the tenants, the landlords had the greatest and most permanent stake in the land, and the Bill that did not satisfy them was not worth the paper on which it had been put down. The landlords felt that the Government had shown consistent lack of sympathy, and sometimes even antipathy to the interests of the landlords.

Sir Samuel O'Donnell in closing the debate said that the Government did its best to hold the balance even between conflicting interests They were far from being actuated by a spirit of hostility towards the landlords. If the Government had sought to give a stable tenancy to the cultivators, they had at the same time given substantial concessions to the landlords. The Government had never regarded this bill as the final solution of the agrarian problems.

The motion that the Bill be passed was eventually put before the House. The landlords loudly cried "No," and the House divided. Forty voted for the motion and 28 against it.

Land Revenue Amendment Bill.

On the 2ND AUGUST, the Council re-assembling Sir Sam O'Donnell presented the report of the select committee on the United Provinces Land Revenue Amendment Bill and moved that it be taken into consideration. After effecting some minor changes in 58 (A) of clause two the House discussed the proviso of 58 (B) of the same clause dealing with the percentage of assessment to the assets. The proviso stated that assesment which exceeds fifty per cent of the assets, shall ordinarily be deemed to be unduly severe.

Pandit Nanakchand moved for the substitution of "45" for "Fifty" in the proviso. The Pandit said that in view of what was provided in clause 63 fifty per cent would be unduly severe on certain zemindars. He proposed that the limit should not be beyond 45 per cent and hoped that Government would accept it.

Sir Sam O'Donnell said that he must oppose the amendment strongly. Government had tabled an amendment restoring the provision in the bill as introduced, regarding the percentage of revenue to be assessed to be 45 per cent as it was originally in the bill. He sincerely hoped that the Government amendment would be carried. There was clear distinction between enhancing the revenue and reducing it. It was undesirable to have too much enhancement because the proprietor had become accustomed to certain standard of living. It was quite another matter to say that assesment was slightly over the maximum and that therefore the whole district should be resettled

Doctor Shafaat Ahmad Khan, a zemindar, in supporting the amendment of Nanak Chand said that the reply of the Finance Member was not convincing. The idea weighing with the Government was that the revenue was a mere rent, but nothing could be more fallacious and unsound than that the fact that the land revenue in India was merely a rent. The land revenue was not a rent at all, but it was a tax on a landlord's property of which he had got the absolute proprietory rights. The doctor referred to the House the statement made from the reports of the recent settlement operations in 17 districts and established that the percentage of assessment to assets never exceeded forty-nine. If Government wanted to pass that bill with the support of zemindars then the Government should show that they were conferring on them substantial advantages.

The amendment was put to the vote and carried by 44 votes against 28. After discussing some minor amendments the House adjourned.

On the 3RD AUGUST, Mr. Thakur Sadho Singh moved for the substitution of "Thirty three per cent" for "twenty-five per cent in lines two and three of section 63 (D) of clause six. This clause deals with the allowance for proprietory cultivation and runs as follows .—

"The settlement officer shall make such deduction varying from 15 per cent to 25 per cent as appears suitable having regard to the circumstances of the proprietors from valuation of *Sir* and other land which is ordinarily cultivated by the proprietors themselves. The maximum reduction shall be allowed when the number of proprietors is great or their circumstances are poor.

Khan Bahadur Maulavi Fasihuddin moved an amendment to the amendment of Sadho Singh for reducing the maximum to 30 per cent

Government members opposed the amendment very strongly and the Finance Member added that they could never accept those amendments. The motion that the section as reported by the Select Committee should form a part of the bill was negatived by 43 votes against 20. The House carried the amendment of Sadhu Singh as amended by that of Moul. Fasihuddin by 43 votes against 20.

Immediately after those divisions Sir Sam O'Donnell, Finance Member moved . "In view of this amendment I beg to move adjournment of the debate till to-morrow, as it is necessary for us to consider our decision in relation to this bill.

The Council rejected this adjournment motion by 40 votes against 20. After discussing some other amendments of minor importance the Council accepted the amendment of Doctor Shafaat Ahmad Khan, as amended by the Finance Member. This amendment shought to delete sub-section I or section 644 of clause 6 dealing with the allowance for improvements in agriculture.

On the 4TH AUGUST Government sustained a heavy defeat on section 63 (J) clause six by the combined votes of the Zemindars and Swarajists. The first portion of section 63 (J) runs as follows —

"The revenue assessed on each mahal shall ordinarily be 35 per cent. It may vary between 30 and 40 per cent and may fall as low as 30 per cent if considered necessary on account of (1) the number and circumstances of the proprietors, (2) existence of heavy charges on account of malikana, (3) effect on the proprietors of large enhancement provided that the revenue assessed shall not exceed 40 per cent of the net asset in any case.

To this Sir Sam O'Donnell, Finance Member moved for substituting the word 'forty' for the word "Thirty-five" in line two and numbers "thirty-five" and "forty-five" for numbers "thirty and for forty" in line four and number "forty-five for number "forty" in line two of the proviso. There was heated discussion on the clause.

Non-official members specially zemindars protested against Government action.

Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant, leader of the Swarajists, delivering his speech made out a strong and convincing case against the amendment which was ultimately negatived by the Council. The motion that the clause as reported by the Select Committee should form a part of the bill was carried by 42 votes against 25. The Council thus finished discussion on this bill on this day.

Governor's Message.

On the 5TH AUGUST, instead of moving the third reading of the Land Revenue Bill, Sir Sam O'Donnell, the Finance Member, only conveyed to the President a sealed message from the Governor of the Provinces when the Bill was called.

His Excellency in his message makes it clear that because of certain changes made in the Bill by the Council, the Government had reluctantly come to the conclusion that the measure in its present form could not become law. The Bill had threefold origin, firstly, there was the recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Bill of 1919 to the effect that the principles governing land revenue settlements should be brought under the purview of the Legislature, secondly, this Government had before them the recommendations of the Settlement Committee of 1923, which they wished to carry into effect as far as possible, and, thirdly, the Government considered that the benefits extended to tenants by the Agra Tenancy Bill made it both reasonable and expedient to offer to landlords the concessions embodied in the Bill as originally framed. On all three grounds the Government desired to pass this Bill, but they had discharged their obligations by placing before the Council a measure which carried out their general purpose within the limitations which they were bound to recognise. The Government were under no obligation to accept a Bill which they themselves regard as open to grave objection. From the very beginning the Government considered very carefully how far they could go, and all along they had put all their cards on the table. The Bill could not be regarded as in any sense an administrative necessity. The Government Bill offered generous concessions. The Government had no reason to anticipate that the Bill would not be welcomed by the Council. Even now the Government hoped the Council would accept it without insisting on changes in it, which would radically alter its effect. But they themselves were under no necessity of pressing for the Bill if the Council insisted on giving it a shape which they could not conscientiously accept.

Governor's Objections.

In his message His Excellency takes strong objection particularly to two alterations made by the Council in the Bill. The first matter to which the Governor invites the attention of the Council concerns the amendment carried to the clause of the Bill which provides that the deduction from assets on account of proprietory cultivation may rise as high as 30 per cent. The Government were satisfied that a limit of 25 per cent. was an abundant concession. The Government estimated that the change made by the Council would have the effect of reducing assets by something between Rs. 15 lakhs and Rs. 18 lakhs a year, and the annual revenue by something like Rs. 7 lakhs. The Government can see no justification whatever for imposing this extra burden of Rs. 7 lakhs upon the general taxpayer. His Excellency recommends that this clause of the Bill be passed in the form in which it left the Select Committee, with the addition of the amendment adopted by the Council relating to demonstration and experimental farms.

The second vital point His Excellency mentions concerns the Council's rejection of the Government's amendment dealing with the proportion of land revenue to assets. The proportion of assets to be taken as revenue has progressively declined over a long series

of years from 90 per cent. to 50 per cent. This Bill, His Excellency points out, proposed a further substantial reduction to 40 per cent. Taking into account the various deductions made before determining the net assets and other concessions offered in the Bill the official members held that the already low percentage of 40 should not be further attenuated. The Government on full reconsideration take the same view. They are not empowered, without reference to a higher authority, to assent to the reduction proposed by the Select Committee and adopted by the Council, nor on merits do they think that there are reasonable grounds for making such reference. His Excellency, therefore, recommends that this clause be passed in the form it had in the original Draft of the Bill, in other words that the revenue assessed on each mahal should ordinarily be 80 per cent. of the net assets, and might vary between 35 and 45 per cent., and might fall as low as 30 per cent. under certain circumstances.

Accordingly with reference to Section 72-E of the Government of India Act, and to Rule 20 (6) of the Legislative Council Rules the Governor recommends that the two amendments mentioned above be made in the Bill, and then the Bill be passed.

An Explanation.

The message in conclusion states

"I desire to answer a question which has been raised elsewhere, and to explain to the Council why I have preferred to make a recommendation at this stage, instead of waiting until the Bill was passed, and then returning it for reconsideration upon any point which the Government felt unable to accept. The reason is this The process of recommendation under Section 72E of the Government of India Act enables a decision to be subsequently taken between three courses (1) acceptance of the Bill in the form given to it by the Council when it has considered my recommendation , (2) certificate of the Bill by the Governor in the form recommended , (3) dropping the Bill. But according to the view of the statute taken by our advisers, the process of returning the Bill for reconsideration under Section 81A (1) after it has been passed leaves only two courses open thereafter (1) acceptance of the Bill in the form given to it by the Council after consideration of the Governor's recommendation, and (2) the vetoing of the Bill. Under Section 81A (1), the alternative of dropping the Bill is obviously no longer open, nor is, we are advised, that of certification , but we cannot, as I have said, accept the Bill so long as it contains the objectionable features which I have specified. At the same time no Governor is anxious to use either the instrument of certificate or the instrument of veto if he can avoid it. The use of the certificate power cannot even be contemplated in a case like this one, where the Government have other means open of discharging their responsibility for the subject of land revenue settlements. The use of the veto would in my opinion be peculiarly unfortunate in the case of a Bill prompted by the Government, which, except for some definite defects, the Government desired to see passed. I have, between the two courses open to me, deliberately chosen that one which offered an escape from these difficulties. It is in the power of the Council, if they desire, to pass the Bill in a form which the Government can accept. The Government will be disappointed if the Council decide otherwise. But if they do decide otherwise, it is equally open to the Government to drop the Bill."

Bill Withdrawn.

The Council broke up for an hour immediately after the Governor's message was read out. On reassembling the House took into consideration His Excellency's recommendations.

When the first amendment recommended by His Excellency was without discussion rejected by 37 votes to 24, amid loud non-official applause, Sir Sam O'Donnell said he would not proceed with the other amendments and further informed the Council that the Government would not move the third reading of the Revenue Bill.

The Bill was accordingly withdrawn.

After the withdrawal of the Revenue Bill, the Council passed into law the "Sir" Amendment Bill without any discussion.

The Agra University Bill.

The report of the Select Committee on the Agra University Bill was then taken up and after a short discussion the House adjourned.

On the 6TH AUGUST the Council spent the whole day in discussing the Agra University Bill. Proceedings commenced with a discussion on an amendment of Canon Davies to clause 18 (II) which deals with the powers and duties of the Executive Council. The Select Committee had recommended that the Executive Council shall admit colleges to the privileges of affiliation to the university after consideration of the recommendations of the board

of inspection. Canon Davies sought to restrict the powers of the Executive Council in this connection. He wanted that the Executive Council should admit colleges to the privileges of recognition in the new subjects, but in the matter of affiliation of new colleges previous sanction of the Chancellor should be necessary.

The amendment was discussed at great length and difference opinion was observed among the non-officials. The Government members who favoured the amendment in their speeches, remained neutral in voting. The amendment was ultimately carried by 22 votes against 19. It was said that the amendment would have not a different fate had the Swarajist members not "walked out,' the day before after finishing the Tenancy and Revenue Bills. It was understood that they would certainly have opposed the amendment as it tended to restrict the powers of an autonomous body and transfer those powers to the Chancellor who according to the act will be the Governor of this province.

The Council next discussed the amendment of Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan who proposed for deletion of clause 24 (2) which says that the university until such time as the local Government shall direct, be permitted to maintain or comprise classes in preparation for an intermediale or commercial diploma examination of the board of high school and intermediate education of the United Provinces. Doctor Khan wanted to substitute the following clause for it :—The university will conduct the intermediate examination but only those candidates will be eligible for admission to this examination who have studied in the intermediate classes of degree colleges affiliated to this.

The amendment was discussed at great length and the mover criticised the intermediate education policy of the Government and said that it tended to the lowering of standards,

The motion was rejected by the Council.

After the Council's effecting minor alterations, Rai Rajeshwar Bali, Education Minister, moved that the Agra University Bill be passed. No single voice was raised against the Minister's motion that the bill be passed. The Council then rose for the day.

On the 7TH AUGUST two non-official members Mr. Methura Prosad Mohrotra, a zemindar, and Mr. Brijnandan Prosad Misra, an independent, gave intimation of motions of adjournment as a protest against the refusal of Sir Sam O'Donnell, Finance Member to move the third reading of the Land Revenue Amendment Bill. Tne President ruled both the motions out of order on the ground that the question has lost its urgency as the incident referred to happened on August 5 and no such motion was brought in on the following day. Besides this the President remarked that it was as much open to the Government to withdraw their bill if it was radically altered, as it was for a private member.

The Finance Member next introduced the United Provinces Legislative Council Salary of the President Amendment Bill and moved that it be taken into consideration. The bill received the whole hearted support of the Council and was passed unanimously. The Finance Member next moved a resolution that ten per cent of minister's salary will be deducted if Government supplied him with a residence leased. hired or constructed at Government expense.

The Council adopted the resolution without discussion.

The President then asked the Finance Member to present the demands for supplementary grants. The Finance Member presented demand of Rupees 1,746,75 under "land revenue."

Mr. Nanakchand moved that demand be reduced by Rupee one. This motion received firm support from non-official members who criticised the settlement policy of the Government. Ultimately the motion was carried and Government did not challenge a division.

When the whole demand minus rupee one was put to the House the Swarajist members who had "walked out" after the Tenancy and Revenue Bills had been discussed, re-entered the Council to record their votes against Government. The demand was thrown out by 36 votes against 29. All other demands were carried without much discussion. The Swarajists then left the council chamber.

After disposing of two minor bills the President announced that the Council was adjourned 'sine die.'

REPORT OF THE

Indian Currency Committee

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Indian Currency Committee

A Popular Exposition.*

The Indian Currency Committee recommended that the rupee be stabilised in relation to gold at a rate corresponding to an exchange rate of 1*s.* 6*d.* for the rupee. This has met with a chorus of disapproval and Indian opinion is being mobilised to an unprecedented extent. Many students of public affairs have hazy ideas about this rate of exchange. We shall try at first to give a working idea of the subject.

India imports goods from foreign countries. The rupee is the standard coin used in India for commercial transactions within the country but this coin is not acceptable to foreigners. When a Marwari merchant imports piece-goods from Lancashire he has, therefore, to make payments in English money, i. e., the coins which are current in England. It is necessary consequently for Indian merchants to convert Indian money into English money i. e. sterling or £. s. d. The Commission's recommendation means, hterefore, that the Government of India should be prepared to convert rupee into sterling money at 18d. to the rupee and *vice versa.*

Ordinarily, however, when an Indian merchant imports goods from England he does not pay for the goods by remitting cash to England. He purchases bills of exchange. These bills may be drawn by exporters in India on importers in England. They are, like cheques, orders directing the importers in England, who owe money to the exporters for goods sold to them by the latter, to pay for the value of the goods. The importers in India will buy these bills of exchange from the exporters in India, who thus receive the value of the goods exported by them to England. These bills will then be sent to the merchants of England from whom the importers have purchased goods. These English merchants will present these bills of exchange to, and realise the value of the bills from, those English merchants who have imported goods from India and are consequently indebted to the Indian exporters who have drawn these bills of exchange on, and realise the value of the bills of exchange or orders to pay. Thus the English exporters get the value of their goods in England and the Indian exporters similarly receive the price of their goods in India. No money passes between the two countries.

Thus importers will ordinarily purchase bills from exporters. The bills will be payable in sterling money in England but the importers purchase these bills in India in rupees. If the importer pays Rs. 15 for a bill of exchange worth £1 he has converted Indian money into sterling money at the rate of (20s ÷ Rs. 15) 1s. 4d. = Re. 1. Thus the rate of exchanging Indian money for sterling money is 1*s.* 4*d.* Bills are bought and sold in the exchange market in the same way as fish is bought and sold in any Calcutta

* *Contributed by Prof. B. K. Bhattacharjya.*

market. If the supply of fish increases all of a sudden one day the price of fish falls and similarly, if the supply of bills of exchange increases, the price paid for such bills in India in rupees will fall. Suppose the price falls so much that the importer buys bills worth £1 at Rs. 13-5-4 instead of Rs. 15; in that case the fifteen rupees can purchase more sterling money than before and the rate of exchange is (20s. ÷ Rs. 13-5-4) 1*s.* 6*d.* = Re. 1. It should be borne in mind that the rate of exchange is determined ordinarily by the supply of and demand for bills of exchange. There are other ways of remitting money but most of the payments in foreign trade are made in this way.

If one rupee can buy a large quantity of sterling money the importers profit, for they pay Rs. 13-5-4, instead of Rs. 15, for goods worth £1 but the exporters lose for they get fewer rupees for every pound's worth of goods sold by them in England. If, therefore, exchange is raised from 16*d.* to 18*d.*, *i.e.*, if the Government promises to convert rupees into sterling money at the rate of 1*s.* 6*d.* the importers will profit, foreign goods will sell at a lower price in India. This will encourage imports and it may be that the imported goods favoured by the 1*s.* 6*d.* rate will compete with similar goods produced in India. Exporters will suffer and this will react on the producers of goods generally exported out of India. They will get a lower price in terms of rupees for every pound's worth of goods sold abroad. But these persons will on the other hand pay lower prices for goods bought by them and will be benefited to that extent.

On the other hand if at any time the rate of exchange is 18d., what will happen if it is reduced to 16d.? What will happen if Government promises to change rupees into sterling money at 1*s.* 4*d.*? The importers will suffer for they will have to pay Rs. 15, instead of Rs. 13-5-4, for every pound's worth of goods purchased and consequently the price of imported goods will rise. If the goods that are imported are produced also in India then the Indian producers will profit. To take an example the owners of cotton mills will be benefited for Indian cotton goods will now compete favourably with imported cotton goods. It is possible that the price of goods produced in India will rise in sympathy with the price of imported goods. Exporters will be benefited for they will get more rupees—Rs. 15 instead of Rs. 13-5-4 for every pound's worth of goods sold abroad—as a result of the rise in the rupee price of sterling. But consumers or purchasers of goods in India will be prejudicially affected for they will have to pay a higher price for goods. Thus the peasants will get higher prices for goods produced by them but they will also have to pay higher prices for goods bought by them. People receiving fixed salaries and labourers will suffer. We might study the effects of these variations in the rate of exchange further with reference to different classes of goods and different classes of persons in society. But what we have said may be sufficient to indicate the way in which fluctuations of exchange affect a country.

Two considerations, however, should be borne in mind in this connection. It is very difficult in modern times to trace the effects of an increased or lowered rate of exchange. When the rate is raised from an existing level prices of imported goods will fall but it is very difficult to say to what extent prices will fall and how far this fall in the price of imported goods will affect goods produced in India. The second consideration arises out of the first. It is certain that the level of prices will be disturbed by

raising or lowering the rate from an existing level. The best course to adopt, therefore, is to stabilise the rate of exchange in such a way as not to disturb the price level either way. It is for this reason that the Commission points out: "We are unanimous in holding the view—and, indeed it is a proposition which it would be difficult to controvert—that if it can be shown that prices have to a preponderant degree adjusted themselves to the existing *de facto* rate, then that rate must be adhered to."

The prevalent rate at present is approximately 1*s.* 6*d* and the Commission recommends the stabilisation of this rate on the ground that at this rate prices in India have already attained a substantial measure of adjustment with those in the world at large. The Commission believes, therefore, that if this ratio is ultimately established the price level in India will not differ substantially from the price level in other countries. Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas was a member of the Commission but he dissents from the views expressed by the other members. His point of view, briefly put, is that the present rate is not a natural one, that it has been brought about by the Government by artificial measures.

We have here to make a little diversion to understand this difference of opinion thoroughly. It is an undisputed fact that the Government of India was at one time pledged to maintain the rate of exchange at a definite figure. In 1898 the Government of India resolved to maintain a 1*s.* 4*d*. rate of exchange. The exchange value of the rupee was very near to this ratio on the eve of the last war. There were certainly fluctuations but these fluctuations were kept within limits by the combined action of the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India. What they used to do was this. Whenever the rate of exchange had a tendency to exceed 1*s.* 4*d.* the Secretary of State would offer in London bills of exchange payable in India (Council Bill) at 1*s.* 4*d.* and English importers who had to remit money to India to pay for goods imported from India would naturally prefer the Council Bills and the rate would come down to the fixed ratio of 1*s.* 4*d.* Whenever on the other hand the rate of exchange tended to go down to, let us say, 1*s.* 3*d.* Indian importers who had imported goods from England would have to pay Rs. 16 to buy a bill of exchange worth £1 (20*s.* ÷ 1*s.* 3*d.* = 16). The Government of India could prevent that result by selling in India bills of exchange (Reverse Councils or Sterling Bills) payable in London at the rate of 1*s.* 4*d.* Indian importers would buy these bills at Rs. 15 and send the bills to London on payment of goods imported from London. There was thus, before the war, a machinery ready to be set in motion by the Government to correct deviations from the 1*s.* 4*d.* rate. As a matter of fact exchange fell immediately after the war was declared and later at different times, but the Government succeeded in stopping these deviations by selling Reverse Councils when necessary. But the rate of 1*s.* 4*d.* could not be maintained long. In 1917 it had to be raised for a variety of reasons to 1*s.* 5*d.* in 1918 to 1*s.* 6*d.* in 1919 to 1*s.* 8*d.* and gradually to 2*s.* 4*d.* in 1920. But it began to fall after this and reached 1*s.* 3*d.* in 1921. In 1924, however, exchange rose again to 1*s.* 4*d.* and to 1*s.* 6*d.* in October of that year. It has remained at that figure since that time. It will thus be seen that the 18*d.* ratio has been prevalent for more than two years and it is this fact that the Commission refers to when it calls the 18*d.* the *de facto* ratio. But we have already pointed out that the advocates of a 1*s.* 4*d.* ratio urge that the 18*d.* ratio has not come into being

under normal conditions and normal currency operations. It cannot be denied that Government resorted to the device of offering Reverse Councils when the rate had a tendency to go down from 1*s.* 6*d.* and the rupee was maintained at 1*s.* 6*d.* But the Commission's reply is: "When prices and other conditions are in adjustment with those in the world at large on the basis of an existent exchange rate, the question of the means by which that rate came into existence has no bearing on the extent or violence of the economic disturbances which would result from an alteration in the rate." This is certainly a short-sighted policy for if it can be proved that the existing rate is an artificial one, we must consider what will happen if the Government ceases to maintain the exchange. Government has committed blunders in currency matters in the past and Government can be allowed to maintain indefinitely a rate of exchange which has been brought artificially into being. There runs through the whole of the report of the Currency Commission a spirit of reluctance to re-open the question of how the present rate of exchange has been reached and the arguments that the Commission employ to combat Sir P. Thakurdas's suggestion are weak and halting. It is abundantly clear that but for the manipulations of the Government the rate of exchange might have been lower than it is to-day; it is, however, not similarly apparent that the rate of exchange would have remained at 1*s.* 4*d.* if the Government had not intervened and had not been looking for a permanently higher rate. It is a pity that the Commission did not examine this question at all, for the consensus of economic opinion is not likely to countenance a rate which has been established by artificial means. This reminds us of the measures which Government adopted to carry out the recommendations of another Currency Committee—the Babington-Smith Committee. Mr. Dalal, who was a member of the Committee, did not share the conclusions of the Committee and sounded a timely note of warning. The Government paid no heed to it and started madly to maintain the artificial ratio recommended by the Committee. The "ill-fated attempt to stabilise Indian exchange at 2*s.*" is still fresh in our memory and no one will view with satisfaction Government's endeavours to explain that the 18*d.* ratio is the only ratio possible to-day.

The Government of India Press Communique.

The report of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency was made available in India on the 7th August 1926. The majority report runs to ninety-one pages, while the Dissenting Minute of Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas occupies forty-two pages. The cost of the Commission was calculated at Rs. 3,31.000. The following decisions of the Government of India on the report was announced :—

"The Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India have considered the important and comprehensive report of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance which is published for general information to-day.

2. The report deals with the following main topics :—(a) the establishment of a gold standard for India, (b) the creation of a Central Bank, its organisation and responsibilities, (c) the ratio of the rupee to gold and (d) the arrangements to be adopted during the period which must elapse before the Central Bank can be brought into being.

3. The Commission recognise that the projects comprising (a) and (b) require certain preparatory work and cannot be given effect to at

once. Their recommendations on these heads demand careful study from Government and the public before questions of legislation can be taken up but it is necessary to indicate at once the Government's intentions as regards (c) and (d).

4. After full consideration of the Report and the Minute of Dissent annexed thereto, the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India are satisfied that it is in the interests of India to adopt as the ratio of the rupee to gold the rate 1s. 6d. gold which is recommended in the Report.

5. The Report indicates the method by which this ratio should be established in the interim period prior to the transfer of responsibility for the control of the currency to a Central Bank. The Commission have recommended a procedure for linking the rupee to gold placing the currency authority under an obligation to buy gold and to sell gold or gold exchange at its option at appropriate prices, with reference to the accepted gold parity of the rupee. The Commission are further of opinion that the obligation to maintain the value of the currency at the parity established should be embodied in statutory form.

6. Recognising the importance of establishing the stability of exchange on a statutory basis as soon as possible, the Government of India will lay proposals covering the matter referred to in the two immediately preceding paragraphs before the Legislature at the forthcoming session at Simla. Meanwhile, in order to remove any uncertainty, the Government of India announce, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, that they will take such steps as may be necessary to prevent any undue fluctuation in the exchange value of the rupee in order to confine the movements of exchange within the approximate upper and lower gold points as calculated on the basis of 1s. 6d. gold rupee viz, 1s. 6-3/16d. and 1s 5$\frac{13}{16}$d. respectively".

Chief Recommendations.

The following are the Chief recommendations made:—

(i) The ordinary medium of circulation should remain the currency note and the silver rupee, and the stability of the currency in terms of gold should be secured by making the currency directly convertible into gold, but gold should not circulate as money. (Paragraph 54.)

(ii) The necessity of unity of policy in the control of currency and credit for the achievement of monetary stability involves the establishment of a Central Banking system. (Paragraphs 83-85.)

(iii) The Central Banking functions should be entrusted to a new organisation, referred to as the Reserve Bank. (Paragraphs 89, 90.)

(iv) Detailed recommendations are made as to the constitution (paragraphs 91-102) and functions and capacities of the Bank. (Paragraphs 139-164.)

(v) The outlines of a proposed charter are recommended to give effect to the recommendations which concern the Reserve Bank. (Paragraphs 139-164.)

(vi) Subject to the payment of limited dividends and the building up of suitable reserve funds, the balance of the profits of the Reserve Bank should be paid over to the Government. (Paragraphs 99, 100.)

(vii) The Bank should be given the sole right of note issue for a period of (say) 25 years. Not later than five years from the date of the charter becoming operative, Government notes should cease to be legal tender except at Government Treasuries. (Paragraph 141.)

(viii) The notes of the Bank should be full legal tender, and should be guaranteed by Government. The form and material of the note should be subject to the approval of the Governor-General in Council. A suggestion is made as to the form of the note. (Paragraphs 134, 49, 155)

(ix) An obligation should be imposed by statute on the Bank to buy and sell gold without limit at rates determined with reference to a fixed gold parity of the rupee but in quantities of not less than 400 fine ounces, no limitation being imposed as to the purpose for which the gold is required. (Paragraphs 59-61, 150, 151.)

(x) The conditions which are to govern the sale of gold by the Bank should be so framed as to free it in normal circumstances from the task of supplying gold for non-monetary purposes. The method by which this may be secured is suggested. (Paragraphs 64, 150)

(xi) The legal tender quality of the sovereign and the half-sovereign should be removed. (Paragraphs 65, 66.)

(xii) Government should offer "on tap" savings certificates redeemable in 3 or 5 years in legal tender money or gold at the option of the holder. (Paragraphs 67, 68.)

(xiii) The paper currency should cease to be convertible by law into silver coin. It should, however, be the duty of the Bank to maintain the free interchangeability of the different forms of legal tender currency, and of the Government to supply coin to the Bank on demand. (Paragraphs 69-71, 152.)

(xiv) One-rupee notes should be re-introduced and should be full legal tender. (Paragraph 72.)

(xv) Notes other than the one-rupee note should be legally convertible into legal tender money, i.e., into notes of smaller denominations or silver rupees at the option of the currency authority. (Paragraph 73.)

(xvi) No change should be made in the legal tender character of the silver rupee. (Paragraph 74.)

(xvii) The Paper Currency and Gold Standard Reserves should be amalgamated, and the proportions and composition of the combined Reserve should be fixed by statute. (Paragraphs 75-77.)

(xviii) The proportional reserve system should be adopted. Gold and gold securities should form not less than 40 per cent of the Reserve, subject to a possible temporary reduction, with the consent of Government, on payment of a tax. The currency authority should strive to work to a reserve ratio of 50 to 60 per cent. The gold holding should be raised to 20 per cent. of the Reserve as soon as possible and to 25 per cent. within 10 years. During this period no favourable opportunity of fortifying the gold holding in the Reserve should be allowed to escape. Of the gold holding at least one-half should be held in India. (Paragraphs 78, 79, 131, 132, 153.)

(xix) The silver holding in the Reserve should be very substantially reduced during a transitional period of 1 1 years. (Paragraphs 80, 133-136, 145.)

(xx) The balance of the Reserve should be held in self-liquidating trade bills and Government of India securities. The "created" securities should be replaced by marketable securities within ten years. (Paragraphs 81, 116, 136, 145.)

(xxi) A figure of Rs. 50 crores has been fixed as the liability in respect of the contractibility of the rupee circulation. Recommendations are made to secure that an amount equal to one-fifth of the face value of any increase of decrease in the number of silver rupees in issue shall be added to or subtracted from this liability, and the balance of profit or loss shall accrue to or be borne by the Government revenues. (Paragraphs 82, 120-123, 146-148.)

.. (xxii) The Issue Department of the Reserve Bank should be kept wholly distinct from its Banking Department. (Paragraphs 137, 143.)

(xxiii) The Reserve Bank should be entrusted with all the remittance operations of the Government, The Secretary of State should furnish in advance periodical information as to his requirements. The Bank should be left free at its discretion, to employ such method or methods of remittance as it may find conducive to smooth working. (Paragraphs 103-108, 111, 140.)

(xxiv) During the transition period the Government should publish a weekly return of remittances made. A trial should be made of the system of purchase by public tender in India, (paragraph 110.)

(xxv) The cash balances of the Government (including any balances of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State outside India), as well as the banking reserves in India of all banks operating in India, should be centralised in the hands of the Reserve Bank Section 23 of the Government of India Act should be amended accordingly. (Paragraphs 111, 112, 140, 161, 162)

(xxvi) The transfer of Reserve assets should take place not later than 1st January, 1922, and the Bank's obligation to buy and sell gold should come into operation not later than 1st January, 1931. (Paragraph 165.)

(xxvii) During the transition period the currency authority (i.e., the Government until the transfer of Reserve assets and the Bank thereafter) should be under an obligation to buy gold and to sell gold or gold exchange at its option at the gold points of the exchange. This obligation should be embodied in statutory form, of which the outline is suggested. (Paragraph 166.)

(xxviii) Stabilisation of the rupee should be effected forthwith at a rate corresponding to an exchange rate of 1s. 6d. (Paragraphs 168-213.)

(xxix) The stamp duty on bills of exchange and cheques should be abolished. Bill forms, in the English language and the vernacular in parallel, should be on sale at post offices, (Paragraphs 116, 216.)

(xxx) Measures should be taken to promote the development of banking in India. (Paragraph 214.)

(xxxi) Every effort should be made to remedy the deficiencies in the existing body of statistical data. (Paragraph 217.)

Summary of the Report.

The following is the official summary of the report :—

The Royal Commission was appointed to examine and report on the Indian exchange and currency system and practice ; to consider whether any modification are desirable in the interests of India ; and to make recommendations.

2. Volume I of the Report of the Commission which has now been published contains :—

(1) the Report which is signed by all the members of the Commission,

(2) a short note by Sir Norcot Warren emphasising the fact that he joins in the recommendations in his personal capacity as a member of the Commission and not in any representative capacity on behalf of the Imperial Bank of India, and

(3) a Minute of Dissent by Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas.

The present system.

3, The present state of affairs and its defects may be briefly described as follows ;—

(1) The system is far from simple and the basis of the stability of the rupee is not readily intelligible to the uninstructed public. The currency consists of two tokens in circulation, with the unnecessary excrescence of a third full-value coin which does not circulate at all. One form of token currency (into which there is an unlimited obligation to convert the other) is highly expensive and is liable to vanish if the price of silver rises beyond a certain level.

(2) There is a cumbrous duplication of reserves, with an antiquated, and dangerous, division of responsibility for the control of credit and currency policy.

(3) The system does not secure the automatic expansion and contraction of currency. Such movements are too wholly dependent on the will of the currency authority.

(4) The system is inelastic, the utility of the provision for elasticity made on the recommendation of the Babington-Smith Committee being affected by the methods of financing Indian trade.

(5) In consequence, the system has not the confidence of the public, and without such confidence the uninstructed public will never be weaned from those uneconomic habits of hoarding and that disinclination to investment which are now the worst obstacles to the progress of the nation.

Possible Remedies of Present Defects.

4. The possible methods by which the defects in the present system might be remedied may be reduced to three, namely :—

(1) the perfection of the sterling exchange standard,

(2) the adoption of a gold exchange standard, and

(3) the adoption of a gold standard proper, with or without gold currency.

The Sterling Exchange Standard.

5. The sterling exchange standard, however perfected, would be open to the following objections :—

(1) The silver currency would still be subject to the threat implied in a rise in the price of silver.

(2) Were sterling once more to be divorced from gold, the rupee would suffer a similar divorce. Should sterling be heavily depreciated, Indian prices would have to follow sterling prices to whatever heights the latter may soar or, in the alternative, India would have to absorb some portion of such rise by raising her exchange. This danger is real, however remote.

Gold Exchange Standard.

6. A gold exchange standard could be secured by providing that the currency authority should undertake an obligation to buy and sell at the upper and lower gold points respectively unlimited amounts of the currencies of any of the principal foreign countries with a gold standard. The system would, however, have the following defects :—

(1) The silver rupee would vanish as soon as the price of silver rose above the melting point of the coin.

(2) It has not the simplicity which is essential to secure the confidence of public opinion, which is suspicious of the mechanism of an exchange standard and requires some link that is not only real but conspicuously visible between the currency of the country and gold.

Finance Department Scheme.

7. The officials of the Finance Department prepared a scheme for the establishment of a gold standard with a gold currency. The scheme

assumed the transfer of the management of the paper currency and the conduct of the Government remittances to the Imperial Bank of India. The eventual position under the scheme would be as follows :—

(a) Gold coin and bank notes to be unlimited legal tender and silver rupees up to Rs. 50.

(b) Government to be under a statutory obligation to give gold coin in exchange for gold bullion.

(c) The Bank to be under a statutory obligation to buy gold.

(d) Bank notes to be payable on demand in gold coin.

(e) The new Reserve to consist of a gold holding of not less than 30 per cent., gold securities or sterling trade bills of not less than 20 per cent, and Government of India's securities and internal trade bills for the balance.

(f) The Bank to undertake to keep the Secretary of State supplied with fund to meet the sterling charges of Government.

(g) During the transitional period, the total of gold and gold securities in the Reserve to be allowed to fall as low as 30 per cent., if necessary.

Under this scheme, the Government would have for disposal some 200 crores of silver rupees, and would require £103 millions of gold for introducing the scheme in all its stages, while the cost of the scheme, as estimated by its authors would be about Rs. 1 2/3 crores per annum during the first five years and thereafter from 2/3 of a crore to 1·12 crore.

8. The chief objects of the scheme are :—

(a) To eliminate the threat to the currency inherent in the possibility of a rise in the price of silver.

(b) To cure the uneconomic habit of the people of holding precious metals as a store of value.

Objections to the Scheme.

9. The scheme is unacceptable for the following reasons :—

(1) A large extra demand for gold from India would cause increased competition for gold among the countries of the world and lead to a substantial fall in gold prices and a substantial curtailment of credit which, in their reaction on India, would on balance be unfavourable.

(2) The estimates of the amount and time of the gold demand are very uncertain, the decline in the value of silver might induce an enlarged absorption of gold for non-monetary purposes; a part of the note circulation as well as the whole amount of surplus rupees might seek conversion into gold; the reduction of proportion of the gold and sterling securities in the Reserve to 30 per cent during the transitional period is unsafe; and if the control of the currency is meanwhile transferrred to a bank, any intensification of the absorption of gold might involve a restriction on credit conditions in a manner and to a degree highly detrimental to the country's economic progress.

(3) If silver were to be dethroned from its present position in India and if for several years India were to meet her own normal demand for silver by melting rupees, silver might conceivably fall below the level of 24d. assumed in the scheme, especially if India's action had the effect of making other silver-using countries follow suit.

(4) The proposals would inflict heavy losses on the poorer classes who have from time immemorial placed their trust in silver as the medium of exchange and as their store of value, and the effort to maintain the domestic price of silver irrespective of world price would probably fail.

(5) The effect of the announcement that the Indian Government propose selling silver equal to the world's production for three years would probably be felt in China, which might immediately set about securing the gold needed

as a basis for instituting some form of gold exchange standard. This would throw out of gear the exchange with China and for a time paralyse the growing trade of the world with that country. India could not escape injury from a widespread dislocation of the kind.

(6) Insuperable difficulty would be encountered in obtaining the necessary credits. Both the Governor of the Bank of England and the Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York view the proposal with alarm on the ground that it would retard the progress of monetary re-construction in Europe, would upset world prices and would be fundamentally harmful both to India and to the rest of the world.

(7) The cost of the scheme would be substantial even if the lowest estimate were accepted.

(8) The attempt to introduce gold currency could only be accomplished at the cost of insecurity to those coutries which have restored their monetary standards, and at the risk of delay to those countries which are now seeking with reasonable promise to do so, and this uncertainty and delay are likely to produce higher interest rates, business disturbance and economic depression, with inevitable repercussions on the economic well-being and commercial prosperity of India.

Gold Currency under any Conditions "Unwise."

10, The economic reasons against putting gold into circulation are .—

(1) The greater the proportion of gold in circulation, the less the elasticity of the currency system.

(2) Gold in circulation is of uncertain value for the support of exchange, for so long as the public have the option of making payments in tokens or in gold, it is the surplus tokens and not the gold in circulatiou which will seek an outlet at a time of weak exchange.

It is, therefore, unwise to contemplate the introduction of a gold currency under any conditions that can be foreseen. At the same time, the people of India should be left perfectly free to decide through their Legislature, when the proper time comes and a gold currency can be introduced without risk, whether or not they are prepared to confront its expense and to disregard its other disadvantages. Underlying the evidence of many witnesses in India there was the idea that gold was the most advanced form of currency, and that other nations had long denied to India a privilege which they enjoyed and highly valued themselves. The war has taught Europe to do without gold coins and experience has aroused doubts of their utility. In returning to the gold standard the nations do not aim at a return to a gold currency. Some high authorities have, in fact, expressed the view that the circulation of gold is beginning to be regarded as a sign of backward civilisation.

Gold Bullion Standard.

11. The standard which the Commission favour may be described as a gold bullion standard, the essence of which is that the ordinary medium of circulation in India should remain, as at present, the currency note and the silver rupee, and that the stability of the currency in terms of gold should be secured by making the currency directly convertible into gold for all purposes, but that gold should not circulate as money. An obligation should be imposed by statute on the currency authority to buy and sell gold without limit at rates determined with reference to a fixed gold parity of the rupee but in quantities of not less than 400 fine ounces, no limitation being imposed as to the purpose for which the gold is required. Since gold bars are to be given in exchange for notes or silver rupees, not for export only, but for any purpose, this is not an exchange standard but an absolute gold standard.

12. A sound gold standard postulates a statutory obligation upon the currency authority to buy and sell gold at a price equivalent to the par value of the monetary unit, but with such an obligation that authority would at once become the cheapest market for gold in India in all ordinary circumstances. This would practically destroy the wholesale bullion market and the currency authority would, moreover, inevitably become involved in the performance of a task which does not properly belong to it. It is essential, therefore, that the conditions which are to govern the sale of gold should be so framed as to free the currency authority in normal circumstances from the task of supplying gold for non-monetary purposes. This can be achieved by fixing the selling prices of gold at rates which will enable the Bank to replenish its stock of gold without loss by importation from London.

Legal Tender of Gold Coin.

13. As a result of the obligation to sell gold bars for all purposes, it is impossible to treat any gold coin as legal tender or to mint gold for the public; otherwise the gold from the reserves might in certain circumstances pass into circulation without any contraction in the currency and thus without fulfilling the essential purpose of securing the compensatory effect of the exchanges. The legal tender quality of the sovereign and the half sovereign should therefore be removed. There should be no hesitations to sacrifice the shadow of an unnecessary, and in practice little used. gold coin of legal tender, in order to obtain the substance of a real gold standard

14. In order to emphasise the fact that gold is the standard of value of the rupee, and that the one is convertible into the other, the Government should offer "on tap" saving certificates redeemable in three or five years, in legal tender money or gold at the option of the holder. They might be issued in denominations of 1 tola and integral number of tolas, and sold for legal tender money, rupees and notes, at a price which would give the holder an attractive yield in interest. These certificates would not stimulate a fresh demand for gold, but would constitute a powerful incentive to investment and a powerful antidote to hoarding, thus achieving the chief benefit that is claimed for a gold currency without any of the risk, expense and inconvenience involved in putting gold into circulation.

Convertibility of Notes.

15. The termination of the anomalous provision by which one form of note, the paper note, is convertible by law into another form, the silver note, is an essential step in Indian currency reform which must be taken sooner or later. The existence of this obligation has in the past placed, and may conceivably again place, the currency system completely at the mercy of the price of silver. It entails keeping in the currency reserve, for the purposes of internal convertibility, a large stock of silver, which for external purposes is of little value. While no legal obligation for conversion into silver rupees should attach to the new notes referred to below, obligation must continue in relation to the present currency notes so long as they remain in circulation, because the Government's promise to redeem them in rupees must be religiously kept. Again, it should be made incumbent on the currency authorities to make rupees and other coin freely available to the public in such quantities as may be required for circulation in order to foster the use of currency notes by establishing confidence in their practical convertibility. The proposal to terminate the statutory obligation implies that the coinage of silver rupees should be stopped for a long time to come, until the amount of silver rupees in circulation is reduced to the amount required for small change.

One Rupee Note To Return.

16. Concurrently with the first issue of notes of the new status, the currency authority should re-introduce one rupee notes which should be full legal tender and which like other notes of the new status, should not be convertible by law into silver rupees.

17. The public should have a right to obtain change for the notes in some other form and a statutory obligation should be imposed on the currency authority to convert all notes,, other than the one rupee note, on demand into legal tender money, i.e., into notes of smaller denominations or silver rupees at the option of the currency authority. There should be no alteration in the legal tender character of the silver rupee.

18. It is impossible to discriminate scientifically between the purposes for which the Paper Currency and Gold Standard Reserves are maintained. With the removal of the legal convertibility of the note into internal currency, the way will be clear for the amalgamation of the two Reserves—a step which will assimilate the Indian system to other currency systems. The combined Reserve will also be simpler and more intelligible to the public and can be made more efficient in its working.

A Central Bank for India

19. The evidence has clearly brought out the necessity of a unity of policy in the control of currency and credit in a modern financial organisation, if monetary stability is to be achieved. It is also essential for the development of banking generally that the foundations of the credit organisation should be truly laid. This will only be the case if the commercial banks are able, when the necessity arises, to turn into cash a maximum of their assets with a minimum of disturbance to general conditions. It is only through the establishment of a central banking system with the facilities for rediscounting it affords that this end can be achieved. This has been demonstrated by the economic history of the great trading nations of the world during the last half-century. The Central Banks in other countries are entrusted with the sole right of note issue and they are responsible for maintaining the stability of the currency. They are the custodians of the currency and banking reserves and of the cash balances of their Governments. Their business, in the main, is confined to that of a bank of the banks and of the Government. These functions of necessity require that the character of their business should be of the soundest. Such intimations upon their business prevent the Central Banks from transacting the every-day commercial banking business of the country and from entering into competition with the commercial banks. But, in times of stress, they intervene vigorously in the country's business by extending credit facilities liberally. They are primarily concerned with upholding the credit of the country and guiding its financial policy. India should perfect her currency and credit organisation by setting up a Central Bank with a charter framed on lines which experience has proved to be sound.

Relations With Imperial Bank.

20. The question arises whether the Imperial Bank should be entrusted with the charter or whether it should be a wholly new institution. The idea of utilising the existing organization of the Imperial Bank is tempting at first sight, but on close consideration it will be found that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages. The Bank's charter would have to be amended radically so as to preclude it from undertaking a great many tasks which it now successfully performs as a commercial bank, thus depriving the country of the benefit of an elaborate and widespread organization

which makes available to the community increased commercial banking facilities and assists in fostering among the people as a whole, the habit of banking and investment. It is preferable that the Bank should be freed altogether from the restrictions which its present charter imposes upon it, which clearly have their origin in the hybrid character of the functions which were originally assigned to it.

Its prestige and the convenience of its present policy of the extension of branch banking may be safeguarded in various way. For example, the Imperial Bank could come to an agreement with the new Central Bank, whereby the latter would employ the former as its agents in the mofussil and, in consideration of this service, place at the disposal of the Imperial Bank such funds as would be required to enable the Imperial Bank's branches to become self-supporting.

21. A middle course is to confine the Imperial Bank's functions to those of a true Central Bank in the centres where adequate commercial banking facilities exist, and to permit it to do the ordinary commercial banking business in all those localities where there is no other reputable bank established. This would, however, destroy wholesome competition by eliminating the Bank from the field of commercial banking in all the important centres and as a commercial bank in the smaller centres.

A New Institution—The Reserve Bank Of India.

22. The proper course, therefore, is to entrust the central banking functions to a new organization, endowed with a charter which wholly conforms to the requirements of a true Central Bank. The new Bank would no doubt take over from the Imperial Bank such of its organization, staff, etc., as under the new order of things may become redundant for the purposes of the Imperial Bank, and from the Government a number of officials whose experience in the management of the currency would be of a particular help to the new Central Bank. The new Bank might be called the Reserve Bank of India with its headquarters in Bombay, where the meetings of the Central Board should ordinarily be held. The Commission make various recommendations regarding the capital of the Bank, its Board and Management, division of profits, business of the Bank, its relations with the Government of India and the Secretary of State, the note issue and Reserve requirements, the provisions of the charter, etc. The main recommendations in this connection are:—

Functions of Reserve Bank.

(1) Subject to the payment of limited dividends and building up of suitable reserve funds, the balance of the profits of the Reserve Bank should be paid over to the Government.

(2) The Bank should be given the sole right of note issue for a period of (say) 25 years. Not later than 5 years from the date of the charter becoming operative, Government notes should cease to be legal tender except at Government Treasuries.

(3) The notes of the Bank should be full legal tender and should be guaranteed by Government. The form and material of the note should be subject to the approval of the Govenor-General in Council.

(4) An obligation should be imposed by statute on the Bank to buy and sell gold without limit as stated in paragraph 11 above, the conditions for the sale of gold being framed as described in paragraph 12.

(5) The Paper Currency and Gold Standard Reserves should be amalgamated, and the proportions and composition of the combined Revenue

should be fixed by statute. The Reserve should be increased by Rs. 50 crores, vide (9) below.

(6) The proportional reserve system should be adopted. Gold and gold securities should form not less than 40 per cent of the Reserve, subject to a possible temporary reduction, with the consent of Government, on payment of a tax. The currency authority should strive to work to a reserve ratio of 50 to 60 per cent. The gold holding should be raised to 20 per cent of the Reserve as soon as possible and to 25 per cent within 10 years. During this period no favourable opportunity of fortifying the gold holding in the Reserve should be allowed to escape of the gold holding at least one-half should be held in India.

(7) The silver holding in the Reserve should be very substantially reduced during a transitional period of ten years.

(8) The balance of the Reserve should be held in self-liquidating trade bills and Government of India securities. The "created" securities should be replaced by marketable securities within ten years.

(9) A figure of Rs. 50 crores has been fixed as the liability in respect of the contractibility of the rupee circulation. An amount equal to one-fifth of the face value of any increase or decrease in the number of silver rupees in issue should be added to or subtracted from this liability and the balance of profit or loss should accrue to or be borne by the Government revenues.

(10) The Issue Department of the Reserve Bank should be kept wholly distinct from its Banking Department.

(11) The Reserve Bank should be entrusted with all the remittance operations of the Government. The Secretary of State should furnish in advance periodical information as to his requirements. The Bank should be left free, at its discretion, to employ such method or methods of remittance as it may find conducive to smooth-working.

(12) During the transition period the Government should publish a weekly return of remittances made. A trial should be made of the system of purchase by public tender in India.

(13) The cash balances of the Government (including any balances of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State outside India, as well as the banking reserve in India of all banks operating in India, should be centralised in the hand of the Reserve Bank. Section 23 of the Government of India Act should be amended accordingly.

(14) The transfer of Reserve assets should take place not later than 1st January, 1929, and the Bank's obligation to buy and sell gold should come into operation not later than 1st January, 1931

(15) During the transition period the currency authority (i.e., the Government until the transfer of Reserve assets and the Bank thereafter) should be under an obligation to buy gold and to sell gold or gold exchange at its option at the gold points of the exchange. This obligation should be embodied in statutory form, of which the outline is suggested.

23. The recommendations summarised above should be regarded as a comprehensive whole. Modifications of any of their integral parts may involve the danger of destroying their balance and so preventing the efficient and smooth working of the whole.

Stabilisation of the Rupee.

24. The system of currency recommended implies the adopting of some fixed gold parity for the rupee and the stabilisation of the rupee at that parity. There is no event in the foreseeable future which would be likely to make conditions more favourable for the purpose of stabilisation than they are at present and the outcome of which ought to be awaited. Stabilisation should, therefore, be effected forthwith.

23. The rupee should be stabilised in relation to gold at a rate corresponding to an exchange rate of 1s. 6d. for the rupee for the following reasons :—

(1) At the present exchange rate of about 1s. 6d., prices in India have already attained a substantial measure of adjustment with those in the world at large and any change in the rate would mean a difficult period of readjustment and involve widespread economic disturbance.

(2) In the matter of wages also, there has been a considerable amount of adjustment. Where wages are at present fixed too high, the reduction of the exchange rate to 1s. 4d., would at best provide a temporary alleviation only. Its effect would be, by inflating currency to the extent of 12½ per cent., to produce a concealed reduction in wages of an equivalent percentage. Even if it does secure the desired equilibrium, which in highly improbable, it is not sound policy to use the currency as a lever to reduce real wages.

(3) As regards contracts, it is true that many of the current land revenue settlements were made when exchange was at Is. 4d., but, in view of the great rise in prices since 1924, the real incidence of land revenue, measured in terms of commodities, has been very materially lightened. The great bulk of the contractual obligations incurred under modern conditions consist of short-term contracts and, so far as these are concerned, they originated for the most part when conditions were based on the 1s. 6d., rate or in any event after exchange had broken away from 1s. 4d.

(4) The economic effects to a reversion to 1s, 4d , would be serious, as prices and wages are not adjusted to that rate. It would produce a general rice of prices of 12½ per cent., and the change would be severely felt by consumers generally, and especially by the poorer paid members of the literate classes. It would result in an arbitrary reduction of the real wages of labour, and its effect on foreign trade would be immediate and for a time convulsive.

(5) As important, but not decisive, factor is the effect of a reduction on public finances. It would lead to increases in both Central and Provincial taxation and would probably also result in a postponement of further remissions of the Provincial contributions, and a set-back to the development of nation-building projects in the Provinces. Further the adverse effect on the budgetary equilibrium would necessarily impair the credit of India as regards borrowing.

(6) Another consideration, which again is not decisive, in view of the other recommendations made is that if a rise in the price of silver should take place, the 1s. 6d. rate of exchange would provide a wider margin of safety than 1s. 4d.

(7) The opportunity for a reversion to the historic rate of 1s. 4d., if it ever existed, is gone and the best interests of India as a whole now require that stability should be achieved without producing those disturbances which

would be the inevitable consequence of adopting any rate but that which is current.

Answer to Arguments for 1s. 4d.

26. The arguments for reversion to the 1s. 4d., rate and the manner in which the Commission meet them are indicated below :—

(1) The 1s. 4d., rate has been described as the "natural rate" for the rupee. There can, however, be no "natural" rate. If no action were taken to anchor the rupee at a particular point, there would be extensive fluctuations amidst which it would be impossible to distinguish any particular rate as "natural."

(2) It is urged that 1s. 6d., rate came into being through Government manipulation of the currency. The action of Government in intervening in April 1926 to prevent a fall of exchange below 1s. 5$\frac{3}{4}$d., was criticised, though no exception has been taken to the earlier action of the Gouernment in October 1925 in intervening to prevent a rise in exchange to 1s. 6/ 3/16d. If either of these tendencies was natural it was the earlier tendency to rise above the 1s. 6d., upper gold point. In any case if it can be shown that prices and other conditions are in adjustment with those of the world at large on the basis of an existent exchange rate, the question of the means by which that rate came into existence is of no practical importance.

(3) It has been contended that a reduction in the rate would reduce the total demand for gold in connection with the introduction of a gold standard. This overlooks the fact that a reduction in the gold value of the monetary unit of 12/$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., involves of necessity an increase of circulation by a similar percentage. The amount of gold in reserve required to support circulation would therefore be the same in either case.

(4) It has been pointed out that one must envisage the possibility of a failure of the monsoon requiring the utilisation of the gold and sterling reserves of Government to support exchange, and that the rate of 1s. 4d., would be easier to maintain than 1s. 6d. But the testing time will come, whatever the rate of stabilisation and the ability to meet it will depend, not on the figure at which exchange is fixed, but on the maintenance and proper utilisation of adequate gold reserves.

(5) It has been suggested that competition with foreign countries with depreciated or depreciating currencies, such as France and Belgium, could be met by lowering Indian exchanges to 1s. 4d. But this would apply during the transition period only and the remedy, if any, must be sought elsewhers than in the manipulation of India's currency policy.

(6) It has been maintained that the cheapness of gold leads to an abnormal absorption of gold by India, and that a 1s. 4d. rate, will be a wholesome check. India's appetite for gold cannot, however, be cured by lowering her exchange. The only sure way to eradicate this wasteful habit is to stabities currency, establish confidence in its stability, educate people in the habit of investment, and extend banking facilities.

(7) Another argument for reduction in the rate is the possibility of a fall of world gold prices in the near future. But it must be assumed that the period of catastrophic disturbances is over, and that future movements of prices will proceed on more normal lines. If India suffers at all, she will suffer with the rest of the world, but it is a risk which she cannot escape if she adopts and adheres to, a gold standard. Moreover it is a risk to which she will be subject whatever the rate at which exchange is established.

(8) A minor advantage claimed for the 1s. 4d., rate is that at that rate the sovereign is equivalent precisely to Rs. 15 whereas at 1s. 6d., the sovereign is equivalent to Rs. 13-5-4, a very inconvenient sum. This objection will lose much of its force if the legal tender character of the sovereign is removed.

(9) Broadly speaking, the arguments which have been brought forward to prove that reversion to 1s. 4d., would be beneficial, merely show that, during a period of adjustment of conditions to that rate, certain sections of the community (e.g., debtors, exporters, and employers of labours) would be benefited at the expense of certain other sections (e.g., creditors, importers, and wage-earners). They do not show that there would be any substantial permanent benefit even to any section at the expense of another, still less to the country as a whole.

Miscellaneous Recommendations

27. The Commission take the opportunity of making the following minor recommendations :—

(1) The stamp duty on bills of exchange and cheques should be abolished. Bilingual Bill forms should be on sale at post offices.

(2) Measures should be taken to promote the development of banking in India.

(3) Every effort should be made to remedy the deficiencies in the existing body of statistical data.

Minute of Dissent.

28. In his Minute of Dissent, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas expressed his agreement with the gold bullion standard recommended by his colleagues subject to an unequivocal guarantee of non-interference with the inflow of gold into India except with due publicity and the concurrence of the Legislature. He does not appreciate the necessity of the recommendation to demonetise the sovereign, but, in view of the opinion held by his colleagues, he does not press his objection. The main points on which he differs from his colleagues are those relating to—

(1) the formation of a separate Reserve Bank of India, and
(2) the stabilisation of the rupee at 1s. 6d. gold.

As regards (1), while he fully appreciates the reasons which have induced his colleagues to propose the creation of a new central bank, and recognises that this is perhaps the ideal system, he is of opinion that, in the special conditions of India, the ends in view will be better served by developing the Imperial Bank of India into a full-fledged central bank. As regards (2), his conclusions are generally at variance with those of his colleagues and he recommends the 1s. 4d., rate. He considers that the greater part of the general adjustment of prices to 1s. 6d., is still to come; no adjustment in wages has taken place, and none will hereafter, without a struggle; until adjustment is complete, a 1s. 6d., ratio presents the foreign manufacturer with an effective though indirect bounty of 12/½ per cent; a change to 1s. 6d.

hits the large bulk of the debtor class to the benefit of the creditor class; any tampering with standard of value is bound to have serious political effects in India and to cause distrust in its currency system and the financial administration of the country; the 1s. 4d., rate was recommended by the Fowler Committee as a "permanent rate," the Government and the people of India stand committed to the principles recommended by that Committee and the rate should not be changed except under absolute and unavoidable necessity; the question of the ratio is no less important than the question of the standard and the stabilization of the rupee at 1s. 6d., will create a great disturbance in India's economic organisation, especially if lean years arrive, in which case the steps taken to maintain exchange may deplete the gold resources of the country to an extent that may seriously shake the confidence of her people in the currency system; and, finally, the 1s. 4d. ratio stood for 20 years even during the American crisis, till 1917, and was only disturbed as a result of the War in common with the ratios of other countries in the world.

The Commission's view on the Dissenting Minute

29. As regards the Minute of Dissent, the members of the Commission other than Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas have added a few paragraphs to the Report, the substance of which is that they do not accept the historic retrospect in the Minute; that no useful purpose would be served by attempting to apportion praise or blame for what is past; that any such attempt would probably result in injustice because currency theory and practice have undergone a steady process of evolution during the last quarter of a century, and it would be unfair in the light of later experience to condemn steps or decisions which were taken before that experience was acquired; that they do not regard the Government or the people of India as committed to the principles recommended by the Fowler Committee to any greater extent than they stand committed to the principles recommended by other committees which have been accepted and acted on; that they have held themselves free to make any recommendation which appeared to them to be desirable in the interests of India whether they agreed or did not agree with the principles previously accepted; that as regards the reversion to the 1s. 4d., rate suggested by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, there is no argument advanced by him which did not receive most careful consideration; that the accuracy and the completeness of the figures on which his arguments are based have not the authority of the Commission; and, finally that the whole Minute contains many statements and inferences with which they have not thought it necessary or even relevant to deal but which they in no way accept.

Text of the Currency Bill.

The following is the text of the Currency Bill which was published in the Gazette of India on the 6th August 1926 :—

"A bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act 1908 and the Indian Paper Currency Act 1923 for certain purposes and to lay upon the Governor-General-in-Council certain obligations in regard to the purchase of gold and the sale of gold or gold exchange.

"Whereas it is expedient further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1906 and the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923 for certain purposes and to lay upon the Governor-General-in-Council certain obligations in regard to the purchase of gold and the sale of gold or gold exchange, it is hereby enacted as follows :—

(1) This Act may be called the Currency Act 1926.

(2) It extends to the whole of British India including British Baluchistan and Santhal Parganas.

(3) It shall come into force on the 1st day of November, 1926.

2. In the Indian Coinage Act, 1906 section 11, the word "and" at the end of clause (D) of sub-section (2) of section 21 and clause (E) of the sub-section shall be omitted.

3. In the Indian Paper Currency Act,

(a) to section 2 after the words "in this behalf," the following shall be added, nanely and "gold builion" includes coin ;

(b) in clause (A) of section 11, the words "or in gold coin which is legal tender under the Indian Coinage Act, 1906" shall be omitted ;

(c) in section 13, (i) the words 'for gold coin which is not legal tender under the Indian Coinage Act, 1906 or' shall be omitted and (ii) for the figures 11,30016, the figures 8,47512 shall be substituted ;

(d) in section 18 (i) in sub-section (4) the words 'sovereign, half-sovereigns' and the word 'coin' shall be omitted and (ii) in clause (A) of sub-section (8), for the figures 11,300016 the figures 8,47512 shall be substituted ;

(e) in section 19, (i) in sub-section (3) the words 'sovereigns, half-sovereigns' shall be omitted and in the explanation after the word 'sub-section,' the following words and figures shall be inserted, namely 'gold bullion shall be reckoned at the rate of one rupee for 8'47512 grains troy or fine gold' and (ii) in sub-section (5), the words "coin or" and the word "coin" where it occurs for the second time shall be omitted.

4. Any person who offers for sale to the Governor-General-in-Council at the office of the Master of the Mint, Calcutta, or the Master of the Mint, Bombay, or at any other place notified in this behalf by the Governor-General-in-Council in *The Gazette of India* prescribe, be entitled to receive payment for the same at the rate of Rs. 21-3-10 per tola of fine gold.

5. (1) Any person, on demand at the office of the Controller of the Currency, Calcutta, or of the Deputy Controller of the Currency, Bombay, shall be entitled to purchase at the option of the Controller or Deputy Controller as the case may be, either gold for delivery at the Bombay Mint at the rate of Rs 21-3-10 per tola of fine gold, or gold exchange at an

equivalent rate payable in any country outside India specified by such person, which maintain a free gold market and which has been notified in this behalf by the Governor-General-in-Council in *The Gazette of India*, provided that no person shall be entitled to demand gold of less value than four hundred fine ounces or gold exchange payable in any one country of less than that value.

(2) For the purpose of determining the equivalent rate applicable to the sale of gold exchange under this section Rs. 21-3-10 shall be deemed to be equivalent to such sum in the currency of the country in which the exchange is payable as represents the standard price of one tola of fine gold in that country, after deduction therefrom of an amount representing the normal cost per tola of transferring gold bullion in bulk from Bombay to that country including interest on its value during transit.

(3) The Governor-General-in-Council shall, from time to time, determine, in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (2), the equivalent rate in respect of each country notified under Sub-section (1) and shall notifiy the rates so determined in *The Gazette of India*.

CONGRESS & CONFERENCES

July–December 1926

FORTY-FIRST SESSION OF THE

Indian National Congress

GAUHATI—26TH DECEMBER 1926.

The Opening Day.

For the first time in Assam the Indian National Congress met at Pandunagar (Gauhati) at 2 P.M. on the 26th December for its 41st annual session, in the huge Congress pandal, especially prepared of khaddar for the occasion. Arrangements for the seating accommodation followed the plan of squatting inaugurated at the Ahmedabad Congress and since followed by successive Congresses. The pandal was quite spacious and was packed by the time the session opened. Delegates and visitors began to pour in long before the appointed hour. Over 10,000 were estimated to have attended of whom about 2,000 were delegates and 1,500 were members of the Reception Committee. The pandal was beautifully decorated and a number of mottoes were hung prominently. Photos of Congress leaders were displayed including those of Mr. Tilak, Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Gokhale, Mr. C. R. Das, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Sen Gupta and Dr. B. C. Ray. The mottoes declared: "Don't forget Jallianwala Bagh." "Masses are the backbone of the country," "Swaraj is our birthright." "Charkha is our Kamadhenu," "Nations are by themselves made." "Do not forget the shackles of your motherland," "We are helots in our own country."

The special feature was that mottoes were hung significantly below leaders' photos in a manner that indicated the special slogan associated with their name. Another special feature of the artistic decoration was that the three colours, green, red and white, which colours distinguish the Congress flag, were used in the decorations in a manner that heightened the spectacular effect of the arrangements. Punctually at 2 P.M, a gun fire announced the arrival of the President. Just before the Congress met, a long manifesto addressed to the Congress, purporting to have been printed at Dorrit Press, Lant Street, London, was distributed by a Swami, advocating the formation of a People's Party such as would fight on a socialist programme of "Land, bread and education" and pressing for an eight-hour day and minimum living wages. A procession was then formed which entered the Pandal amidst cheers and Gandhi-ki-jai and Srinivasa Iyengar-ki-jai, preceded by a band of Hindustani Seva Dal who were singing Bandemataram, and the Volunteer Corps. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, President elect, was led to his seat in a procession composed of Mahatma Gandhi and Mrs. Naidu, Maulana Mahomed Ali, Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Malaviya and Pandit Motilal. Lala Girdharilal, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Mr. V. J. Patel, Mr. Prakasam and Sen Gupta, Dr. Satyapal and Horniman, Seth Jamanlal Bajaj and Mr. Vallabhai Patel, Mr. Phookan and Mr. Bardoli. Those present on the dais included

Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. and Mrs. Leister, Mrs. Perin, grand-daughter of Dadabhoy Naoroji, Dr. Satyapal, the Hon. Mr. Anugraha Narayana Sinha, Shrimati Urmila Devi, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, Rao Bahadur O. Kandaswami Chetti, Swami Venkatachalam Chetti, Mr. Aney, Dr. Moonje, Faizpur Ali, Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta, Mr. Nirmal Chandra, Syed Murtaza, Shanah Kurshi, C. V. Venkataramana Iyengar, Mr. Kiran Shanker Roy, Mr. S. C, Bose, Dr. B. C. Roy, J. M. Das Gupta and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar. Those present in the distinguished visitors' block were Mr. and Mrs. P. Lawrence, Dr Martin Lawrence, Dr. Martin Hurliman, journalist from Switzerland, Dewan Bahadur C. V. Viswanatha Sastri, retired Judge of Madras High Court. Both Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence were specially provided with chairs, while all others were squatting, but they took off their shoes while entering the enclosure.

The proceedings commenced with National Anthem sung by Vishnu Digambur all standing. This was followed by an excellent Assamese choir sung by Assamese girls led by Mr. Rai Chaudhuri and Mr. P. C. Borooah. It was a welcome song :—"In what verse shall I sing your welcome, You image of man in God, You image of vast in this assembled host."

As regards the number of Delegates who attended the session Bengal topped the list with about 600 delegates out of the total number of about 1,700. Next came Bihar with 350 delegates. The Madras Presidency had in all contributed 200, United Provinces 140, the Punjab 60, C. P. Hindu 45, Gujarat 21, Maharashtra, probably due to responsivist resolve not to fight, sent in only two, Assam gave her Quota of 50, Bombay City 10, Utkal 25, Ajmere (Rajputana) 15, Delhi 9, Sind 5, Kerala 5, Berar 5, Burma 3. This was of course exclusive of the Reception Committee membership which numbered over 1,500.

The Chairman's Address.

At 2-30 P.M. Mr. Tarun Ram Phookan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, began to deliver his welcome address. The following is the full text :—

Brother and Sister Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

'As I stand before you to offer our welcome a sense of overwhelming loss overtakes me and I can scarcely give expression to what is uppermost in the minds of all and everyone of us, Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan Das is not with us to-day. He laid down his life for the Country. He needed rest and God in His eternal mercy granted him that, although the Country had need of him. I doubt not that he will be gratefully remembered now and for ever by a nation whose honour and dignity he tried to maintain at the cost of his life.

'It is with much pleasure that I, on behalf of the members of the Reception Committee and of the people of Assam generally, welcome you to the labours of the 41st Indian National Congress at Gauhati. I am not worthy of the great privilege of receiving you, so kindly conferred upon me, but my excuse in accepting it is that I have taken it as a command from my people which I am bound to obey.

'While inviting you to our poor province, situated at the easternmost corner of India, we were fully alive to the fact that we will be putting you

to a series of serious inconveniences. We did really foresee the difficulty of a small provincial town like Gauhati consisting of a population of 16,000 souls only, having to accord proper reception to you. We also fully realised that all our best endeavours could not go far enough to give you the least in the name of comforts. But I hope you will forgive our failings when you take into account our peoples' earnest desire to be in actual touch with this Mighty Institution. Have we not therefore fair reason to believe that your kindness and sympathy for a sister province will soon make you forget all the troubles taken out of love, and forgive us for those given in our earnest desire to serve you ?

'Fairly rich in her natural resources, she is undoubtedly magnificently rich in her natural grandeur. May be it is due to my natural pride as an Assamese, but I feel that Assam with the lofty mountains standing along the North, with the wide plains encircled by the high ranges—such as, of Bhutan, Khasia—Jaintia, Naga and the Garo hills, watered by the crystal currents of thousands of hill streams, and with the Mighty Brahmaputra majestically flowing through her heart, Assam will stand comparison with the most beautiful country in the World.

'The place where we have assembled to-day is sacred with thousand memories of India's past glories, memories of culture, of heroic deeds, of scientific achievements, of great happenings cherished in tradition and chronicled in history. The yonder hillock on the Brahmaputra enshrines a temple of Siva, known as a Pandu Nath which was founded by the Pandavas during their exile. There is the Nilachala (The blue mountain) wherein stands the famous temple of Kamakshya Devi. For centuries Kamakshya in Kamrupa has been the meeting place of devout pilgrims from all parts of India.

'Ladies and gentlemen, it was in this Holy land of Kamrup that Narakasur of Pouranik fame reigned supreme It was Raja Bhagadutta of Kamrup who went with 10,000 elephants to the Holy Battle field of Kurukshetra and gallantly fought for the Kauravas with soldiers from Assam which came up to 1/18th of the entire *Kuru-sena*. It was in this Holy land of Kamrup that Rishis and Moonies, such as Basista, Galava, Sukracharyya, Kasyapa and others found suitable places for their meditations. Ancient Kamrup which lay extended up to "Karatoya Samakirna Yabat Dikkar Basini" including Cooch Behar and Rangpur was at one time the seat of Indian culture. Kumar Vaskar Varma of Kamrup escorted by Hiuen Tsang led the historic deputation to the Court of Emperor Siladitta II known as Harsa Vardhana.

'It was here in 1668 A.D. that the great Assamese general Lacit Bar Phookun defeated the most powerful army of the Emperor Aurangazeb and stemmed for ever the tide of Mogul conquest. It was here that Assamese people fought their Thermopally and drove back the Moguls from their homeland. In the conquering career of the mighty Emperor it was only at Saraighat—not far away from this pandal, that his formidable army had a crushing defeat. And again it was here that the great Assamese King Rudra Singha collected his vast army numbering over six lacs to conquer back from Gour the territories upto the river Karatoya which form the traditional boundary between the ancient kingdom Kamrupa and the world west of it. And yet again it was about 6 miles from here that Bakhtiar Khiliji, the Conquerer of Bengal was defeated and turned back in 1204 A.D.,

by the most powerful King Kamata. Three miles to our east along the Brahmaputtra lies the lovely town of Gauhati—the ancient *Prag-Jyotishpura*, the capital of Narkasur, Bhogadutta and hundred of other Kings before and after them.

'It was in Assam that Princess Joymoti of sacred memories practised passive resistance and was slowly tortured to death under the order of the King. She cheerfully died the most cruel death spurning the highest position offered to her yet firmly refusing to disclose the whereabouts of her beloved husband which she alone knew.

'However poor our condition under the British Raj may be to-day, we are inheritors of a very ancient Hindu culture, and I am proud to say that if there is any place, where, catholic and progressive Hindu Religion is a living force, that place is Assam. In days of yore, the Non-aryan culture had to yield to Hindu culture is evidenced by the acceptance of overlordship by Asur Kings of the Aryan Monarchs of Delhi. During mediaeval days, Hindu orthodoxy of a rather sordid character seemed to dominate the religious beliefs of the Assamese. But the preachings of two of the greatest religious reformers of that age—Sankara and Madhaba, and their Brahminical contemporary Damodar ushered into Assam an era of religious renaissance, the like of which can be compared only with the contemporary Vaishnava Movement of India or the Protestant movement of Europe. These great teachers suffered privation at the hands of the powers that were and practised Satyagraha against the Brahminical *hierachy* of Assam backed as they were by the powerful support of the Assamese Monarch. But the truth came out triumphant in the end and these two mighty spirits have left for Assam such a catholic faith of love, amity and brotherhood that without adopting the process of conversion by missions, hundreds of our animistic brothers are being Hinduised and are being brought within the folds of Hindu society. It is for the preachings of these great spirits also that the evils of untouchability do not appear to be so acute as they do in other places of India. Mighty as they appear as religious teachers, no less great were they in the realm of letters. Assamese literature which is one of the most ancient of languages having Sanskritic origin, was greatly enriched by them in their songs, lyrics and poetry, and it is by their appeal to the higher human sentiment and to the soul at the same time that they attained such great successes as reformers. Before and after these great poets many noble writers in both prose and poetry flourished and I make bold to assert, that their writings would adorn any of the best literature of the world. In the domain of architecture also, one has merely to look round any place. from Dhubri to Sadiya and from the North to the South, and he is sure to find temples and images, beautiful stone pillars, and engravings all proclaiming the existence of an ancient civilization and culture.

'Kamrup, the sacred land of progressive Hinduism is also a place of great pilgrimage for the Muslims, for, there is the Holy Powa Mecca at Hajo within 15 miles from where we are sitting. I am proud to be able to say in this connection that it is in Assam where Hindus and Muhammadans have at all times lived in friendliest of friendly terms and are still doing so.

'Friends, I am afraid, I am trying your patience by making references to some of the characteristics of Assam and the Assamese people; but I hope you will bear with me, for a while when I make a brief reference to our family institution of Khaddar and Weaving. Khaddar movement, which

is a problem of ALL problems in India to-day, was so very much simplified by the old Assamese, that could we bring back into our midst the activities of those days, the boycott of foreign cloth would become unnecessary. It is, I suppose, an accepted fact to-day, that production of Khaddar cannot be based on specialised labour, however best our institution or organization may be. In order that spinning and weaving may prevail in all places and at all times, production of Khaddar should be the aim of all families and spinning made into a living institution. This was exactly the position of the Assamese familes of old. In Assam the best of ladies span and wove, and although during the last 30 years some of them seem to have forgotten spinning, weaving has nowhere been given up. There are yet several places in Assam where spinning in cotton, silk, Endi and Muga are done on an extensive scale, and cloths worth several lacs of rupees produced every year. One centre in Nowgong alone where the All India Spinners Association is working, has produced no less than 30,000 yards of Khaddar within three months only and in a season when the people do not generally spin. In weaving we can surely claim to be some of the best weavers of India. Mahatmajee's expression that 'Ladies of Assam weave fairy tales in cloths" although highly flattering to our ladies, is not surely an exaggeration. What I therefore feel regarding Khaddar movement is that in Assam we do not require so much Khaddar propaganda as much as an organization for supply of cheap cotton and other materials and implements and inducement to spin. I am also disposed to believe that because we have not given up spinning and weaving, we are, inspite of all our poverty, not destitute. It is a significant fact that out of 12 lacs of indentured labour in Assam, not one is an Assamese Khaddar in my opinion may not be commercially a business proposition but economically it is perfectly sound.

'Brothers and Sisters, it was only in 1838 that the whole of Assam came under the British control although one portion was taken in 1826 by the treaty of Yandaboo. We have undoubtedly had some improvements brought about by the British Raj, and we are very grateful to His Majesty's Government for them, but while Cholera and Kala-Azar, Malaria and Small-pox are causing havoc to the people of Assam it is cruel, if not criminal, for the Assam Government to be thinking of increasing land revenue. But the severest indictment that the Government of Assam stand charged with, is the wilful slow poisoning of the people of Assam by carrying on their immoral traffic in opium. And what is more when a number of selfless workers raised their voice of protest by preaching temperance during the Non-co-operation, they were mercilesly flung into prison-house.

'While the shadow of Jallianwala Bagh is still getting longer, while the blood stains of innocent babes on the brick walls of that Bagh are still proclaiming the brutality of Dyer, while the Brave and Patriotic sons of India are being slowly killed behind the prison bars without trial, while the Ordinances and repressive laws stand unrepealed, the Noble Lord commands that India must co-operate unconditionally or she will be meted out with worst treatment. Let Gauhati Congress give a suitable reply to the Noble Lord but I personally feel that India will not allow herself to be coerced into co-operation by such threat and she will not barter birthright for a mess of pottage, however tempting it might be. "Good, bad, indifferent you must work the present constitution", dictates the Noble Lord "or you will be given no further reforms." This, to my mind, means India's power of

resistance must be crushed, she must be humiliated. Let Gauhati Congress, let the representatives of the people of India answer the challenge of the Noble Lord fairly and squarely, but I personally believe that the Councils should either be mended in a manner suitable for the attainment of Swaraj or should be ended completely. Let Gauhati Congress decide whether India should get back to her old mentality of begging for favours on bended knees with folded hands or that she should stand on her own rights and make a demand for her birth right. Let Gauhati Congress decide whether India should be humiliated into co-operation in the hope of getting some favours or that she should stoutly refuse co-operation till her legitimate rights are conceded to.

'If we sincerely believe that Swaraj is India's birth right and if we honestly and earnestly mean to work for its speedy attainment, we must make Hindu-Moslem unity a living reality and firmly believe it to be possible if *we really* wish it. We must forthwith drive away the wicked and the selfish spirit of communalism; we must take back the untouchables at once and above all inspire confidence into the minds of the Indians of all communities, *of the rich and poor* alike, that Congress is a living organism, with a unity of purpose and unity of action working for the salvation of India.

'I deeply regret to have to note the difference that is subsisting in the Congress camp to-day. How can I help deploring the cessation of personalities like Messrs Jayakar and Kelkar, Dr. Moonje and Mr. Aney, of Lalajee and Malaviyajee from the majority party of the Congress?

'That great fighter for Political freedom, Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan Das declared that 1926 would be a critical year in the history of our country. I verily believe it to be so. We are to-day confronted with the gravest of problems India had to face within the last 6 years of choosing between Co-operation and Non-co-operation, between slavery and freedom, between subservience and self-reliance. On your wise decisions on this subject alone rests the future of India. While the masses of India are looking up to you for a united verdict, while the situation calls for our best energies and united action, should it be proper for you to be carrying on a fratricidal warfare? Honest difference of opinion are undoubtedly inevitable in politics, but should we not close up our ranks, specially when the deceptive manœuvre of the enemies is threatening a complete rout? Should we not be able to sink all our differences, when united and concerted action is the only sure weapon left in our hands in defeating our common enemy?

'In such a critical state of the country I may be pardoned if I take the liberty of striking a personal note and appeal to Mahatma Gandhi once again to give us the lead.

'The magic land of Kamrup has an old tradition that people staying here over three nights are converted into sheep, and we all know that the sheep have the peculiarity of following the leader faithfully. Let us hope, therefore, that the magic influence of this land will enable the fighting groups to settle their differences and make the Hindus and Muhammadans united in love and brotherhood and follow the leadership of the Congress like innocent lambs tended by the gentle shepherd of Sabarmati.

'That tiny little Charkha,—that wheel of Indian life, moved with unfailing regularity by that mighty little man Mahatma Gandhi is, in my opinion, not only spinning yarns for the dumb millions of India, is not merely laying a straight path for the economic salvation of India, but is

slowly evolving that irresistible world force of Non-violent *Non-co-operation* which alone will be able to check effectively the deadly spirit of Imperialism, which is out to crush the soul of Independence of the weak and the helpless nations.

'Ladies and Gentlemen, you as the worthy representatives of the Indian nation are called upon to-day bravely to stand by Indian Nationalism and show us the right way to Swaraj. So lead us out of internal dissensions and guide us in our earnest endeavours for the speedy attainment of Swaraj. By your wise counsel and sincere tolerance make us forget our communal differences which are eating into the vitals of our national life. By your liberal policies and generous dealings, break down the petty party manœuvres and show us the right path to a united action. By your noble example of self-sacrifice get us out of our wicked ways and inspire us into living an unselfish national life. Give us a bold lead towards the goal of Swaraj, instil courage into the hearts of the weakest of the weak and bring hopes unto the millions of despairing minds by your loving message of confidence and success; declare with a united voice and determined spirit that we will fight with a grim determination, all evil forces that might thwart us in our earnest attempt to win Swaraj, proclaim that you will fight to a finish at all cost the fair fight for freedom of our beloved mother land. I personally possess a great deal of robust optimism and I have a firm faith and a clear vision that freedom of India will come sooner than many people expect—if only we work honestly, earnestly and unitedly. Let not our success be judged in the measure of our achievements. Non-violent Non co-operation had worked wonders within the very short time it was practised. It has animated Indian life with a sense of manhood, it has infused that love for freedom for the mother land, which cannot be killed even by the most inhumane methods of Bureaucracy. It has taught us that the weakest nation has a right to rebel against the most powerful nation that tries to impose by strength of arms its will against the wish of the people.

'In the course of our honest endeavour to secure freedom should difficulties arise and despair come, let us not forget to say.

Iyyaka naabudu wa iyyaka nastayeen.

'Let us prayerfully say unto God;—

"Thou power supreme
Whose mighty scheme
These joys and woes of mine fulfil
Here firm I rest
They must be best
Because they are Thy Will."

'Our right to invite you to such a distant and a poor country is based upon our modest achievement during the Non-co-operation Movement, on the terrible sufferings undergone at that time by the people of Assam at the most cruel hands of the Bureaucracy and above all in our sincere willingness to follow your lead through the Congress and do our honest best in the fight for Swaraj.

'But I offer my humble apologies for detaining you so long by telling our provincial tales of joys and woes, for you have more important questions to answer and much more difficult problems to solve. Deliverence of a Mighty nation enslaved by the merciless decree of Providence rests with

you. I ask you with all the humility that I can command to forgive us for our many short-comings and request you to begin your deliberations'.

The Presidential Address.

As soon as the Chairman concluded his address. Mr. Srinivass Iyengar, the President Elect, was garlanded and received an ovation as he came to the rostrum. Before reading his address he referred to the great calamity that had overtaken them by the death of Swami Shradhananda. A thrill of sorrow had passed through the country. He also regretted the loss the country had sustained in the death of Mr. Umar Sobhani. Mr. Iyengar took full two hours to deliver his address which he read out fully. By the time he concluded, his voice was tired out and he resumed his seat amidst cheers and shouts of Bande Mataram. The following is the full text of the Presidential Address.—

Friends,

I am profoundly grateful for the signal honour that unredeemed India has conferred on me. I have accepted the responsibilities of this great office made more formidable to me by the lustre of great names, at a time, as Mahatma Gandhi put it, "of unexampled difficulty" only in the belief that it was a compliment to South India and that, in the discharge of my task, I shall have your full support and co-operation.

The National Demand and its Sequel

The foremost of our duties for the coming year is to mobilise all our forces on the issue of the National Demand. It was formulated in February, 1924, in the Legislative Assembly by Pandit Motilal Nehru on behalf of the Nationalist Party consisting of the Swarajists and the Independents. It asked the Government to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible government in India and for that purpose to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference to recommend the scheme of a constitution for India with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities, and to place the scheme for approval before a newly elected Indian Legislature after dissolving the Central Legislature and finally submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a statute. That resolution was passed by a majority of 76 to 48 against the Government; and though the Swarajya Party began their work in the Assembly with a gesture of honourable co-operation the Government arrogantly brushed it aside. But in order to side-track the principal issue, they appointed the Reforms Inquiry Committee to investigate the feasibility and desirability of securing remedies for the difficulties and defects connected with the working of the Government of India Act but consistently with the policy, structure and purpose of the Act. The evidence that was given before the Committee by those who worked the reforms devotedly as well as the report of the minority established clearly that the system of Dyarchy, both as a step towards responsible government and otherwise, was an egregious failure. The attempt of the Government of India to induce the Assembly to accept the recommendations contained in the Majority Report of the Reforms Inquiry Committee was met by a reiteration of the national demand in the Assembly in September, 1925,

in an amplified form. This time also the Assembly by a majority of 72 to 45 passed the resolution, Swarajists and Independents acting together. It was a second time rejected by the Government.

In December 1925, the Congress held at Cawnpore ratified on behalf of the country the terms of the settlement offered by the Independent and Swarajya Parties by the resolution on the national demand. To enforce that demand in case it was rejected and to carry on the fight for Swaraj, the Congress adopted a programme of work both in the country and in the Councils and provided for the education of the electorates in its policy and the capture by Congressmen, under specific pledges, of the elected seats in the several legislatures.

In March, 1926 on the refusal of the Government to accede to the demand, the Swarajya Party walked out of the Assembly and the Provincial Councils in accordance with the Congress mandate. The leader of the Party in the Assembly said on that occasion: "We hope and trust that the nation will give a suitable reply to the truculent rejection of our demands and send us again in larger numbers with a stronger mandate and God willing, with the sanction for fulfilling its aspirations and enforcing its commands."

The General Elections and Their Significance.

The results of the campaign thus opened and of the general elections that followed and are just now over, have justified the policy of the Swarajya Party in the Assembly and the Provincial Legislative Councils and have abundantly proved the wisdom of the great experiment inaugurated by the Congress at its Cawnpore Session. Throughout the country, thanks to the Congress electoral campaign, there has been a tremendous amount of political education and the vehemence, the extent and the concentrated fire of the opposition, communal or other, have only served to demonstrate the utter soundness of the programme and policy of the Congress, and the strong hold it has over the people.

The provinces of Madras, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, in a striking degree, and the other provinces including the Punjab, to a lesser extent, have responded to the Congress mandates and come under the congress discipline. If in some provinces our success has not been as great as in others, it is due solely to the fact that Congressmen there were divided amongst themselves and was not due to the superiority in the programme or policy of any definite political party. Having regard to the fact that it is the first time that the Congress has run the elections on an all India scale and that there were serious differences amongst congress leaders and workers, the successes achieved under the Cawnpore mandate all over India are, both in quantity and in quality, most remarkable. Though they have not been a surprise to most of us, they have come as a shock to the bureaucracy and its allies in every province. Nor can we forget that most of those who succeeded against the Congress candidates, though they had not subscribed to the Congress pledges, succeeded still as congressmen. On the whole he who runs may read the lesson of the elections that the centre of political gravity has decisively and definitely shifted from the bureaucracy and its Indian supporters to the National Congress.

The real meaning of our success at the general elections, the success of those that obeyed the Cawnpore mandate, cannot be easily missed. It constitutes an unmistakable endorsement of the national demand and of the

policy of walk-out that marked its rejection by the Government. It also signalises the enthronement of a sound and robust nationalism in place of communalism as a dominant political factor. In Madras, Brahmin non-Brahmin differences have ceased to be the great prop of the foreign bureaucracy that they have been till now. And it is a matter for gratification that in Tamil Nadu and in Behar, Muslims have joined the Congress Party and been successful in the elections. Above all, the country has given its unequivocal verdict against the system of Dyarchy and the rest of the political apparatus established by the Reform Act. For, we must remember that congress members form the largest single party in almost every legislative council, though in some provinces they are much more numerous than in others. And they went to the polls on a clear pledge of non-acceptance of the office of Minister till a satisfactory response was made by the Government to the national demand. Nor can we overlook that the elections with all the difficulties that we had to face have been a severe test of our capacity for Swaraj, and have given us patience, skill, a quiet confidence, a nation-wide organization, party loyalty and a thoroughly democratic outlook.

We are asked to work Dyarchy.

We have by now largely cleared the decks for action and must therefore concentrate our attention next on enforcing compliance with the National Demand. We shall for the present keep the door open for a just honourable settlement But we must not deceive ourselves into the belief that the Governments in England and in India are now willing to concede our demand or even to open negotiations with us for the purpose. They will be, as they have always been, prodigal of words that mean nothing and will deploy against us all the arts of a trained and evasive diplomacy. The only answer, we have so far from Government, in every variety of accent and phrase, is, that we should "lay aside for the time being our demand for Swaraj and should soberly and whole-heartedly work the present constitution." It is conveniently ignored that the new constitution was worked by various groups of moderate or progressive politicians "soberly and whole-heartedly" during the period of the first councils. The boycott of the Councils by the Congress, far from obstructing the path of the Reform Act enabled men who had confidence in the Government and in whom the Government had confidence to co-operate unreservedly and to work the Act. Then again, in the period of the second councils after the Act, in many provinces and notably in Madras and Bombay, groups of politicians worked the constitution exactly in the way in which they were required to do. How can it be said that the constitution has not been given a fair chance or has not been worked for 6 years by Indians pledged to co-operate "soberly and wholeheartedly" with the Government? Even the opposition by the Swarajists, during the term of the second councils was in strictness only a parliamentary opposition, except in Bengal and the Central Provinces. Whether the constitution was worked by congressmen or by moderate groups should make no difference to the Government. What the Government therefore requires really of us is that the Congress should give up its demand for Swaraj and merge itself in the bureaucracy.

Shall we still think it wisdom to harbour the wish that is father to the thought or to discover proofs of a changed heart in ingenious hints dropped by press correspondents or in the impressions of those that are in

touch with high officials or with past or present members of Parliament who are more able to advise us than to bring round British opinion and parties to our view? The least therefore that we must insist upon is a businesslike statement in public, precise and concrete, and satisfactory in content and tone, by the Government in India or in England. Meanwhile, we must follow up the victories we have gained by consolidating all our forces and by steadily increasing the pressure of the councils and of the country upon the Government. We must pool all our resources together and make a firm stand against a non-co-operating bureaucracy and wrest Swaraj from their unwilling hands. I trust the lapse of 6 years has not made us either forget the wholly illusory character of the Reforms or develop a new tenderness towards them. Our experience has, if anything, abundantly shown that the reforms have not given the people's representatives any real power and can lead neither to self-government nor to good government. A brief and dispassionate examination of the salient features of the Reform Act should convince us that we would be stultifying ourselves if we developed a new faith in it.

Is Dyarchy Workable?

That Dyarchy is neither a helpful stage in the progressive realisation of Responsible Government nor serves an apt machinery for grinding down good Government, has been the unanimous verdict of experience and is now practically admitted on all hands. Lord Birkenhead himself has referred to it more than once in apologetic terms though he insists upon our working it. Its true purpose is not merely to provide for the administration of certain subjects by the Governor and his Executive Council, but to attenuate the power of the Ministers and the control of the Legislature over the transferred subjects. Under the grotesque system, the Ministers are always under official tutelage and domination so that they cannot breathe the oxygen of freedom. The joint deliberation between Ministers and Members of Council for which Lord Willingdon took credit proved to be in the interests of the reserved half Even without it, most matters relating to transferred subjects require to be considered by those in charge of the reserved departments and to that extent are shaped by the opinion of that half of the Government. This was fully established by the evidence before the Reforms Inquiry Committee. The fact that members of the Civil Service are themselves Members of Government makes the Ministers helpless in their relation to the members of the Civil Service. Again, the rules relating to financial restrictions and the control exercised by the Finance Member as one in charge of a reserved subject over important aspects of transferred subjects, make the power of the Ministers as unreal as that of puppets. Lastly, the division of subjects between the reserved and the transferred halves is such that the pith and marrow of a government are with the former. As regards the conflicts between the two halves of the Government, the Governor is made in effect a constitutional dictator in the province and dyarchy can be tempered only by the frequent exercise of his powers. Further the power of the Governor on his sole authority to make laws relating to a reserved subject contrary to the decision of the Legislative Councils furnishes a capital instance where the reformed Legislative Councils possess much less power than their predecessors. That one man can make laws quite as valid as the laws made by a legislature and in the teeth of

the latter, proves our charge that the Reform Act has in reserved departments set up an irresponsible autocracy.

The position as regards transferred subjects is no whit better, though we frequently make Dyarchy the gravamen of our charge against the Reform Act as if its removal alone will end all troubles. For, we must remember that in respect of transferred subjects there is no responsible government and the mere transfer of reserved subjects to additional Ministers on the same statutory conditions as at present govern transferred subjects will not improve matters. At the outset, each Legislative Council has a solid block of nominated and official members to support the views or policy of the bureaucracy on questions relating to transferred subjects though a majority of elected members may decide otherwise. Thanks to the nominated members and to the number of special constituencies, supple, reactionary or obscurantist, the composition of a Legislative Council is such that the Ministers have to depend upon the support of the Governor and his Executive Council. Nor is it very difficult for a Governor to form, against a majority group of elected members, a Minister with the aid of a minority group of elected members and of his own nominated and protected block. This has been done again in every province. This inherent vice in the structure of a Legislative Council deprives it of any real representative character and its elected members of any adequate power. Secondly, under existing conditions, the power of appointing Ministers exercised by a Governor is not a mere technical mode of naming the established leaders of the majority in the Council but is a substantial power of patronage by which a nobody or anybody can be made a benami leader to carry out the Governor's policy. Thirdly, we all know that a Legislative Council has no control over the items of expenditure known as non-votable under each transferred head including the salaries and allowances and all other payments of officials belonging to superior services in that department. These non-votable items amount to a high percentage of the expenditure relating to each transferred subject. Fourthly, the Ministers have little or no control over the members of the Civil or other public services serving in departments dealing with transferred subjects, and the Governor has and exercises the power of making all appointments to posts in the transferred departments. The Statutory independence of the Indian Civil Service is the most outstanding feature of the Reform Act. All the parliamentary apparatus of a responsible government will prove to be a costly and pompous futility unless the completest control over the Indian Civil and other services is unreservedly secured to Ministers fully responsible to a wholly elected legislature. Fifthly, the Governor is empowered to over-ride the Ministers' decisions on questions relating to a transferred subject and direct him to act otherwise. Sixthly, the Governor has an emergency power—the emergency to be determined by himself—to authorise expenditure notwithstanding a vote of the Legislative Council in respect of transferred subjects. Seventhly, the Governor has power to stop legislation in respect of transferred subjects notwithstanding the opinion of the Legislative Council. Eighthly, he can return a Bill relating to a transferred subject to the Council for reconsideration with his recommendations which are in effect obligatory. What this power means was forcibly illustrated by Lord Willingdon in Madras in connection with the Hindu Religious Endowments Bill. Ninthly, when a Governor cannot through his Ministry manage a Council to his satisfaction, he can himself

administer the transferred subjects as happened in the Central Provinces. Tenthly, a Minister can hold office during the Governor's pleasure which does not mean the formal expression of the Council's pleasure but his own independent pleasure against the opinion of the Council, as was vividly demonstrated by Lord Lytton in Bengal. Eleventhly, the Governor is entitled to disallow any motion for the adjournment of the business of the Council to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance even when it relates to a transferred subject. Lastly, the allocation of the revenues for the administration of transferred subjects depends primarily on the will of the reserved half and of the Governor and not on the decision of the Legislative Council.

I have restated the position under the Act only to make it clear that even if Dyarchy goes, a Legislative Council will have control over the transferred subjects only if and when the Governor allows and not otherwise.

The Majority Report of the Reforms Inquiry Committee concedes that the Dyarchy which was introduced is "clearly a confused system having no logical basis, rooted in compromise and defensible only as a transitional expedient." It is not possible to imagine to what it is a transition or how it is defensible except as an expedient for putting off the grant of Swaraj or of substantial reforms leading to Swaraj. The majority of the Committee add. "While the period during which the present constitution has been in force has been too short to enable a well-founded opinion as to its success to be formed, the evidence before us is far from convincing that it has failed." This oracular judgment is much too ingenuous to deceive anyone and is a sufficient condemnation of the system to hybrid executives, councils partly elected and partly nominated and all the other devices of the sham scheme of reforms which was admitted by its authors themselves to be charged with potentialities of friction. The Minority Report of the Reforms Inquiry Committee concludes that "the present system has failed and is incapable of yielding better results in future."

Central Government.

Nor can it be pretended that the Central Government is at all responsible to the Indian Legislature. In the first place, that Legislature has no power of the purse. Nearly three-fourths of the expenditure of the Government of India excluding that on Railways, is withdrawn from the vote of the Legislative Assembly and as to the remaining fourth, the Government is empowered to restore any demand which has been refused or reduced by it. The Governor-General has also an emergency power to authorise at his discretion any expenditure, he being the sole judge of the emergency. In the next place, the Governor-General may direct the stay of any bill, clause or amendment. In the third place, in addition to the power to make temporary ordinances, the Governor-General is given, what he had not before the Reform Act, the autocratic power of certifying any bill and signing it as a permanent law on his sole and absolute authority notwithstanding the refusal of the Legislature. Fourthly, the Assembly is neither wholly nor in reality a representative and democratic chamber. Between a third and a fourth of its strength consists of nominated members and a three-fourths majority of elected members is required to defeat the Government and to enforce the popular will. For, the Government's 40 votes are bound to neutralise at least an equal number of elected votes. Further, from amongst

the elected strength must be deducted the seats provided for special constituencies which, in the Assembly as in Provincial Councils, are amongst the fortifications of the bureaucracy. Lastly, there is for the Government the additional safeguard provided by the second chamber. And the Council of State is so planned and constructed as to checkmate the Assembly and to form an impregnable citadel for the Government. It has, time and again, proved itself to be reactionary and has turned down the decisions of the Assembly on most vital questions. For instance, it agreed to the enhancement of the Salt Tax and to the Finance Bill and supported the certificate of the Viceroy against the decision of the Assembly. It rejected the Bill passed by the latter for the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. It passed the Bill relating to the Bengal internees that was rejected by the other chamber and the resolution relating to the Lee Commission recommendations against its decision and it approved of the recommendations of the Majority Report of the Reforms Inquiry Committee against the opinion of the Assembly.

It is then abundantly clear that the centre of gravity both in the central Government and in the provinces, alike in transferred and in reserved departments, when analysed closely, is, both in fact and in constitutional theory, in the Executive Government, in other words, in the bureaucracy. It would therefore be a tragedy if we still sought to discover, in all this statutory hypocrisy, the germs of self-Government.

Deshbandhu's Offer.

While our national demand remains rejected, there has been no response to the gesture of peace that was made by the heroic figure of Deshbandhu Das. No fairer offer could have been made than was made by him at Faridpur in his great and moving appeal for reconciliation. As he said: "The Government should guarantee to us the fullest recognition of our right to the establishment of Swaraj within the Commonwealth in the near future and in the meantime till Swaraj comes a sure and sufficient foundation of such Swaraj should be laid at once. Further, the Government should divest itself of its wide discretionary powers of constraint and follow it up by a general amnesty for all political prisoners." The long history of repression, that has darkened our struggle for freedom, proves that the curve of repression and the curve of reforms go inter-twined; of repression gilded with reforms, of reforms withered by repression. The case of the Bengal internees as well as of the Sikh patriots is about the most flagrant violation of elementary justice we have had, and the harrowing story of the Bengal Ordinance and other internees as well as earlier story of the Punjab agony and abasement shows that we are asked always to move in a vicious circle with shame and humiliation as our badge, and not Swaraj as our birth-right. No settlement with Government can be held to be just or honourable that does not involve a complete reversal of all repressive measures and a clear guarantee against their future repetition.

Further, while the plea was set up that the Government of India Act could not be revised before the appointed term in the direction of more substantial concessions, no difficulty was found by the Government in amending the Act so as to give effect to the Lee Commission recommendations involving an annual increase of 1 and one fourth crores of rupees in the emoluments of the superior services.

India's Status.

Again, while India is being denied Swaraj, the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of the Empire Prime Ministers has restated the position of the Dominions as "autonomous communities within the British Empire equal in status and in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs though united by common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations". That Committee adds, and rightly, that every Dominion now and always must remain the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation. India is, of course, excluded from his privileged communion. She is not to be a free country, equal in status to the Dominions, but is to bear the galling burden of an Empire, and the nature and extent of her co-operation are to be determined for her by others The time has, I think, come when we must make it clear to others and to ourselves that if England wants India to remain within the British Empire it can be only on the terms just stated; and that otherwise none can or should set any limits to her freedom.

If we confine ourselves to the abolition of Dyarchy are we certain that the residuary powers of the Governor will be surrendered? What again is the use of responsible Provincial Government without a responsible Central Government? The comedy will be enacted differently but its spirit and purpose will be there if the Central Government is not a fully responsible Government. Supposing again, both the Central and Provincial Governments are made responsible Governments and we are still not to touch the Civil Service, the position will be no better. The Indian agents of the foreign bureaucracy will be more numerous and there will be more competition for Ministerships but the masters will be the same. We cannot therefore compromise on the question of appointment and control of the services or provide for them a dual control. Any scheme of self-Government will be nothing but an empty form if the control over the army and navy and the control over the political relations with Indian States, as distinguished from foreign relations with other countries, are not given to our Swaraj Government. Any such reservation will deprive the Indian Swaraj Government of financial, administrative and political control over the Indian people including the Indian Princes. Otherwise, self-Governing India will be menaced by an army under foreign control and the Indian States will be perpetual thorns in its side if nothing worse. These departments are now included in the definition of Dominion Status and form items 1 to 4 in the schedule of central subjects administered by the Government of India and are indispensable for the maintenance of a real Swaraj Government.

Army and Navy.

The naive concession made by some of our friends as to our incapacity to administer the army and the navy contradicts our demand for Swaraj and supports the argument of the advocates of the alien rule that tell us, "you cannot have an army and navy to defend you: how then can you have Swaraj". It is but an illustration of our diffident mentality to assume that we cannot maintain or control an army or navy. There is absolutely no truth in it. There is a splendid Indian Army which has distinguished itself in a hundred fields in all parts of the world. That the Muhammadans and the Maharattas formed and led armies in other days according to the

then standards of equipment and efficiency proves that there is no inherent deficiency in the Indian people in that respect. If one thing more than another is illustrated by any true history of India, it is that our people had plenty of martial spirit. As to the navy, the ancient Indian people were an adventurous and sea-faring race and had far-flung colonies. But, it is not the historical or racial argument that calls for enlargement, for Free India can buy and man a fleet and maintain an army on the most modern lines. It is in ultimate analysis nothing but a question of finance and the training of men. Japan and China and all the lesser states of the world that enjoy self-government have found these things and there is no reason why we cannot find them. I would, therefore, urge upon you that we should clearly think out what Swaraj means and should not abate an iota in our demand for full self-government.

In the meantime, our paramount duty is, as I have already urged, without waiting any longer for a response that does not come, to organise more completely than we have hitherto attempted, the will of the nation on our demand for Swaraj.

Our Council Programme.

To that end, the twin principles of self reliance in all nation-building work and of resistance to every anti-national activity must inspire all our efforts, as they certainly inspired the non-co-operation phase of the struggle. In that view and in view of our present limitations, and for the immediate present, the programme of work both in the councils and in the country, as laid down by the Congress at Cawnpore cannot, I think, in its general outline, be easily bettered.

As first as to work in the Councils. The general policy of Congressmen in the Assembly and the various councils should be one of resistance to every activity, governmental or other, that may impede the nation's progress towards Swaraj; and in particular, Congressmen in the legislatures should :—

(a) refuse to accept offices in the gift of the Government until in the opinion of the Congress a satisfactory response is made by the Government to the national demand;

(b) refuse supplies and throw out budgets (unless otherwise directed by the All India Working Committee) until such response is made by the Government;

(c) throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its powers;

(d) move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of national life and the advancement of the economic, agricultural, industrial and commercial interests of the country;

(e) take steps to improve the condition of agricultural tenants by introducing and supporting measures to secure fixity of tenure and other advantages with due regard to the rights of the Zamindars; and

(f) generally protect the rights of labour, agricultural and industrial and adjust the relations between landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen.

This was framed in the light of experience so as to be acceptable to as large a number possible of workers in the political field and it represents

the minimum amount of resistance that is required for the success of our movement.

The Question of Office.

Controversy has raged round the question of non-acceptance of office; but it should be easy to come to a decision upon it, if we kept in view the spirit and objective of our fight against the bureaucracy. In no province is the congress party in the council in an absolute majority so as to be able to take office and dictate terms to the head of the Government and the reserved half. To form a ministry, it will have to coalesce with other groups and to lower its flag and to lose its distinctive character. And any such Ministry if formed can hold office only on sufferance and with the support of the Government and its nominated and official group of votes. On the one hand, it will be indistinguishable in achievement or rather the lack of it, from a Ministry formed by any non-congress group of members If, on the other hand, it attempts to maintain its spirit and carry out its purpose it must either resign instantly or acquiesce ignominiously in its failure. Again, a strong Minister can only attempt to improve some of the details of administration but can neither help to change the system of Government nor can effect even material improvements in administration. By improving a detail here and a detail there of administration, he would rather help to perpetuate the existing system of Government by casting his reflected benevolence on the bureaucracy. In reality, no one who has closely followed the achievements of Ministers in the several provinces can seriously believe that any Ministry can, without a proper system of self-government, get good government for the country

We should also clearly realise that the power of an opposition, though indirect, is very real and much more effective than the power of Ministers and that if we are disciplined and energetic and in sufficient numbers in any Council we can carry out our policy and programme more easily than the Ministers.

The refusal to accept office till a satisfactory response is made, constitutes an amount of political pressure that is necessary and sufficient to induce the Government to come to a settlement. By accepting office, the Congress is bound to become an unconscious ally of the bureaucracy. And, if the most advanced party in the country takes office, where will be the determined and disciplined opposition in each council to fight against Dyarchy or for Swaraj? Neither the Ministers nor their party can openly speak and vote against the administration of reserved subjects. Again, neither the refusal of the Government to release political prisoners and internees nor the rejection of our reasonable Demand nor that of our offer of honourable co-operation can be forgotten when we are asked to take office, not as part of a settlement, but as a token of our unconditional surrender. Our self-respect prohibits us from retracing steps when, instead of defeat, victory beckons us to march ahead.

It is said that if we cannot organize forthwith civil disobedience there is no other honest alternative than to own ourselves beaten and accept office. Neither horn of the dilemma exists save in one's imagination. The policy we are pursuing is thoroughly logical and practical and, if persisted in for a while longer, will be crowned with success. After the severest denunciations of the Reform Act on a thousand platforms and the most cogent demonstration of the futility of taking office, it were an anti-climax to

think of Ministries now. I am certain that the Government wants congressmen to become Ministers only on the terms of "sober and whole-hearted co-operation" with the reserved half and the bureaucracy. I am sure, we are all convinced that without a fair measure of self-denial we shall never be able to achieve anything, and that a policy of continuous opposition and resistance to the bureaucracy is required to give tone to our organization and life and vigour to our movement. Lastly, let us not forget that the policy of non-acceptance of office is neither unconditional nor for all time. On the other hand, its relaxation or modification depends upon the attitude of the Government and its willingness to agree to conditions more or less similar to those that were adumbrated by Desabandhu Das at Faridpur.

Objection is raised to the continuance of our present policy in the Councils on the ground that it has been tried for the past three years and that we are not yet in sight of the realisation of our hopes. The charge of barrenness is falsified by the party's splendid record of achievement in the last Assembly and in the Councils, and by the results of the general elections as whole. Shall we forget that it was to create an atmosphere of resistance both in the Councils and in the country that we entered the former and that we succeeded in making their atmosphere invigorating and markedly different from what it was before? We have not yet fully acquired the habit of resistance. And the power of resistance must be indefinitely increased till it fulfils itself. Again, this time, the work in the country must be our first care; it will then easily gather such volume and intensity as to sweep everything before it.

The Cawnpore session of the Congress marked a turning point in the history of the Congress and of the country. By making the programme and policy of the Swarajya Party its own and by absorbing that party, the Congress gave a new orientation to our political activities. It resolved upon the nationalisation of the legislatures established by Government by bringing them under its own control. This change of attitude on the part of the Congress towards legislatures has been fiercely attacked from more than one quarter. It has been denounced as a constitutional heresy to claim for the Congress a control over the legislatures. The justification of the claim is, however, obvious. Experience during the period of the non-co-operation movement had shown that the Councils functioned as anti-national institutions and thwarted the attempts of the Congress to obtain Swaraj. It was, therefore, necessary to ensure that the political institutions established by the nation and the political institutions established by the government should function as single organ and speak with one voice.

National Government.

Our foremost duty is to keep constantly before our eyes the vision of Swaraj, what it is, what it requires of us and what it will not permit us. It means nothing less than that the Congress should have the fullest control over the people and should have a steadily increasing number of workers knit together in bonds of unshakeable loyalty and perfect understanding. It is only in proportion as the control of the Congress over the people increases in area and in intensity we can obtain or establish Swaraj. We must take the Congress the centre of all our activities and build up Swaraj in and through it. It is, therefore, right and wise for the Congress to organise thoroughly all the electorates whether for the legislatures or local

bodies and to bring them under its discipline and control. The millions that have the franchise and the millions that have not, have to be habituated to accept voluntarily and cheerfully, the mandates of the Congress as the mandates of a national government. While the aim of the non-co-operation movement was to form the national administration leaving the political and administrative bodies under the influence, discipline and control of Government, what we should now do is to bring under Congress control not only the people who are more or less indifferent to the political and administrative institutions of Government but also those who seek to utilise them directly or indirectly. At the recent elections, have been demonstrated the love of the people for the Congress and their willingness to come under the Congress banner. It is of the very greatest importance that the electorates for the legislatures and local bodies should be so thoroughly educated and nationalized that they and the Congress may become identical in spirit, purpose and action, if not in numbers The Congress, and not the Government, must issue mandates to the legislative councils, to the local bodies and to the village administrations. Under this scheme, both the work in the country and in the councils can be so closely inter-related as to develop the maximum amount of political pressure against the government. When the electorates, the legislatures and the Congress learn to act as a single organisation, sanctions for the enforcement of national rights and demands will, of themselves, spring into existence.

Again, we have to organise the country in respect of the many serious grievances of the people. They are not yet fully alive either to their rights or to their wrongs. The study and investigation of grievances must form an essential part of Congress work The Congress members of all the legislatures should meet as a separate national legislature and frame model laws for adoption by the people. The remedying of grievances must be upon the basis of self-reliance and resistance and not on the basis of co-operation with the government. The people must be taught to assert their rights and to develop their powers of self-reliance and resistance. The issues of prohibition, of taxation of land and above all of unemployment will give us sufficient momentum and take us a long way forward.

If incessant propaganda is carried on in town and in village, if the Congressmen inside and outside the councils interest themselves, each group in the work of the other, and if people are organised in respect of grievances upon which they feel most strongly, the end will soon be in sight.

We must establish village sabhas that shall, under congress mandate, administer village affairs and be the units of a permanent Swaraj. The great practical difficulties that are in the way must not depress us but should only serve as a powerful stimulus to exertion. Mastery, as has rightly been said, is acquired by resolved limitation ; and the acid test of Indian leadership, of resolute patriotism and of constructive ability consists in the determination and contentment of men to organise and lead villages for the cause of Swaraj. The secret of success in the work of village reconstruction mainly lies in the discovery of apt rural leadership.

In this way, the Congress will ere long become the national government.

Capture of Local Bodies.

The work that I think must next be undertaken is the capture of local bodies in every province. Both in connection with the constructive programme and on its own merits I would urge upon you the need for such

action. If congressmen pledged to carry out the constructive programme and to follow the advice of local congress committees make it a point to capture as many seats as possible in the municipalities and local boards, the national movement will gain tremendously in strength. You can, in the first place, powerfully help the anti-drink campaign and place it on a practical basis; you can also nationalise education in municipal and board schools and spread the cult of Khaddar amongst teachers and boys and amongst municipal voters and employees. You will be able to devise ways and means to relieve unemployment to an appreciable extent And those in service of local bodies will become nationalised if their administration is undertaken by Congressmen. You will benefit the people in other practical ways, besides giving them the advantages which a municipality or board is intended to give but so seldom gives In the second place, Congressmen will acquire local leadership and establish control for the Congress over the people of the locality. At present, the control is either exclusively with persons who are hostile or indifferent to the national movement or is divided between them and us. The present influence of the bureaucracy and its ministerial or other allies over local bodies must be replaced by ours and the hold of the Congress over the people greatly strengthened. In the third place, you will be able to communicate to others that burning love of country that is in you. Fourthly, it will enable all sections of congressmen to come together and will give us additional organisations from which and by which the fight for Swaraj can be carried on. Lastly, village re-construction and village government can with the resources of the local bodies be more easily achieved than if we have to set about that work without such aid. We have already succeeded to some extent in the direction of nationalizing local bodies and have demonstrated its feasibility. Neither the occasional failure of the experiment nor academical arguments founded on obsolete theories, nor all the undoubted difficulties incidental to elections and the formation and maintenance of parties should deter us from persevering in it. The local bodies must be reformed by the abolition of nominated seats and must become parts of our great national organisation.

Constructive Programme.

No less important than the programme of work in the Councils and in the local bodies is the constructive programme of the Congress. Neither on political preoccupations, nor any comparative table of values which one may frame for one's self should make us forget that khaddar, prohibition, and removal of untouchability as well as the other items of work are vital aspects of our national movement.

Khaddar.

Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi's inspiration and iron will, the restoration of the Spinning Wheel to its ancient primacy has made the boycott of foreign cloth real to an appreciable extent and has powerfully stimulated swadeshi spirit and enterprise in all forms and directions. It has by its persuasiveness affected to a visible extent the national psychology, and has lent a new dignity to our manhood and womanhood. For, it has given us a feeling of self-respect and has raised the Indian name in the estimation of the Western and Eastern world. From bitter hostility and contempt it has journeyed through all the stages of misunderstanding and has at last found a home in our hearts. It has demonstrated our constructive ability and is increasingly providing relief for unemployment while the State is doing nothing to

mitigate it. Above all, work in this direction means love and love means influence. And the political pressure exerted by a boycott of foreign cloth is there all the time. The transfer of jurisdiction over khadi production from the Congress to an expert organization has, I think, ensured for it a permanent and conspicuous place in our national life unaffected by the controversies and fluctuations of politics. I trust the All-India Spinners' Association will become a nation-wide labour organization which, if it cannot be identical with Swaraj, will go some way towards it. For, its potentialities are considerable ; it can greatly help on the work of village reconstruction and in the establishment of village government. During 1925-26, Khadi production was 19 lakhs and this year it is expected that there will be an increase of 25 per cent. The increase in output has been accompanied by a steady improvement in quality and in patterns and Khadi has become distinctly cheaper. Nevertheless, the demand for Khadi is not as rapid and universal as one would wish. It is, therefore, our paramount duty to see that continuous political and patriotic backing is given to Khadi and to the boycott of foreign cloth and that the new spheres of influence which our national organization has won through the message of Khaddar are not lost to us by our indifference to it. And let us remember that of the two greatest achievements of Mahatma Gandhi, non-co-operation and Khaddar, though it is difficult to decide which is the greater, Khaddar is at once the radiant symbol of our self-reliance and of our power of resistance.

Prohibition.

We have not, I am afraid, latterly paid much attention to the question of total prohibition. Our movement will gain in moral grandeur if we successfully organise the will of the nation in that behalf. The measures that were adopted during the active period of non-co operation were no doubt marked by temporary exaltation and magnificently illustrated our spirit of sacrifice. They have, however, led to no permanent changes in the landscape. No Minister has during the past six years been found, and I doubt whether a Minister will now be found, to be courageous enough to bring in a bill for total prohibition and to resign his office on its rejection or disallowance. Anyhow, while the fight for Swaraj is carried on in the legislatures and outside, we must devise effective ways of removing the drink evil which is among the greatest causes of poverty in many provinces. In my province, where the Congress Party in the Council is pledged to make total prohibition a major issue, next only to Swaraj, the drink revenue amounts to nearly 6 crores of rupees out of a total provincial revenue of 16 crores. At least twice the amount of revenue derived by the Government in each province under Excise will represent the minimum loss to the people. The loss of revenue to the State due to a policy of total prohibition is more apparent than real ; for there is bound to be more than corresponding increase in national wealth. It can, however, if necessary be made good in other ways and should not make us hesitate to take decisive measures. I do feel that on this point the national conscience is not yet sufficiently roused. And yet both Islam and Hinduism can easily supply tremendous driving power if we will but put our hands to it.

Untouchability.

The removal of untouchability was long confined to the platform of social or religious reform and did not then make rapid progress. By making

it one of the items of the constructive programme of the Congress, we have, under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, almost in the twinkling of an eye materially changed the attitude towards it alike of the educated classes and of the masses. The final solution of the question, however depends in great part upon the improvement of the economic conditions of the vast bulk of the untouchables. And the time has, I think, come when in order to ensure its speedy accomplishment, increasing concentration on it is required. As in the case of Khaddi, an *ad hoc* organisation consisting of enthusiasts and religious and social reformers will, if properly led, be able to complete the work so splendidly begun by the congress. Neither foreign nor domestic critics are, however, right when they assert that untouchability is a formidable obstacle to Swaraj. or that its removal will automatically bring about Swaraj. We cannot wait for Swaraj till it is removed anymore than we can wait till caste is abolished. There is the capital instance of the United States of America achieving freedom long before the abolition of a very real and wide-spread slavery. But we must all agree that we must make an end of untouchability, apart from any question of Swaraj and whether we ever win Swaraj or not. While I would deprecate the iterated rhetorical strees on untouchability as a serious impediment to Swaraj and the consequent admission in favour of foreign domination, the higher philosophy of Hinduism as well as the history of religious dissidence in our country emboldens me to claim that the rule against untouchability has neither part nor lot with the indestructible soul of Hinduism. Judged by any test, humanitarian, rational or spiritual, patriotic or democratic, we cannot with decency uphold in Hinduism the dogma of an immutable untouchability. It clouds our vision, limits our experience, hardens our heart, narrows our sphere of responsibility and prevents our ideals of justice, love and sincerity from being perfect. The feeling that a particular caste or tribe or sect as such is by divine ordinance invested either with a mystic superiority or spiritual guardianship over others or has been condemned by God to bear the visible symbols of a hopeless degradation is destructive of the divinity in man, which is the central doctrine of Hinduism. It is not good for any one, neither for the guardian nor for the ward. As an *Ahaval* of Kapilar, current in my province, puts it. "Who can see any unlikeness of form between men such as there is between bull and buffaloe? Vasishta born of lowly mistress to Brahma like red water-lily springing up in mire; Sakti born of a Chandala woman to Vasishta: Parasara born to Sakti of Pulaii woman; Vyasa born of a fisher-girl to Parasara; all these by study of the Vedas rose to high estate and are famous as holy man." And if we are still in doubt, it is dissipated when we listen to Vemana's disconcerting query: "Why should we constantly revile the Pariar? Are not his flesh and blood the same as our own? And of what caste is He who pervades the Pariar?

We must, therefore, realise that untouchability is but the offspring of man-made custom and has no divine sanction behind it. On the other hand, from the point of view of Hinduism, it prevents it from spreading far and wide and sending its roots deeper and robs it of the transforming influence of missionary fervour.

The Congress Party in the legislative councils will, I have no doubt, attend to these and to the other items of constructive work to the extent to which they can be furthered in and through the legislatures. I trust it

will, in particular, tone up the educational institutions belonging to or added by the Government and secure the passage of enactments including in courses of compulsory studies such subjects as will inculcate in boys and girls a consuming patriotism, courage and a wide national outlook.

Labour and Unemployment.

The organization of labour has been included by the Congress at Cawnpore in its constructive programme. We must give it a front place in our work for the coming year. The welfare of labour, its housing, its provident funds and industrial insurance and all the other things required for improvement in the treatment and conditions of labour are of great national importance. They constitute a reserved subject though they concern us more than the bureaucracy. Labour legislation in India whether it concerns registration or trade unions or other matters is by no means satisfactory. Labour is not represented by its own men in the existing legislative bodies as the present electrorates are too unmanageable and expensive. And nomination is a wholly inadmissible method of securing representation either of labour or of the depressed classes or of any class of the population. The congress must therefore increasingly promote the welfare of labour and the Congress party in each legislature should represent its interests and pay special attention to its requirements. Fortunately labour in India is becoming more and more insistent on its rights and is slowly organizing itself. There is perfect identity of feeling and interest between the national movement and labour. None need fear that in India the legitimate interests of labour will be sacrificed to capitalist interests; or that the Congress can neither reconcile them nor be just to both.

Next to Swaraj, the greatest of India's needs is the relief of poverty and unemployment. Owing to a variety of causes it has assumed colossal dimensions. The average income of an Indian is hardly Rs. 68 per annum. We are face to face with un-speakable squalor and misery and starvation. The first duty of a Government is to take adequate measures for their removal; but under the present systems of Government the problem is wholly ignored. Otherwise, will the present Government, for instance, establish the great industry of ship-building on a large scale or start a line of state-owned steam-ships that will earn freight for India and give employment, as Indian Railways do, to tens of thousands of Indians? Assuredly not. We want Swaraj for the purpose of discharging what according to our tradition and culture is our paramount duty. For, Swaraj has to be won before we can establish industries on a large scale and adequately deal with the problem of poverty and unemployment. In the meantime the Congress party in the several legislatures should make every attempt to get laws passed compelling the Government to relieve unemployment by the establishment of State industries, by opening up of new tracts for cultivation and in other ways. It should also educate the country and link unemployment to the Swaraj movement in such a way as to produce an increasing amount of pressure on the Government.

Government's Currency Policy.

A grievance of considerable magnitude has recently arisen in connection with the currency and exchange policy of the Government. The recommendations of the Currency Commission adopted by the Government do not

establish the effective gold standard with gold currency which India needs for her prosperity but are injurious to Indian interests. These and the resolve of the Government to fix the exchange at 18d, its continued deflation of the currency and its sales of Reserve Council Bills contrary to to the clear assurance given by the Finance Member that the Assembly would first be consulted, have exasperated Indian public opinion. They are bound to result in gross injustice to our industries, to our agricultural population and to our exporters. A little reflection will make us agree that the lower price of imports is no compensation especially when we remember the expenditure on imported goods by the vast bulk of the consumers is but a small percentage of their total expenditure. The loss inflicted upon India is very substantial, whether we have regard to the drop of 12½% in the real value of agricultural produce or of exports or have regard to the competition between products of Indian and foreign industries or to consequential increase in agricultural indebtedness. Nor will additional taxation be, as contended, necessary if the exchange is at 16d. The question should not be regarded as a recondite question for economic Pandits or as if its eventual adjustment does not mean serious loss at present. The currency policy of the Government has a far-reaching importance . it not only affects certain key interests but the general welfare of the country. To say that sections of Indian capitalists want to exploit us is but an attempt to prejudice us which must be resisted. In our fear lest our own capitalists use us, let us not allow ourselves to be exploited by foreign capitalists in the interests of England and to the general detriment of India. I am confident that we shall be able to hold the scales even not only as between rival communities but as between rival interests in India. I cordially welcome the formation of the Indian Currency League and trust that it will adequately educate public opinion on the question of the ratio of the gold standard, gold currency and other cognate questions. But I am certain the League will be able to achieve nothing, either by debate and vote in the Assembly or by protest outside, unless it comes into line with the Congress and unless its members harness themselves to the dynamic politics of the Congress.

Indian States.

Indian States, in the opinion of some friends, present a difficult and delicate question in connection with our demand for Swaraj. The difficulty only exists so long as we do not go into it and the delicacy arises because we have one view for British India and another for Indian States. I share, to the full, the sympathy of all those who think that Indian States are a kind of very imperfect Swaraj. They remind us of the high estate from which we have fallen and our national instinct, sound in the main, prompts us to preserve these relics of an ancient dignity. But the reconciliation between sentiment and the imperious necessity for Swaraj is by no means difficult. The rulers of Indian States ought, in their own interests and in the interests of their subjects, to content themselves with the position of hereditary governors or administrators of their territories under a system of representative institutions and responsible government. It is better, much better, for an Indian ruler to be the head of a democratic government and to rely on the support of his people than to occupy the very dubious and anxious position he does at present. He will then, if he is a just and wise ruler, be in a safer, freer and more dignified and influential position

than he is in now; if he be unjust or vicious, he will not deserve any protection either from the present government or from Free India. The population of the Indian States is about 72 millions, somewhat less than a third of the population of British India. The identity of sentiment and civilisation, of interest and aspiration, between the two is unaffected by political barriers; and echoes of our Swaraj movement are heard in the States. The people of British India, when they are fighting for Swaraj, are entitled to have the Indian States brought into line with British India. Matters affecting the relations of the Government with Indian States or relating to the affairs of such States, ought not to be excluded, as they are at present, from the consideration of the Central legislature. We in British India are, by ties of blood, religion, culture and business so intimately connected with those in the Indian States that it is impossible to deny them our help in their aspirations and in their grievances. The people of such States should have such representation in the Assembly as may be necessary to safeguard their interests till each Indian State obtains a system of responsible government.

Greater India.

The lineaments of our great ancestry reveal themselves, in us, to-day, however thin in the transmission the ancient blood has become. And the adventurous spirit of early India which built up long ago a greater Bharata-Varsha to the East and to the West, to the North and to the South is not extinct. It is now seen in the greater India which our brethren, in humble and laborious fashion, are building for us in far off lands against unparalleled odds. The status of Indians abroad, whether in South Africa or Kenya, in Fiji or Guiana, in Ceylon or Malaya, in America or Australia depends inevitably upon the status of Indians in their own land; and Swaraj for India depends in its turn upon the brave and unfaltering spirit of our kith and kin across the seas.

The patient industry and skill of the Indian labourer wins rich fields of cereals and sugarcane, plantations of rubber, tea and coffee and smiling gardens of fruit, flower and vegetable from virgin forests and unpromising lands amidst the hardship of unfamiliar countries and climates. He is therefore induced, with the permission of the Indian Government to emigrate to distant countries where he lives a life of incessant toil and misery often unsweetened by the happiness of a real home. But when the need for his labour ceases, he is asked either to submit himself to humiliating conditions or given notice to quit. The position of Indians in South Africa and Kenya stands on a much worse footing while their claims to equality are distinctly greater. Indians abroad are of all classes and position and should be entitled to full rights of citizenship there just as much as others. In any case, the term "cooly" connotes the dignity of labour and the Indian cooly settler, lowly as he is, is far superior in status to the original convict settler in Australia. No white man, I believe, refuses to employ an Indian on a lower wages, but his passion for improving the lot of Indians insists on their adoption of higher standards of living.

With patience and perseverance, our brethren are solving the question of racial equality all over the world. We can help them only by winning Swaraj for India. In the meantime, the Cawnpore resolution to open a foreign department to look after the interests of oversea Indians and to carry on propaganda concerning their status, has to be sufficiently implemented.

The deputation of our South African friends to India last year, was an education in itself. I would suggest the holding, once in a way, of a session of the Congress in South Africa. Further, a small committee should be appointed to go to the principal foreign countries where Indians, whether traders, students, labourers or others, reside, so as to get into direct personal touch with them.

Asiatic Federation.

The time has perhaps come for us seriously to think of a Federation of the Asiatic peoples for their common welfare. So long as our neighbours were ruled by irresponsible autocrats, such an idea was clearly out of question. Now that Angora, Persia, China and Siberia are governed by democracies, a federation of Asiatic democracies will make for peace, prosperity and freedom of Asia and therefore come within the range of practical politics. Signs are not wanting to indicate that our neighbours take keen interest in us and we must reciprocate it. In order to promote better understanding and closer relations between India and other Asiatic countries, frequent interchange of visits by appropriate delegations should be arranged, as well as other steps taken. We have too long neglected the possibilities of a cultural and business union with all Asiatic countries.

Communalism and Nationalism

I have reserved, to the last, my remarks on the struggle between communalism and nationalism. The critical phase of the struggle is over and the issue is no longer in doubt. The riots and disturbances that have recently disfigured our social life have drawn forth nearly all that is bad in communalism. The forces of nationalism are steadily and visibly triumphing over the forces of communalism. The results of the elections in the Punjab and the United Provinces are as much due to serious divisions amongst congressmen as to the confession caused by communal cries. Those two provinces have not, as it appears to me, given their verdict in favour of communalism. For, the number of Congress candidates that succeeded there on the Cawnpore mandate is larger than the number that succeeded on the Hindu communal ticket. In Bengal, Behar, Madras and in the rest of India, the answer of the electorates against communalism has been decisive. In Madras, the electorates, with the masses of the general population at their back, have cashiered a communal party that, for 6 years, thanks to Lord Willingdon, has been responsible for the acute tension of feeling between Brahmin and non-Brahmin. They have loyally supported the Congress ideals of nationalism, unity and justice and have effected a remarkable change in the atmosphere of the province. Electorates predominantly non-Brahmin in composition, have returned, either unopposed or after contest, Brahmin and non-Brahmin Nationalists to the local council and to the Assembly and the brunt of the fighting was borne by patriotic non-Brahmins, not less hungry than others for Swaraj. In Bihar, the loyalty to Congress both amongst Hindus and Muslims has been very striking and the national harvest for council and assembly is abundant. In Bengal, the Congress party in the council will be much stronger than before and communalism has been held in check. I feel sure Bengal will maintain, as ever, her political primacy.

That communalism is a negation of nationalism and is an obstacle to Swaraj, is being rapidly and very generally realised. I am confident that

wherever intensive propaganda, sincere and persuasive, clearly analyses the fallacies underlying it, communalism will go to the wall. Happily, prejudice and suspicion are not deep-seated amongst Indians and communalism is but their off-spring. Again, who will not agree, after some political education, that communal conflicts necessarily involve that there should be an arbiter and that if the whole of India were divided into two warring communities, the arbiter would always be a foreigner? We must not only reach, but hold fast to, the conviction that we are Indians first and last and right through. National representation and national leadership must be our aim and not communal leadership and communal representation. A patriotic Hindu or Mussalman should, at all times and at all costs, desire to represent and lead not only his own community but the other community as well.

In Great Britain, differences of race, language and habits between Englishmen, Scotchmen and Welshmen did not prevent them from establishing self-government Nor did the bitter and prolonged struggle between Protestants and Roman Catholics prevent the advent of self-government in England, France and Canada Nor did the divisions between the white races in South Africa make the grant of self-government impossible. The differences between Hindus and Mussalmans or between Brahmins and non-Brahmins are by no means such as to prevent them from being one nation. There is no conflict of interests between them in respect of all those matters which tend to their common welfare or make for a national advance or relate to in the establishment and development of self-governing institutions.

Fundamental Safeguards.

Religious doctrines and institutions and such social usages and personal laws as have historically been due to a distinctive culture are alone peculiar to any religious community. There should therefore be a fundamental law of Swaraj to guard against the making of laws by any legislature in India that may affect liberty of conscience, freedom of religious observance or association, the right to religious education and, at the option of the community concerned, the right to personal laws. Another safeguard has been devised by the Working Committee of the Congress to prevent communal hatred and strife and to protect the legitimate interests of minorities. The rule is to the following effect .—

> No Bill, motion or amendment relating to any inter-communal matter should be moved or discussed if a majority of three fourths of the members of any community affected thereby in the legislature, are opposed to the introduction or discussion of such a bill, motion, or amendment. And the Congress party in the legislature concerned, should take such steps as may be possible to give effect to this resolution in each case. But if their efforts are not successful, and three fourths majority of the members of any community of the Congress party affected by such inter-communal question consider that it should not be made a party question, then the Congress party in the legislature shall refrain from making it a party question.

Plea for Tolerance.

In the early days of a world faith, again, conversion was of its essence. Though each community should be free to make conversions, no resort to

coversion is really any longer useful or necessary. For, the lives of the best and most pious men in each community are a fitter and more effective propaganda in that behalf than definite missionary effort. But wherever the latter is made, it should be open and general and neither secret nor directed to the converting of particular men or women. Let us realize that no great and long-established religion gains in truth, beauty or spirituality with any increase in its census figures.

It is not by hatred of another's religion or of those that profess it that the interests of one's own religion are advanced. Asoka in his Edict on Tolerance proceeded on abundant experience and a clear perception of the "essence of the matter," as he calls it, and of real and lasting values. Says he: "He who does reverence to his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from attachment to his own, with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts the severest injury on his own sect."

Communal Representation.

Moreover, no community can, in these days, really progress in secular affairs unless the nation as a whole advances, unless, in other words, the other communities either acquiesce in the rise of one community or make equal progress. The best way of advancing politically one's own community is, therefore, to raise the status of all the communities as a whole. For, if you seek to advance your own community, all the other communities band themselves together against yours. Communalism is not so much a positive idea of benefiting one's own community as a destructive desire to obtain advantages at the expense of the other communities. And how, one may well ask, is a community benefited by one of its members securing a post in government service or succeeding in an election? If he conducts himself justly and honestly as a member of the public service, members of his community can share only in the general good and can gain no undue advantage. If, on the other hand, he favours them at the expense of others, he will become unjust and corrupt. Again, what is every-day distrust or tension when it arises between two individuals belonging to different communities, though, in both cases, the motive or cause, whether it be ambition or envy, bad temper or enmity, necessity or greed, difference in opinion or temperament may be the same.

That much abused expression communal representation is a misnomer; for all the communities are equally interested in all public questions and in the country's problems and in particular solutions of them. Such differences as exist are temperamental and individual and not at all communal. Taxation and other burdens imposed by the State bear on all and grievances are common to all and methods of redress or agitation are not peculiar to a community. Nor is it by mathematical or mechanical formulae that justice between communities in the matter of the services or in other matters can be rendered. The congress stands for equal rights and opportunities for all classes, castes, and communities. And Indian nationalists are developing a high sense of justice; they are even sensitively just. Let us realize clearly that to uphold justice between man and man is to uphold justice between community and community. As a safeguard a negative role against members of any community or caste monopolising offices is all that is required. There are so many communities and there is so much of competition in these days in India that it is impossible for any community to create such a monopoly.

Again, neither a Hindu nor a Muslim member can at all represent his religion in a legislative council or any question except where his religion is sought to be affected.

Politics and Religion.

The intrusion into politics of religion, and very often of dogmatic religion, must be resisted as a primitive or mediaeval idea, born of theocracies, and disastrous alike to religion and to politics. Hinduism and Islam will gain immeasurably in strength and purity, if they are not mixed up with secular politics. I do not speak of morality or of that spiritual quality which is common to all great religions; for thereby politics and organizations are cleansed and made sweet and welcome. In the evolution of States, theocracies have not survived as they were reponsible for fanaticism, persecution and internal strife and neglected the material welfare of the people and the proper arts of government.

Hinduism and Islam.

Lastly, let us clearly grasp the truth that neither Hiduism nor Islam stands in danger of being destroyed by the other. Both are great religions, ages old; and both have an abiding hold on vast populations. They have again and again come into severe conflict with each other and have survived it, as they have survived the shocks of foreign invasions and foreign civilizations and all other catastrophic changes. In mediaeval conditions. Hinduism and Islam both continued to flourish in full vigour, independent of the religion of powerful despots who were backed up by their own communities, numerous and armed. In modern times, when there is far greater religious tolerance, and when autocracies have been replaced by democracies are notoriously secular in their outlook and priestly influence has largely declined, it is wholly chimerical to imagine that if either the Hindus or Muhammadans in a province constitute a majority in a democratic form of Government, the religion of the minority will suffer. No proselytizing can equal the hearty crusading fervour of early and mediaeval times; and the two great religions of India have in spite of innumerable conversions and re-conversions adjusted and consolidated themselves and have acquired an adamantine stability. A Hindu State that attempts with all its authority to destroy Islam will be subverted in a minute and a similar fate will befall a Mussalman State that attempts to destroy Hinduism.

Let us not forget, in the fervour of political controversy, that the strength of each religion is derived from God and is rooted in the souls of Prahladas. Not all the tortures of a Torquomada nor all the burning at the stakes nor all other forms of persecution have been able to destroy the mystic quality of the human soul. Neither Hinduism nor Islam derives or requires strength either from the present or from any future Government. Both stand, far, far above Swaraj which is not comparable to them. Neither foreign Governments nor self-Governments, neither democracies nor autocracies, can destroy that seed of faith which is in every one of us, that inspired interpretation of the universe to which one clings for guidance and solace in this world and for salvation in the next. Hindus and Mussalmans have lived in the past and will live in the future as patriotic fellow citizens and firm and loyal friends. In the transaction of public affairs, in all matters of secular advancement, in all aspects of the administration and on all public. political and national questions, they easily can and should think and

feel and act as Indians. I fervently appeal to Hindu and Mussalman leaders with all the strength of my feeble voice to consider the need for concerted action in a calm and dispassionate spirit and to unite indissolubly for their common deliverance.

Appeal for Unity.

It appears to me that the vision of Swaraj has become some what dim in the dust of internal strife and our hunger for it less keen in our greater desire for the philosophy of individualism. The need of the hour is not philosophy but action, not freedom for the individual, but freedom for the nation, not alone unity in ideal and object, but also unity in method and action, direction and pace, and above all, not polemics and projects but organization and discipline, first and last and right through. The question naturally suggests itself: Should we have distinct parties in the country or in the Congress? I know the weight of names is against me, but I would beg a calm and earnest examination of the question with Swaraj brain and Swaraj heart. The answer comes again and again from the depths of our being, from the holy of holies, from our tortured soul, that the righteous should link hands against unrighteousness. There can be only two parties in India, the party of the Government and its adherents that obstructs Swaraj, and the party that fights visibly and unceasingly for Swaraj. An army has several arms, but it would be a singular army indeed if its cavalry fought its infantry and its artillery opened fire on both. The duties of all groups or parties in the country and in the congress is vigorously to co-operate with one another in their fight for Swaraj just as the arms of a sensible army will do in a real war.

I deprecate the philosophy of individualism in a supreme struggle for freedom against a powerful people with their trained bureaucracy and with unlimited material resources. On a question whether a particular course is wise or unwise, will succeed or fail, accelerate Swaraj or retard it, to make one's opinion or judgment or feeling a matter of conscience is false philosophy. On a point of religion, of morality, of honour, one's own conscience must be the arbiter, but in transacting the affairs of a country, when a decision is not irreligious, immoral or dishonourable, I fail to see how we may rely on our right to differ from one another and yet uphold the discipline necessary for an organization fighting for Swaraj. If the soldiers in an army claim similar right when engaged in a battle they will have short shrift at the enemy's hands. We want freedom for our country and must, therefore, pay the price for it.

Again, shall we cease to be constantly on the alert and prefer the easier to the harder way, retreat to advance? Shall we avoid taking prompt decisions, refrain from action when a decision has been come to or indulge the critical mood? Shall we not concentrate on the imparting of a new momentum, the attracting of fresh recruits and the consolidation and stiffening of our ranks? Or, shall we relax our wills and substitute patience for impatience, little things for big things, discretion for valour, policy for truth, dogma for faith, and sweet reasonableness for stern determination.

Do we feel that we are unfit to undertake the Government of the country? Is it not actually run by Indian officials and are not the English overseers merely concerned in laying down policies which their Indian subordinates and colleagues who are in no better position than subordinates,

are obliged to carry out? The machinery of the Government is already there; only the directing brain and voice are needed and that surely can be supplied by us.

What is needed to break our bonds is only that we should get rid of this creeping paralysis of brain and will, of this hypnotism which the foreigner exercises over the Indian official and un-official, whether his opponent or his friend. The conditions in India are so favourable to the immediate attainment of Swaraj that it were an easy achievement if we could but set our hands to it. One or two men in every village or town have but to shoulder the responsibilities of a real and lasting leadership. Character and transparent patriotism, steady courage and average ability are all that is needed for the purpose. We have been trying to build leadership from above which is an impossible process and from abroad which is a destructive process. We must build leadership from the base and on the spot itself. Efficient local leadership alone and not propaganda or programmes of sorts will solve the problem. For, Swaraj means the ability to set up a local Panchayat or leader that will command continuously the loyal and energetic support of the people in the locality.

With the greatest fervour and in all humility, I would appeal to all leaders, all groups of workers and all schools of thought, in and outside the Congress, to put aside all differences for one brief year and stand together as comrades in arms determined to win freedom. We all, whether Swarajists, Responsivists. Independents or others, long for unity; and none among us is anxious to emphasise or perpetuate differences. But we all long equally ardently for Swaraj. May I, therefore, request all friends, whether they agree or not with all that I have said, to see if it is not possible to reconcile the longing for unity with the longing for Swaraj without affecting either and in such a way and by such methods as shall amaze and baffle and discomfit the Governments in India and in England at this critical hour.

We can restore our faith in ourselves only by restoring our faith in each other, for without an atmosphere of energetic good-will and of freedom from suspicion and prejudice, it is impossible to perfect the work of organization that we have begun or to re-impose the splendid discipline that staggered the world till the 10th of March, 1922.

Conclusion.

Swaraj is not an intellectual but an emotional proposition. We must cherish it in our hearts with unquenchable faith. Neither genial humour nor mordant sarcasm, neither the persuasion of friends nor the wrath of foes, neither appreciation nor calumny should make our patriotism tepid or qualify the singleness of our purpose. We must, therefore, become possessed by a passion for Swaraj that is not warped by fallacies and impulses, that will stand for a uniform and rapid corporate advance in serried masses, that will know no obstacles, that will not wax and wane with the seasons, that will not be daunted by imprisonments or depressed by failures.

Proceedings and Resolutions.

After the Presidential Address had been delivered, Mr. Girdhari Lal read several telegrams and letters addressed to the President received from many Congressmen and others, expressing inability to attend the Congress, but wishing it every success. The general tone of these messages was a sincere desire both for political and communal unity in the country in order to pave the way for Swaraj.

Ordinarily, the opening day proceedings are confined to the Presidential Address and a Welcome Speech by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, but, owing to pressure on their time four non-contentious resolutions were put on the agenda.

1.—Murder of Swami Shraddhananda.

The printed agenda mentioned that Maulana Mahomed Ali would move the resolution about Swami Shraddhananda, but it was moved by MAHATMA GANDHI. As the Mahatma came to the rostrum, there were cries of Gandhi-ki-jai. The Sikh contingent who formed the majority of the Punjab delegates shouted out "Sri Akal." Mahatma Gandhi moved the resolution which was slightly altered and now read :—

This Congress expresses its horror and indignation at the cowardly and treacherous murder of Swami Shraddhananda and places on record its sense of the irreparable loss the nation has sustained by the tragic death of a brave and noble patriot who dedicated his life and his great gifts to the service of his country and of his faith and espoused with fearless devotion the cause of the lowly, the fallen and the weak.

Mahatma Gandhi, speaking in Hindi, said that it was at the instance of the President that he was moving the resolution and Maulana Mahomed Ali would second it. He said that the nation had been profoundly moved by the assassination of the Swami. The speaker knew that the Swami had pledged his life for the country. He asked the audience to read the account of his relationship with Swamiji which he would write in *Young India*. He had read the Quoran as respectfully as the Gita, but had found nothing that sanctioned murder of the kind perpetrated. But Abdul Rashid was not the sinner. The sinners were the leaders of both the Hindu and Muslim opinion and some newspapers in India had become a walking plague. He had been told that many muslim newspapers never wrote on the subject without throwing mud on the Swami, Pandit Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai. Why was it so? He knew that none of these was an enemy of Islam. Similarly, there were a kind of sheets that never wrote without throwing mud on Sir Abdur Rahim or Mian Fazli Hussain and other Muslims. What harm was there if Sir Abdur Rahim was doing his best to better the position of Muslims? Why should Hindus consider him their enemy? He was distressed to find that the reader would not patronise a newspaper unless it abused leaders of the rival communities. He had met Mian Sir Fazli Hussain and his regard for him had increased after the visit. That did not mean that he agreed with all that he said. Sir Fazli Hussain told him that he was a life-long Congressman and, being a Muslim, was it wrong if he helped his community? Sir Fazli Hussain had added that he would be ever ready to show to any one that he was not the enemy of Hindus. The Mahatma fervently appealed that all should take a lesson by his death as

he served his country while he was alive. "Let us then cleanse our heart and wash it with the innocent blood of the Swami."

Moulana MAHOMED ALI, in supporting the motion, said that he came to Gauhati in order that the Congress should give a decisive mandate to the Swarajists in the Council as to the work they should do there, and also chalk out a programme of work outside the Council. But the news of the Swami's death came like a bolt from the blue. Delhi, though yet a small province, was in many ways the heart of India. There was nothing at the present moment in the atmosphere of Delhi which foreboded the sad news from there. The fact that the Swami asked Abdul Rashid to come in for a discourse on Islam while his servant was refusing him admission showed the extent of his missionary work and to go in the name of religion and religious discussion and then to claim the hospitality of the very person he was going to attack, and then attack that person when he was lying on the sick bed, was the height of treachery, dastardliness and cowardliness. Proceeding, the Moulana said. "Whilst I thus wholeheartedly associate myself with the condemnation of the atrocious deed, I would not be true to my faith and, therefore, to the nation, if I did not say that the same value would not be put by the Mussalmans as by the Hindus upon every part of Swami Shraddhanand's life work." He certainly felt most keenly his position as one living in an unfree country. He was most anxious to secure its liberation even though he did not always see eye to eye with us. But this was not the time to refer to the differences of opinion as to the nature of the methods which the Swami sometimes adopted. His main work latterly was for his faith to which he had dedicated his great gifts and here too differences of opinion no doubt existed with regard to some of the methods adopted by him. There can be no doubt that he worked with unmistakable intensity and missionary zeal in the cause of his faith as he understood it. Where, however, they can imagine no difference of opinion was the matter of his courage. In that respect, all communities can alike appreciate his greatness for their was a community of the courageous and the brave to which men of all creeds and countries belonged, a community to which only the coward was an alien. He always liked to picture the Swami as the stalwart patriot who fearlessly bared his bosom to the bayonets of a dozen Gurkhas when they were used by this Government to intimidate Delhi in the Satyagraha days. Concluding, Moul. Mahomed Ali said that, to a composite nation such as theirs, it must be a great pity to all that the Swami's assailant was a fellow countryman. It was a matter of great pity that a Mussalman should have done the dastardly deed.

Pandit MOTILAL said that few people had greater courage of conviction than the Swami. An instance of his physical courage was when he faced the Gurkha bayonets in Delhi. But his moral courage was still greater. "Let us draw a lesson. The cup of dissension is now full. Dissension has reached a stage at which it cannot be allowed to go further except to the utter ruin of both the communities. It is up to us now to cry halt to the communal movements and communal writings. Let us stop this disgraceful state of things. It was his death which has opened the eyes of those who are determined not to see things. The militant sections of both communities will now see the reason and come together and unite. The Swami's death will be avenged."

Pandit MALAVIYA wanted merely to add two words of love that he had for the revered Swami. The Swami, he said, was a great patriot who sacrificed his all for the country. He gave up practice at the bar thirty years back and devoted his life to Gurukula and the country. He was bold, frank and tolerant to the greatest degree. It was he who raised the banner of Shuddhi, it was he who sounded the clarion call of Sangathan. His services were innumerable. People might have differences with him. Some might disagree with his work, but none could criticise his method of work which was based on honesty, straightforwardness. Pandit Malaviya said that the crime was so brutal and so mean that they must try to find what could have made Abdul Rashid to adopt such a method to take away the life of the Swami even on the sick bed. Those people who wrote to the press that the Swami was a great enemy of Islam must bear their share of responsibility for the crime. Such acts would not be stopped until the writings which poisoned the people's mind were stopped. A newspaper cutting had been placed in his hand showing that a Muslim meeting had approved of the crime, but he trusted that the report was not correct and that every Muslim would condemn the crime. Let them expose all such writers and speakers. There was nothing wrong in the Shuddhi and Sangathan movements. Indeed, it was recognised by the Unity Conference. He concluded by urging every Congressman to do his duty both in speeches and writings, to promote communal amity.

The condolence resolution about the Swami was passed all standing as also the following resolution put from the chair mourning the death of Omar Sobhani —

2.—Condolence.

This Congress places on record its deep regret at the untimely death of Mr. Umar Sobhani who had rendered signal services to the Congress and the country during the days of the Non-co-operation movement.

3.—Indians in South Africa.

Mahatma GANDHI next moved the following resolution regarding South Africa.—

This Congress welcomes the Round Table Conference now sitting in South Africa to deliberate upon the best method of dealing with the question of the Status of Indian Settlers in that Sub-continent and prays for divine blessing and guidance upon its deliberators.

This Congress once more tenders its thanks to that good Englishman, Mr C. F. Andrews, who has been chiefly instrumental in preparing in South Africa a calm atmosphere suitable for the holding of the Conference.

This Congress authorises the President to cable the text of the resolution to General Hertzog, Sir Habibulla and Mr. C. F. Andrews

In doing so Mahatma Gandhi, speaking in Hindi, said that Mr. C. F. Andrews had kept him in touch with the position in South Africh through correspondence. Mr. Andrews had emphasised in his letters that prayers should be held all over for the guidance of the Round Table Conference. The need for such prayer was paramount. They knew that the Indian Government had no power to force its will on South Africa. The recent Imperial Conference had conceded to the Dominions even greater freedom and independence in the field of imperial relations. They could therefore only pray to God to shower his blessings on those engaged in the discussions

of the Round Table Conference, so that, enlightened by divine blessings, the conference might concede justice to Indian settlers in South Africa. He then drew the attention of the audience to the fact that the untouchability of South Africa from which their countrymen were suffering was nothing but a repercussion of Indian untouchability. It therefore behoved them to put their own house in order He reminded South African statesmen that history showed that those who, having power, abused it, prepared for their own ruin and implored them to grant Indian settlers the elementary justice which they desired. They did not ask for favours. In fact, they had foregone, for the sake of peace, things they need to have in strict justice.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad heartily associated himself with all that fell from the Mahatma and the resolution was passed unanimously. The Congress then rose at 7 p.m.

SECOND DAY—THE 27TH DECEMEER 1927.

4.—Indians in Kenya.

The Congress reassembled on this day at 12 noon to consider the remaining items on the agenda. The first resolution was on Kenya —.

In the opinion of the Congress the progressively restrictive legislation against the Indian settlers of Kenya as evidenced by the latest action of the Kenya Government in increasing the original poll-tax of 20 shillings which by currency manipulation was raised to 30 shillings and which has now been raised to 50 shillings by legislation is calculated to demonstrate afresh that British Imperialism means conservation of European interests at the cost of Indian interests, liberty and aspirations.

Mrs. Sarojini NAIDU, in moving the resolution, said that the suffering Indians in Kenya were holding the conference to decide how they should fight the imposition of the new and iniquitous poll-tax imposed upon them. It was not a mere additional tax The real cause was not so much British Imperialism as the slave condition of Indians in India itself. We alone were responsible for the plight of our brethren overseas. Our indifference, ignorance and internecine warfare were the weapons used against our brethren overseas by the forces of reactionary materialism.

We should liberate ourselves in India and speak with a voice which must be listened to with respect. It was our brethren that built up the prosperity of East Africa. Kenya has been the colony for the overflow of Indian population. Vascode Gama came to the dream-land of India with an Indian as his guide. The Indian was the first cause of civilisation in Kenya and the white man afterwards followed. When he went there to fight against the imposition of the White Paper policy, he found everywhere the fruits of Indians' sacrifice. Without the despised Indian in Africa there would have been no Uganda Railway. Englishmen reaped the fruits of sacrifice of the Indians. We do not protect the rights of our countrymen who were the pioneers that linked us with the outer world and we allow them to suffer. Their one leader, Manilal Desai who created the national consciousness there, is dead.

The White Paper policy is that the beautiful highlands shall be the preserve of the white settlers. The Indians were driven down like cattle. The white population said that the Indians shall have no property there and that the fairest share of the land is for them. You are aware of the Immigration

Restriction Act. They said that the Indians are not equal to them in education and social status. They said they would replace the Indians by unskilled African labour. They did not give the children of the soil their legitimate rights. The only remedy for East Africa and every colony where the Indian name is despised is Swaraj. When it will come you and I will settle our terms of dispute. Communal quarrels must cease and we should stand up and say: This land is ours and freedom is our birthright. Not until we get Swaraj shall we be able to offer protection to our brethren in Kenya and South Africa. The imposition of enhanced taxation is a further proof of the intention of White settlers.

Mr. ANEY seconding said the charge against the Kenya Government was that its legislation affecting the Indian interests was of a progressively restrictive character. There was a progressive restriction of Indians' natural rights. They wanted to make it impossible for Indians to live as true sons of the colony. The one policy in the White Paper was to preserve the rights of White settlers with regard to the highlands. The Colonial Office having assured the Indians that in future they would not make any discrimination between the Indians and the white settlers, have passed this measure based on racial discrimination. Their excuse was that they wanted to find money for the sake of education of Indian and European boys. They had raised the poll-tax on Indians with a view to give superior education to European boys and inferior education to Indian boys. The Kenya Indians were determined to wage a no-tax campaign and they looked up to this country as the mother country for help. When trouble arose in respect of a single European in China the whole of England was galvanised. We should agitate and make the Indian Government induce the Kenya Government to accept a small Round Table Conference with a view to bring about a reasonable conclusion in the interests of Indian settlers.

The resolution was carried unanimously and a telegram of sympathy was sent by the President of the Congress to the Kenya Indians.

5.—Work in the Legislature.

Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA next moved the resolution relating to the Council programme which was passed by the Subjects Committee last night. The following is the text:—

This Congress reiterates its resolve that the general policy of Congress-men in the Assembly and the various Councils shall be one of self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation and of determined resistance to every activity, governmental or other, that may impede the nation's progress towards Swaraj. In particular, Congress-men in the legislatures shall

(a) refuse to accept ministership or other office in the gift of the Government and oppose the formation of a ministry by other parties until in the opinion of the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee a satisfactory response is made by the Government to the National Demand;

(b) subject to clause (d) refuse supplies and throw out budgets until such response is made by the Government or unless otherwise directed by the All-India Congress Committee;

(c) throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its powers,

(d) move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of national life and the advancement of the economic, agricultural, industrial and commercial interests of the country, and for the protection of the freedom of person, speech, association and of the press, and the consequent displacement of the bureaucracy;

(e) take steps to improve the condition of agricultural tenants by introducing and supporting measures to secure fixity of tenure and other advantages with a view to ensure a speedy amelioration of the condition of the tenants ; and

(f) generally protect the rights of labour, agricultural and industrial, and adjust on an equitable basis the relations between landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen

In moving the resolution Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta said that Swarajists were placed between two sets of critics, one demanding a stronger programme and the other urging adoption of a policy of acceptance of office. Though these two parties attacked the Swaraj Party in the Congress from different points of view, they joined in the country in attacking the majority. Yesterday, in the masterly exposition of the reforms in the Presidential Address they had a proof of the worthlessness of the Reforms. Mr. Shyamsunder Chakravarthi, who had given notice of opposing the resolution, was wrong in assuming that the programme was not strong enough. In drawing up the programme they must keep in view the political education of masses and the strength and weakness of the opponent. He asked whether they had forgotten the outcome of the Swarajist policy. Never in the history of British rule in India had a Viceroy been called over by the Secretary to discuss Indian affairs, and yet Lord Reading was called on to go to England because the Secretary of State was anxious to understand what this policy of obstruction was. Had it happened before in the history of British rule that a speech made by an Indian leader, the late Mr. C. R. Das was replied to within 24 hours by the Secretary of State, Lord Birkenhead in the House of Lords and the speech of the Secretary of State was not a fighting reply, but a clinging reply in peaceful mood. Did not Lord Lytton try for months to offer terms of compromise to the Swaraj Party leader? Did not Earl Winterton express the view that the Swaraj Party was disintegrating, showing anxiety that the Swarajist policy had caused to the Under-Secretary of State. "Do not therefore be led away by the impression that there is no strength behind the Swarajist movement. Do not listen to those who misquote Mr. C. R. Das. He stood for such change in constitution as would enable them to get Swaraj automatically. Unity, on a lower programme, we can have to-day, but we will be surrendering the interests of the country to Government." He explained the resolution item by item and showed that there was no change on the programme of Mr. C. R. Das. It had not been made easy or watery. On the other hand, the provision that the formation of Ministries must be opposed showed that even loopholes were remedied and no doubt was left.

Maulvi Mahomed SHAFI declared that Responsivists wanted to take them back to 1919 and hinder all progress made since. Would the Congress agree to such a downfall. To the Nochangers, he said that they must not ignore the reality of the situation. He was, however, very pleased to find that the younger members of the All-India Congress Committee were imbued with such a forward programme. That even leaders like Pandit Malaviya thought it wise not to resist the trend of the discussion was gratifying.

Amendments Moved.

Mr. Balkrishna Sharma moved an amendment for deleting the provision which made it obligatory on the Congressmen in the Councils to do their best to prevent the formation of Ministries. He was anxious that they should not take a decision for which they would repent. It was not

inconceivable that occasions might arise when the best interests of the country would not be served by opposition to other parties forming Ministries.

Mr. Bhargava Sahai seconded the amendment.

Mr. P. C. Guha Roy moved an amendment which being verbal, Mr. Sen Gupta accepted, adding the words " and the consequent displacement of bureaucracy," at the end of clause (d).

Mr. Mazumdar moved an amendment for deleting clause (d), (e) and (f) so that Swarajists' work in the legislature may be confined to indiscriminate opposition so as to compel the bureaucracy to come down. The main resolution before them betrayed the trust left by Mr. Das. " It is not a resistance programme, but a programme of work."

Mr. Achint Singh seconded Mr. Majumdar's amendment. He said that there were only two courses open, either to work the Council programme, or to boycott it. They would to-day pass a milk and water programme, but would repent it later

At this stage Mr. Shyam Sundar CHAKRAVARTY rose amidst cheers. He said that year after year he had appeared before the Congress to oppose the resolution of the Swarajists. He knew that the rank and file of Swarajists did not like the resolution in their heart of hearts. The attitude of the delegates reminded him of the story of a simpleton who wept because another had told him that his wife had become a widow. When asked to explain, the simpleton said he took his informer to be an honourable man. Thus delegates had allowed themselves to be deluded by Swarajist leaders. Mr. Sen Gupta had claimed strength for the Swaraj Party and had quoted how Lord Birkenhead had become anxious to meet the Swarajists. " I know this much, that the proof of the pudding is in its eating. Has Swarajist strength asserted itself in such a manner as to secure the release of political detenues in Bengal? The condition of political prisoners is the one great thorn in the way of Bengal." He was also reminded of the story of the Darwan who was dismissed by a big European and, after six months' appeal for re-instatement, received a reply that ' His Excellency regrets he cannot reappoint you.' Everyone told the Darwan that his application had been rejected, but the Darwan wanted to know the exact text and when the letter was literally read, he expressed his regret. (Laughter.) This was the kind of reply that the Swarajists had received. This Council work would achieve nothing. If they wanted freedom let them work even one item of Mahatma Gandhi's programme.

Mr. Rangaswami IYENGAR, General-Secretary of the Congress, said that the amendments moved were wholly inconsistent and untenable and he also negatived the substance of the resolution. The Cawnpore resolution insisted on non-acceptance of offices and it logically followed that the Congress must oppose the formation of Ministry by others. The omission of the words "oppose the formation of a Ministry by other parties" signified that Congressmen need not form the Ministry but could form benami Ministry. That was a deception which Congressmen should not practice. Referring to Mr. Mazumdar's amendment for the deletion of the last three clauses, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar said that the programme mentioned therein was laid down by the Swaraj Party at its very inception. The ommission of these clauses would let the door wide open for moving all sorts of resolutions which might be even inconsistent with the policy of the

Congress. Indeed, the omission of the last three clauses would be inconsistent with the retention of the first three. The policy embodied in the resolution was the policy adopted by the Swaraj Party from its inception and laid down also in the programme of work announced by Mr. Das and Mr. Nehru after consulting Mahatma Gandhi at Juhu. It had been said that policy had failed and the Congress must now adopt a policy of responsive co-operation. The policy of obstruction was deliberately adopted by Pandit Malaviya, Mr Jinnah and Mr. Rangachariar in 1924 when the National Party was formed in the Assembly and the Finance Bill was rejected on the motion of Pandit Malaviya himself. It had been said that the rejection of the Finance Bill was really not refusing supplies, but Pandit Malaviya himself, in moving for the rejection of the Finance Bill, had said that so long as the Government of India Act was not revised, he could not, with the little conscience that God had given him, vote for supplies

Concluding, Mr Rangaswami Iyengar attended to Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakravarthi's argument that Swarajists had failed in the Councils and said that the Swaraj Party's record was there to the extent to which they obtained success. If they could not do more, it was because of the obstruction in the way of Swarajists by Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakravarthy.

Pandit Malaviya spoke very briefly as he had fully explained his position in the Subjects Committee. He congratulated the Congress for coming round to the view held by people of his opinion and he made one more appeal to eliminate the inconsistency by deleting clauses (a) and (b), for they could not support measures for public benefit and at the same time vote for the refusal of supplies. The question of acceptance of Ministership was not practical politics to-day for Ministries had already been formed, and as the Congressmen were not in an absolute majority in any Council, there was no chance of a Ministry being offered to them

A voice In Madras it was offered and rejected.

Pandit Malaviya It strengthens my argument that the issue now is not practical politics. You have wisely given up the policy of persistent and consistent obstruction in favour of one of the promotion of measures for popular good. Save the Congress from criticism and ridicule by eliminating inconsistency.

Mr. SATYAMURTI replying to the debate, said that while Pandit Malaviya, a Liberal Extremist, wanted them to delete the first two clauses, Mr. Mazumdar, a No-change-Extremist, wanted to stiffen the programme by deleting the last three clauses. If the propositions of both extremes were carried there would be nothing left of the resolution. (Laughter). At any rate the two extremes showed that the programme laid down provided the maximum amount of Non-co-operation posible to-day in the Councils. If Pandit Malaviya believed that the resolution was acceptable to him except for some details the speaker invited him to take his rightful place among the leaders of the Congress programme and help them to present an united front to the bureaucracy. Mr. Satyamurti said that the author of the policy of uniform and consistent obstruction was the President of the Assembly. That policy, thanks to leaders like Pandit Malaviya, was found unworkable in the legislatures and was changed as far as May 1924. The modest claim of Pandit Malaviya therefore that he had changed them was historically inaccurate.

Pandit Malaviya :—I am content by saying that you came round to my view. (Laughter).

Mr. Satyamurti · If this is so, why not you then walk into my parlour? Is it prestige, I ask, that is keeping you out? (Laughter)

Resuming Mr. Satyamurti said that Congressmen would reject the Finance Bill whenever and wherever it is inconsistent with their programme. They had faith in themselves and in their country, but Pandit Malaviya's men had faith in neither. They want to prove themselves statesmen and Parliamentarians. They look to Downing Street for the dawn of Swaraj. We believe in ourselves. We know that Great Britain knows when to yield and when not to yield. The Responsive Co-operation programme is a surrender to the bureaucracy. Congressmen must make the working of the Reforms impossible. That is why I am opposed to the deletion of the provision stating that we must oppose the formation of Ministries. If there were offices worth accepting Congressmen would not put forward benami leaders but would accept them. It is because we believe Ministers are so many daffadars of the Executive Council without power, initiative and responsibility, that we refuse to accept such office.

A voice : What about Madras?

Mr. Satyamurti : " We have given no undertaking and no pledge, express or implied, to the Ministry. We are only 44. We shall try to break it, but how we shall break it and when it is for us to determine."

Continuing, Mr. Satyamurti told Mr. Majumdar that the acceptance of the amendment of Mr. Guha Roy had met the latter's point of view, for it was an important amendment laying down that the ideal before them would be the displacement of bureaucracy in all their actions. Thus trivial measures of Reform would not worry them. Pandit Malaviya's partymen taunted them that even if the people starved, Swarajists would not sanction a water supply scheme. It was to meet this charge that they laid down openly that beneficial measures would be supported.

Pandit Malaviya explained that he had made no such charge. He had merely stated that though the C. P. Government was prepared to introduce Land Settlement Bill raising the period of settlement from 20 to 40 years, Swarajists opposed it.

Mr. Satyamurti said that in effect the taunt came to the same effect.

Concluding, Mr. Satyamurti said : " Our ideal is gradual displacement of the bureaucracy. We went to establish practically a parallel Government, a Sinn Fein Government, under which people in the Council and outside will work together. When you boycotted the Council you know that 60 crores of taxation was imposed and 39,000 people were flung into the jails. We have tried the Council programme and we have created a situation where the British Government for the first time realise that we are the only fighting party in the country and if you give us another three years to work the programme ' we shall, I promise, bring Swaraj very much nearer than any other Party can do."

Pandit Motilal NEHRU said that the real difference between Swarajist Congressmen and Pandit Malaviya's party lay in the question of acceptance or non-acceptance of offices. The Swaraj Party was not disposed to even entertain the proposal of accepting offices unless the Bengal detenues were released. It was not that anything contained in the Reforms hanged by

the retention of prisoners because the Bengal Ordinance was passed long after the Reforms Act was passed. But, while the flower of Bengal was in duress when India did not know even the offences with which they were charged they could not, as self-respecting people, even think of the examination of the conditions upon which they would be prepared to take offices. Let us put the question. Suppose they had taken office to-day and to-morrow the Bengal Ordinance was passed and all the enormities which had been committed were repeated. What then would be their position? There was only one course and that was for the Ministers at once to submit their resignation and for all parties to refuse to form Ministries unless the great offence had been purged by the Government and the Ordinance removed and the detenues were released or tried according to law. This point was discussed between Mr. C. R. Das and himself and that was the view they both took, and to which he still adhered But Pandit Malaviya had suggested to the Congress to delete the clause relating to non-acceptance of office, but the Swarajist Congressmen could not accept offices unless the response of Government was satisfactory and unless that response was accompanied by condition precedent, namely, the release of Bengal detenues. Could Bengal ever dream of accepting office while that national humiliation of Bengal lasted (Cries We do share). Bengal's honour was his own honour and Bengal's honour was the honour of the best of India and unless Bengal was given the redress that she deserved, no Province in India had any business to accept the existing condition and perpetuate their slavery. Although they did not achieve that amount of success which they had hoped to attain in the elections, the Swarajists were in much strongest and better posititon in the Assembly and in the various Councils, in at least three of the Councils, than they were in the election of 1923. The speech made by Pandit Malaviya was encouraging and he (Motilal) had very strong confidence in him (Malaviya) and his friends that so far as the Assembly was concerned they would be able to come to some understanding. To the Provincial legislatures, if there was any programme of work that did not involve loss of their self-respect, they would work, but they would not in any case leave this sentiment and accept office and agree to work the Reforms. In voting upon this resolution, the Congress would be really giving a verdict upon those whose national honour had been assailed (our own countrymen) and those who had assailed that honour, namely, the bureaucracy. (Loud Applause).

Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA, after a moving speech in Bengali in reply to the debate emphasised in English that the Bengal Ordinance and the arrests that followed were intended to kill the Swarai Party. He knew that detenues would be released in one minute if only he went and expressed his readiness before Lord Lytton to accept offices and work the Reforms, but the Swaraj Party and the Congress would not and should not agree to such a course.

Amendments Lost.

After the speeches were over the amendment of Mr. K. Balakrishna Sharma was put and lost.

The amendment of Mr. B. K. Mazumdar for the deletion of the words "subject to clause (d)" from clause (b) was also put and lost.

There was a good deal of trouble in ascertaining the strength of voting on Mr. Mazumdar's amendment that the All-India Congress Committee and not the Working Committee should direct the Swarajist Congressmen as to the course they should adopt in regard to the throwing out of budgets until there is response from Government. Finally, tellers were appointed in different blocks to count the votes, and it was declared that the amendment was lost by 50 votes against 481.

Mr. Mazumdar's amendment for committing the Congress to a policy of indiscriminate opposition were lost by a large majority, but his amendment that the direction or change in policy in respect of refusal of supplies would be vested in the All-India Congress Committee was accepted. It was first declared lost by 481 votes against 451, but as Mr. Mazumdar insisted on a proper division, the Congress Working Committee in view of the close division accepted the change amidst applause. The resolution as put by Mr. Sen Gupta was then passed.

6.—Work in the Country.

Pandit MOTILAL then moved the following resolutions outlining the programme of constructive work in the country :—

"This Congress adopts the following programme of work in the country —

The work in the country shall be directed to the education of the people in their political rights and training them to acquire the necessary strength and power of resistance to win those rights by carrying out the constructive programme of the Congress with special reference to promoting inter-communal unity, removal of untouchability, ameliorating the condition of the suppressed classes and removal of the drink and drug evil, and shall include the capture of local bodies, the organisation of villages, the promotion of education on national lines, the organisation of labour, both industrial and agricultural, the adjustment of relations between employers and workmen and between landlords and tenants and the general advancement of the national, economic, industrial and commercial interests of the country.

7.—Work outside the Country.

(a) The work outside the country shall be directed to the dissemination of accurate information in foreign countries with a view to interest them in India's freedom.

(b) This Congress appoints Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as its representative to the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities which shall be held in Brussels on the 29th January next.

Pt. Motilal said that to the extent the Council programme failed, it was due not to internal dissensions, but to lack of political sense in the country. The Councils were mere automatons in the hands of Government unless the force of opinion outside made Government yield. The resolution confirmed the programme adopted at Cawnpore. It was not a mere pious resolution. He particularly wished that during the coming year, the Hindu-Muslim relations might improve.

Maulana SHAUKAT ALI characterised it as a real Congress programme which if worked seriously, would rehabilitate Congress prestige. He treated Khaddar as an indication of the uniform worn by those fighting for freedom. If they could make this programme a success, they could establish a parallel Government. The country was ready if they only raised a banner of revolt.

A voice. Yes, but the leaders are fighting.

Dr. SATYAPAL regretted that the Congress prestige in some parts was at the lowest ebb. Those people who had professed loyalty to the Congress had done their worst during the election to reduce the Congress to nothing. They had called the Congress Hindu and Congress Muslims as Kaffirs. The speaker made bold to say that the Congress would not die. Dr. Kharak Singh was still in jail and had full faith in the Congress and Gandhi cap (hear hear).

Mr. PRAKASAM said that the substantial success of Congress at the polls was due to Congress organizations which had sprung up all over the country during the non-co-operation days and had roused national consciousness. Though these were languishing in some places, the spirit was still there. It was to their shame—

A voice : To whose ?

Mr. Prakasam : Both you and me.

It was to their shame that last year was lost. The Government had rejected the National Demand because there was no sanction behind it. Constructive programme meant spreading of knowledge and preparing the country to respond to the call when the moment arrived. The Gauhati Congress would be the most eventful, for Mahatma Gandhi had once again stepped in after a year's retirement and was prepared to lead if they behaved better (hear, hear). It was because the Congress constitution with its All-India, provincial, district, taluk, and village committees had begun to function—a parallel to Government machinery—that Government got terrified and woke up.

The President put the resolution to vote and declared it carried.

8.—Bengal Detenues.

Mr. B. G. HORNIMAN was ovated as he rose to move the next resolution protesting against the Bengal Regulation and Ordinance Law and demanding release of prisoners and detenues. The following is the text :—

This Congress is emphatically of opinion that the Government had no justification whatsoever for the application of emergency legislation, like Regulation 3 of 1818, which has been the subject repeatedly of condemnation by the Congress and other public bodies and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act 1925 (which latter was passed into law as a result of an arbitrary exercise of autocratic power against the expressed wishes of the elected members of the legislatures,) under which a large number of peaceful public workers of Bengal were arrested and imprisoned without the formulation of definite charges and without open trial and still remain without any knowledge of the charges against them and any trial. This Congress strongly condemns their continued incerceration and deportation outside Bengal notwithstanding the clearly expressed opinion of the elected members of the Legislatures and the country."

He said : Mr. President, and fellow delegates.—This resolution is really of rather an academical character, because it is not like the resolutions which we have hitherto passed to-day, a resolution involving the carrying out of some definite action and I am glad to say that the day when this Congress was in the habit merely of meeting to pass academical resolutions is now gone and that the resolutions that we pass here are usually of a definite and active kind. But we have the satisfaction of knowing that if the resolutions, that we have already passed here this afternoon are effectively carried out then the scandal with which the resolution deals and which I am now moving, will disappear.

But though this resolution is of an academical character, none the less it is necessary that we should move it here as an expression of the opinion of this great Indian National Congress and for two reasons. There is, my friends, the shadow of a great sorrow hanging over the homes of many families in Bengal to-day. That is, a shadow whose reflection and gloom extends to every Province of the country, because in every Province the sorrow and humiliation of this is felt by every patriotic Indian and by this Congress. We desire firstly to express the opinion of the Congress representing every Province of India and the whole Indian nation. We desire to express our sympathy with the afflicted Province of Bengal that is suffering under this shadow and to tell our Bengali brothers that the whole of India stands side by side with them in this matter, that the whole of India regards the release of the Bengal detenues as the most essential part of the National Demand and that India will not accept any attempted satisfaction of the National Demand unless it includes the unconditional release of the Bengal detenues (hear, hear and applause). I do not want to detain you very long on a subject that is so well-worn, but there are one or two things which I feel I must say before I commit this resolution to your hands. I want to remind you that the whole of this miserable business of arresting people in Bengal, deporting them and imprisoning them without trial, is a story of such treachery and tyranny on the part of the alien Governments in this country as would make it impossible that the people of the country, no matter what advances were made to them, could even co-operate with that Government unless full reparation is done in this matter (hear, hear). Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta addressed the Congress on this matter last year and reminded you, as I would also remind you, that a few years ago, a very short time ago, the Government appointed a Committee to enquire into the repressive laws and that Committee unanimously recommended the repeal of Regulation III of 1818. Not only that, but the Government themselves accepted the recommendation of the Committee and promised to give it legislative effect. But what did they do? Instead of carrying out that pledge, they not only failed to repeal the Regulation but they proceeded to carry out arrests and deportations under the provisions and they went further. By the arbitrary action of the Viceroy, by the arbitrary veto of the Viceroy, they brought into enactment a further repressive measure giving them still further powers that they possess under this Regulation which they had promised to repeal. We hear people talking about responsive co-operation, but when we consider the things that we are asked to respond to, when we consider the character of the Government with which we are asked to co-operate, as revealed by action of this kind, we know that it is impossible, not merely for ourselves, but because we owe a duty to these men who, for the sake of their country, are lingering and rotting in jails of Mandalay and other parts of the country (hear, hear), men who have never been given the fairness of an open trial, men who do not know even the charges that are made against them, men who are treated (and I want Lord Birkenhead to know that we say this), men who are treated as badly and as disgracefully as other prisoners are alleged to have been treated in the jails of Soviet Russia, which Lord Birkenhead is never tired of denouncing.

Friends, we are told in justification of this outrage that the evidence against these people has been carefully examined, that it has been traced

from long periods from point to point and that it has been laid before not only the Government of Bengal, but also before Lord Reading, ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, and that they are satisfied that these men are guilty of the crimes what are attributed to them. My friends, if Lord Reading is satisfied, then I say shame upon him, (hear, hear and applause) shame upon the office which he holds, shame upon the Government that sent him here to do this thing. For, it does not matter whether it is members of the Council, whether it is Governors, whether it is the Viceroys, whether it is the late Chief Justice, or, whether as a distinguished Judge Lord Parmoor once said, whether it is a committee of Archangels before whom you lay a case of this kind. So long as the proceedings are conducted in secrecy, so long as the evidence is not tested according to the requirements of honest, open justice, then it is humanly and legally impossible for any man, whether he be an ex-Lord Chief Justice or an ex-Lord Chancellor, to say that he is satisfied of the guilt of men who have not been brought into open court and properly tried. It is not justice. I do not know what to call it To say the least, it is a prostitution of justice, a prostitution of all the principles for which the British Government pretends to stand in this country. We are told that Lord Birkenhead has himself examined the papers, examined the evidence and is satisfied that these people have committed crimes, that their complicity is such that their incarceration is justified (shame, shame). Mr. President it is a shame. Lord Birkenhead, no doubt, is a very good judge of what constitutes rebellious conduct. There is a proverb in English and I have no doubt that it is common to most languages. It is this · Set a thief to catch a thief. I am prepared to admit that if anyone is qualified to judge from *ex-parte* evidence whether people have been guilty of seditious conduct or rebellious conduct, then nobody is better qualified than Lord Birkenhead himself, who has been something of a rebel himself, and who has engaged in seditious activities himself, and has made an open confession of it. When we are asked to accept the opinion of a man because we are told that one has been a Lord Chancellor and another has been the Lord Chief Justice of England, we say we shall refuse, refuse again and again to accept it, because the British traditions of justice have fallen so low in India. We still stand for justice, for justice nothing but justice. We shall refuse to accept a verdict or judgment unless these people are brought into court and given a proper and open trial according to the forms of law.

Mr. President, there is one more thing I want to refer to before I conclude, and I do so because it brings out in a very lurid way the terrible effects, the terrible consequences which are so far-reaching that no man can say where they will end once you begin to tamper with justice in this way. There has been a case heard in the High Court of Calcutta recently, a suit for libel brought by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, one of the detenues in Mandalay, against *The Statesman* newspaper. I have read the judgment in that case. I do not say that I have understood it because I have never read a judgment so wanting in lucidity as this judgment of Mr. Justice Buckland. I want to tell you briefly the facts and what this case was. *The Statesman* published an article in which they accepted all the statements that had been made by the Governor about Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. They stated it very clearly, in fact they stated, no matter what Mr. Justice Buckland may say, they stated very clearly that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was the

directing brain of a criminal terrorist conspiracy. Now, our friend and countryman, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has never been brought to trial, has never been told what the charges against him are, has never had an opportunity of examining them and testing them, has never been before a jury and he has never been convicted. And if, in the face of those facts, it is possible for a public newspaper to say that such a man is guilty of abominable crimes, then by allowing that paper to go scot-free in an action for libel seems to me that the end of justice has come in this country. There never can be any safety for anyone in a country where these things are allowed to be published. *The Statesman* has even dared to congratulate the Indian people on its victory for fair comment, a journal which has witnessed every sort of attempt in this country for years past to suppress the freedom of the press, to suppress fair comment, to penalise newspapers for exercising perfectly legitimate opinions, a paper that has witnessed all that without ever once lifting its pen to utter a word of protest, not because it has established its own claim to libel an innocent, unconvicted man and accused him of crimes for which he has never been brought before court or before a jury and describes it as a victory for fair comment, and has the audacity to congratulate the Indian people on the battle that it has fought and the victory it has won, not for them, but against them. If there was nothing else, I should feel myself that we must go on struggling and struggling permanently with the Government until it is overturned or driven out or brought to surrender to its bended knees (Hear, hear.) in order that these crimes against the people should not go on. (Loud applause.) I want to remind Lord Birkenhead and everyone connected with the Government of this country that these methods have always led and can only lead to one result. It was not only on account of the ship tax and oppression of that kind that a King of England once lost his head. It was on account as well of the existence of the Star Chamber and judicial methods comparable with these judicial or rather injudicial methods which the Government are carrying on in this country to-day. The French Revolution came about not only on account of the oppression of the peasants by the aristocracy but also by the existence and practice of methods of this kind, the Bastille and *letters decochet* which had the effect of infuriating the people until they rose in their wrath, burnt that horrible institution and sent to the guilottine the people who were responsible for these inhuman and tyrannical methods. My friends, it would be wise if those responsible for the Government of this country would realise in time that they cannot avoid any more than any other country has been able to do so, they cannot avoid and delay the lessons of history, as sure as nemesis overtook the King of England and destroyed the French Monarchy, so surely shall nemesis overtake and destroy other Governments that practise these methods. (Hear, hear and loud applause.)

Only one word more. It is not only shame that attaches to the people who do these things. You will forgive me for saying this, because you know that it comes from an honest friend who regards this country as his own. (Cheers.) You will forgive me for saying that it is our own deep humiliation and shame that we have not the power to rise and open jail gates and let these men go free. Let us from now work these resolutions that we have passed this afternoon with all the energy. with all the sincerity and all the determination that we can command. because if we carry them actively and rapidly into effect, we shall be able to remove the humiliation

and shame of these countrymen of ours lying in jail without having been convicted of any crime. (Loud and continued cheers).

Sardar Sardul SINGH said that the resolution before them showed that the gulf between Indians and Government was unbridgeable. Their masters were functioning like robbers or thiefs who had got power and wanted to maintain it by all means, more foul than fair.

Mr. B. N. RISHI opined that it was owing to their failure to put into effect the programme of civil disobedience that prisoners were still in jail. Bengal, after the death of Mr. Das was, without a leader, while Congress leaders were divided hopelessly amongst themselves. Unless they could restore the atmosphere of 1924, they could never secure the release of their comrades. He told Mr. Pethwick Lawrence that it was to the shame of the Labour Government that the Bengal Ordinance was passed in its regime.

The resolution was passed unanimously and the Congress rose for the day.

THIRD DAY—THE 28TH DECEMBER 1926.

Messages of Sympathy.

It was raining when the Congress reassembled on this day in the afternoon. Lala Girdharilal read a message received by the President from Gibarta, General Secretary Berlin, Schadews, Mr. Saklatwala (London) and many others. The cable from Gibarta was as follows.—

> "On behaf of the 400 Nationalist and Labour organisations all over the world, we send the Indian National Congress the heartiest greetings, wishing every success. India is most important in the world problem to-day. The Brussels Congress of the Oppressed People including, Canton and Mexican Governments, South African Indian Congress, the Egyptian National Party, Ceylon, China, Persia, Turkey, and South America highly desire meeting the representatives of the Indian movement. Your mandated delegates and all Indian leaders are personally welcome, also the Congress President.
>
> "George Lansbury, Madam Sunyatsen, (China), Henry Barbusse (France)."

Mr. SAKLATVALA cabled, "In spirit with you. Accept greetings earnestly wishing your deliberations to be worthy of men and women who value mass liberty above political expediency, who realise that tactical speeches in Parliamentary institutions are only a passing consolation for return for economic burdens and national serfdom. How long before adopting Andhra's honest logical resolution will Bombay sentimentalism prevail again to sacrifice national freedom and honour to the fetish of forming a voting combination inside the Councils. I stand alone in a Parliament of 615 Conservative, Liberal and Labour imperialism, yet I don't surrender for artificial political combinations. The voices of the workers and peasants outside the Councils is your real strength. Organise, Organise, Organise them till they lead themselves and your real emancipation as they are now doing in China where political Councillors and opportunist mandarins are favouring foreign Imperialist

masters, are openly fighting Chinese workers and peasants in thought without hope. Wish success for your deliberations. Freedom is the strength of our motherland which I hope soon to visit"

Dr. Morari Lal of Cawnpore urged the Congress to bury communal differences and steer clear to the goal of freedom.

Srimati Saraladevi who presided over the Calcutta Hindu citizens' mass meeting conveyed the text of the resolutions passed at the meeting which said that Mussalman leaders should cleanse the minds of their coreligionists of the erroneous anti-Islamic inhuman notion that people of other faiths have not an equal and unassailable right to defend and propagate their own faith by reforms, sangathan and shuddhi.

After the messages were read, the President moved two resolutions, one regarding communal relations being gone into by the Working Committee for devising measures for removing differences and referring the Currency Report to the Working Committee. They were put and passed without discussion in the form recommended by the Subjects Committee. The following are the texts :—

9.—Hindu-Muslim Unity.

This Congress calls upon the Working Committee to take immediate steps in consultation with Hindu and Mussalman leaders to devise measures for the removal of the present deplorable differences between Hindus and Mussalmans and submit their report to the All-India Congress Committee not later than the 31st March 1927.

And this Congress authorises the All-India Congress Committee to issue necessary instructions in that behalf to all Congress-men in the country and take such other steps as it may deem fit after a consideration of the said report.

10.—Currency.

This Congress realises the gravity of the issues arising out of the report of the Royal Commission on Currency and authorises the Working Committee to go into the whole subject with the aid of experts, if necessary, and issue instructions to the Congress members in the Legislative Assembly to take steps to safeguard the interests of the people of India in such manner as it may be advised.

11.—Election of Office-Bearers.

On the motion of Mrs. Naidu, the appointment of Mr. A Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. Vallabhai Patel and Dr. M. A. Ansari as General Secretaries and the reappointment of Treasurer and Auditor were approved of by the Congress.

12.—The Khaddar Franchise.

Mr. PRAKASAM next moved the following resolution which once again introduced formally that Congressmen should habitually wear hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar.

Resolved that the following changes be made in Art. VII of the Constitution —

Substitute the following for sec. (iv) :—

(iv) (a) No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of representatives or delegates of any committee or sub-committee or any Congress organisation whatsoever or to be elected as such or to take part in any meeting of the Congress or Congress organisation or any committee or sub-committee thereof, if he has not complied with section (i) hereof and does not habitually wear hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar.

(b) The Working Committee shall frame Rules for the proper carrying out of the provisions of this section.

Mr. Prakasam said that the door for considerable fraud had been opened by the permission granted to Congressmen to wear Khaddar on ceremonial occasions and leaving it to the discretion of Congressmen to wear it or not habitually. Mr. Prakasam felt that the condition that was being re-established would show to foreign people that Indians were determined to boycott foreign cloth. It was shameful that some Congressmen wore Khaddar on ceremonial occasions only. They should now as far as possible enforce the habitual use of Khaddar.

Babu Rajendra PRASAD, one of the orthodox adherents of Mahatma Gandhi was cheered as he came to the rostrum to support the resolution. He informed the audience that the significance of the motion was that the majority of people who wanted it to be passed were Swarajists, the very people who were previously opposed to making its habitual use obligatory. The speaker asked all to accept the resolution in full faith and propagate its use.

Amendment Moved.

Mr. Rajkumar CHAKRAVARTI moved an amendment that the use of swadeshi cloth should be permitted, if the resolution was not to be a more pious expression of opinion.

Mr. Chakravarti asked whether the catholic character of the Congress could be maintained if the Congress adopted this narrow-minded course. Their numbers had already dwindled and the adoption of the resolution would further decrease it. " You are putting a premium on insincerity and hypocrisy. While you claim liberty for yourself, do not deny that liberty to others. Do not think patriotism is the monopoly of those only who wear Khaddar. (Hear, hear).

Voices · Go away.

Other voices : Go on.

Mr. Chakravarti : If you pass this resolution, you will be converting a political organisation into a spinners' association. (Hear, hear).

Mr Joglekar who also pleaded for Swadeshi cloth met a similar mixed reception.

Mr. Probodh Ganguly put in a vigorous plea in Bengalee for the original resolution. He said the term " swadeshi cloth " included Khaddar. But their purpose in insisting exclusively on Khaddar was to make it a movement of the masses, a movement of the poor people, and it would be to the lasting shame of Bengal where Khaddar was in old days most prevalent, if this resolution did not receive the full support of Bengal delegates.

Mr. Jai Narain Singh said the widow population was increasing in India and Khaddar would be the salvation of these unfortunate women. The purchase of Diamond Mill by the Japanese showed the plight of Swadeshi.

Mr. Nimakar pleaded protection for the minority and protested that the adoption of the resolution would make many sever their connection with the Congress.

Mr. Prakasam replying to the debate said if there was compulsion in respect of the use of Khaddar, let them accept it in the spirit of discipline.

The amendment was put and rejected and the resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority amidst loud cries of Gandhi-ki-Jai.

13.—Venue of the Congress.

The next resolution, entrusting the work of fixing the venue of the next session to the All-India Congress Committee was put and passed.

14.—The Gurdwara Prisoners.

The President said the next resolution related to the release of Sikh prisoners. Notice of amendments had been received bringing forward the question of the Maharaja of Nabha. He told the House that the Subjects Committee, on a reconsideration of the subject, had considered it feasible to refer the matter to the Working Committee to thrash it out and report. He assured the Congress that this did not mean that they wanted to say anything against or for the amendment. And, as the amendment of which notice had been given was a substantive proposition, he ruled it out of order.

Mr. Ranga AIYAR then moved the resolution for the release of Sikh prisoners. The following is the text.—

(a) The Congress notes with great regret that though the Government has admitted the justice and righteousness of the Sikh demand in connection with the Gurdwara movement by passing the Gurdwara Act, it has not yet released Sardar Kharak Singh and other Gurdwara prisoners.

(b) In the opinion of the Congress there can be no solution of the Sikh problem unless,

(1) all persons imprisoned in connection with the Gurdwara movement are unconditionally released,

(2) all repressive measures adopted by the Government against them are withdrawn, and

(3) the outstanding grievances of the Sikhs are removed.

(c) This Congress further assures the Sikh community that in its struggle with the Government it not only has the entire sympathy of the Congress, but the Congress also whole-heartedly supports the Sikhs in whatever legitimate and non-violent action they may take to vindicate their rights

He said that the resolution was one of the most important as it related to Akalis who, when the country was facing a lull, kept the flag flying on the battle front of Jaito. The Gurdwara prisoners were the fore-runners of the revolutionary movement which he saw on the horizon. If Jallianwala showed the height of British Prussianism, the Guru-ka-bagh showed the height of the glory to which Indian non-co-operation could rise. Sir Malcolm Hailey wanted to break the Sikhs who were the back-bone of the nationalist movement, but let him remember that the Sikhs who made the British Raj what it was, could also unmake it. Mr. Ranga Aiyar recalled that the Congress had recorded at its special session its indignation at the dethronement of the Maharaja of Nabha. The Nabha House was the tenth Guru's own house and was therefore most sacred to the Sikhs.

Syed Murtuza Sahib seconding said that the Sikhs had proved that they were as good soldiers for violent as for non-violent purposes.

Sm. Swarnalata Devi supported the resolution in Bengalee. She said the case of Sikh prisoners were the same as that of Bengal prisoners—detenues.

A Few Sikhs Cause Confusion.

When the Congress reassembled after a brief adjournment, rain had not stopped and the pandal was leaking considerably causing confusion. To this was added a small confusion caused by a number of Sikhs and their sympathisers all numbering 51, who had signed a requisition that they would

in open session bring forward a resolution regarding the Maharaja of Nabha and did not take the President's advice that the matter be dropped, as an open discussion under the circumstances would do no good to the cause they had at heart. Baba Gurdit Singh and Sardar Sardool did not agree. The portion deleted from the resolution read that the Government has not "tried to do justice to His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha and the Nabha State subjects who have been either imprisoned or deprived of their property for taking part in the Akali movement. In the opinion of the Congress there can be no solution of the Sikh problem unless the Maharaja of Nabha is restored to the gadi of his State and full justice done to him in all respects."

The resolution which was now placed before the Congress by the requisitionists ran: "The National Congress notes with great regret that though the Government has admitted the justice and righteousness of the Sikh demand in connection with the Gurdwara movement by passing the Gurdwara Act, it has not yet released Sardar Kharak Singh and other Gurdwara prisoners. In the opinion of the Congress there can be no solution of the Sikh problem unless (1) all persons imprisoned in connection with the Gurdwara movement are unconditionally released, (2) all repressive measures adopted by the Government against them are withdrawn and (3) outstanding grievances of Sikhs are removed. This Congress further assures the Sikh community that in its struggle with the Government it not only has the entire sympathy of the Congress but also the Congress whole-heartedly supports the Sikhs in whatever legitimate and non-violent action they may take to vindicate their rights.

Baba GURDITSINGH of Komagata Maru fame was greeted with shouts of Sat Sri Akal as he rose to the rostrum. He said that the Congress could pass the resolution, but it would not meet with the wishes of the Sikhs entirely, because, by eliminating the Nabha question, they had omitted the most vital part of the resolution. He, however, bowed to the President's ruling. The Sikhs now knew that the Congress had no love for their leader, the Maharaja of Nabha, and that the Congress resolution would not help them in getting their grievances redressed. The Maharaja of Nabha was dethroned solely because of his sympathies with the Akalis and with the Nationalist movement. He declared that the Sikh prisoners' fault did not lie with the Government but with themselves who did not go and flood the jails if their leaders were not to be released. He narrated the Komagata Maru story as to how he demanded the property confiscated by the Government from Komagata Maru and as to how, after he had put in his claim, his property was auctioned. Concluding, he declared that if only the Sikhs left the Congress, Government would give them all they wanted, but the Sikhs did not want to betray the national cause.

At this stage, a Sikh got up in the Punjab enclosure and shouted that the Sikhs were leaving the Pandal in protest. About 10 of them were about to leave. Baba Gurditsingh urged them to keep calm.

An uproar followed in the Punjab camp.

Sardar Gurbux Singh of Delhi came to the rostrum and said he would oppose the attitude taken up by Gurditsingh which was intended to destory the Congress constitution.

The President, finding the disorder, came to the rostrum and assured

that his ruling did not prejudice the cause of the Maharaja of Nabha which had been referred to the Working Committee.

After five minutes, calm was restored and the resolution of Mr. Ranga Aiyar was put and passed.

15.—Congress Constitution.

On the motion of Mr. Sen Gupta, the Congress agreed to a number of changes in the constitution passed by the Subjects Committee on the previous night.

Mr. Sen Gupta's motion for restoring the delegate's fee to rupees ten permanently and for restoring it to five as for the Gauhati session roused considerable controversy. The motion to restore it to Rs. 10 was rejected by an overwhelming majority amidst shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai," because it was at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi that the fee was reduced to Re. 1 at Belgaum. The Congress agreed unanimously to paying Rs. 5 for the Gauhati session to enable the Reception Committee to tide over the financial difficulty. The following is the text of the Resolution as moved by Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta :—

Resolved that the following further changes be made in the Constitution :—

Article VIII, para 2 to read as follows —

"No one who had not enlisted himself as a Congress member on or before the 1st October immediately preceding a particular session of the Congress shall be qualified for election as a delegate to that session."

Para 3 to read as follows —

"The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall be ex-officio delegates to the Congress Besides these ex-officio delegates the number of delegates returnable by Provincial Congress Committees shall be not more than one for every fifty thousand, or its fraction, of the inhabitants of each province including the Indian States therein, in accordance with the census of 1921 : provided, however, that the inclusion of Indian States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States."

Delete Para 4

In para 7, line 2, substitute for the "Reception Committee of the ensuing session of the Congress" the "Office of the All-India Congress Committee" and substitute the following for the words at the end of the para, beginning with "such rules" —

"Such rules shall not be valid unless they have been previously confirmed by the Working Committee."

and put a full stop before "such".

Article XI to read as follows :—

"Every delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of one rupee at the office of the All-India Congress Committee in the Congress Camp at the place where the Congress is held shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress."

Transitory Provision.

The delegation fee for the Gauhati Session shall be fixed at Rupees five and the entire proceeds shall be handed over to the Reception Committee.

Article XVII.

Substitute the following for clause (a) :—

"The All-India Congress Committee shall pay to the Reception Committee within a fortnight after the termination of the Congress session half the delegation fees."

Vote of Thanks to the Reception Committee.

Mr. SATYAMURTI then thanked the Reception Committee for the magnificent arrangements made for the delegates and visitors in spite of difficulties which nature and man alike had conspired to place in their way. This Congress would mark an epoch in the history of freedom in India. Mahatma

Gandhi took a more active part in the working of the Congress this time than in the last two or three years, and it was hoped that he would take the same part as he had once before taken and actively carry on the struggle for Swaraj. The Congress had passed a very good resolution on the Council work and he hoped that Malaviyaji, in whom a change of sweet reasonableness had come, would once more join them and lead the country to Swaraj. The Congress had also passed a resolution to concentrate attention on the Hindu-Muslim unity and the Working Committee will tackle that question. Their President, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, had set his heart on it and would see it was an accomplished fact. He, the speaker, appreciated the chivalry of the delegates in agreeing to pay the enhanced delegation fee of five rupees seeing the difficulties of the Reception Committee.

Pandit MALAVIYA, in proposing a vote of thanks to the President, said that this was an important session of the Indian National Congress and that the President had discharged his duties with ability, earnestness and decision. His able address touched all the subjects that were engaging their attention. He (the Pandit) therefore offered the President a cordial vote of thanks. Mr. Satyamurti had referred to his change of sweet reasonableness. He, the speaker, would return the same compliment to him. He was grieved to see that his suggestions regarding non-acceptance of office had not been accepted. The task of uniting the parties would have been less difficult. Differences between the parties still existed, but he was not daunted or depressed. He was confident that in years to come unity in the Congress ranks would be brought about without which advancement in political matters was impossible. Unless unity was established in its old strength there was no chance of their making any impression upon the bureaucracy. It was a matter of sheer necessity that the parties should learn to view their differences with greater charity and desire to unite and remove causes which separated them. The President found it possible for him to bring the parties nearer together and he would therefore once more propose a hearty vote of thanks to the President for ably discharging his duty.

Mr. BARDOLOI next thanked the President for his genial temperament and able conduct in the chair. He requested the delegates and visitors to excuse the shortcomings in the arrangements of the Reception Committee. He thanked Mr. Girdharilal for having come to Gauhati much in advance and trained the volunteers excellently and he further thanked the workers and the volunteers for their splendid and heroic work.

President's Concluding Speech.

Mr. Srinivasa IYENGAR then rose amidst prolonged cheering and said that he was unable to express his feelings of thankfulness sufficiently in an alien language, but he and they had understood each other. There were several handicaps which prevented him from imagining that this session of the Congress was going to be a pleasant one for him. The first was physical infirmity of throat. Bad throat and ill-health prevented him from being confident in discharging his task satisfactorily. Secondly, when he came from Calcutta to Gauhati, the news of the assasination of Swami Shraddhananda came to him like a thunder clap on the way and what little confidence he had deserted him. He recovered his confidence which, for a moment had been shaken, through his unfailing faith in God, coming as he

did from a land of religious mysticism. But for the wonderful co-operation and kindness shown to him it would not have been possible for him to hold the place of the President or to conduct the proceedings in the way in which he had conducted them. Such warm and whole-hearted co-operation he had from the delegates in full measure both in the Subjects Committee and in the open Congress. He was thankful to Pandit Malaviya for attending this session of the Congress. The very warm words in which he proposed the vote of thanks to the President really touched him and he, the speaker, wished he deserved all that had been said of him. He did not think he had acquitted himself in the same way as Srimati Sarojini Devi, the poetess and eloquent orator, had acquitted herself in the previous year, for he was only a prosaic Tamilian. But he was a business man and so during those two days they were able to pass business resolutions. His address, his friends informed him, was moderate. He was glad that they had taken the address in the spirit in which it was meant. His moderation consisted in allowing people to come together. The great difficulty among them all was that they misunderstood one another. He believed that the heart of every Indian was beating truly for Swaraj. Misunderstandings of various descriptions cropped up, linguistic, religious and personal. Those misunderstandings were exploited by the foreign bureaucracy. The fight among Indians commenced after a decision had been reached. It should be before the decision was arrived at. After coming to a decision every body should give effect to it and not disobey it. That was the request he would make to his friends assembled there.

He would now urge upon them to remember three or four things. The first feature of this year's Congress was that every one in India recognised that the revision of the constitution was impending and that was the main reason why everyone desired union. Nobody should make union impossible by lowering the quality of moderation. Let not any body imagine that others desired to hold different views for their personal ends. Those who believed that khaddar would lead to Swaraj misunderstood those who thought that Councils would be helpful. Similarly with regard to Hinduism and Mahomedanism. All those things should be kept in their proper place. If religious traditions were to be kept pure, they must occupy the high plane and must not be brought down to the realm of controversial politics. Religion must be dissociated from politics. Again, the curse of India was to start a compromise even at the beginning of a fight. Compromise could be thought of only after the fight had proceeded to a certain extent. The release of political prisoners was a condition precedent for the acceptance of office, but not the sole condition. If that was the sole condition, the Government would always put a number of people in jail. The release of political prisoners was an indispensable condition for honourable co-operation, but ought not to be the sole condition, The release of Bengal detenues must not be treated as a provincial matter but an All-India one. Every Province must be equally interested in the release of political prisoners. It was easy enough to say that they should work the constitution and lower the flag of revolt. That had been tried in the past and they found out that they had really strengthened the hands of the Bureaucracy. On the question of Hindu-Muslim unity he said that Hindu-Muslim differences should be composed by preaching constantly Hindu-Muslim unity. There must be a common programme in the working of which Hindus and Mussal-

mans should join. Then they would forget the difference. This year there would be a more serious attempt made to give effect to the Cawnpore constructive programme reiterated in Gauhati.

He congratulated the Congress on their passing the amendment relating to habitual wearing of Khaddar. Khaddar was really helpful to the attainment of Swaraj, but he did not attach as much importance to Khaddar as Mahatma Gandhi did. Without it, however, they could not get sufficent discipline. They should, therefore, spread the Khaddar movement more largely than they had ever done before. He also congratulated them on their passing the resolution on the Currency question which certainly required consideration. The Working Committee would deal with it in such a way as it thought fit.

In conclusion, he asked them to constantly dream of Swaraj. They should make Swaraj their religion till they got freedom for the country. It was not a matter for argument but of faith. If they imagined they would not get Swaraj and if they were diffident, that itself disentitled them to Swaraj. They should be confident of getting Swaraj. He did not agree with those who thought that Council work would be able to achieve nothing. It had captured the strategic positions which were necessary for the maintenance of the bureaucracy. Without work in the Council it would be impossible to do work in the country and vice versa. He was thankful that Mahatma Gandhi attended this session of the Congress and actively took part in it. He did not know whether Mahatma Gandhi would lead them once more if they contributed their share of the work, if they made Council programme and the programme of work in the country an efficient and businesslike programme. Mahatma Gandhi with his capacity for adjustability and with his business ability would certainly come and lead them. Council members should take interest in the constructive programme and Congress members outside the Council should take interest in the Council programme. This session of the Congress had witnessed such fusion of parties. The Independent Congress Party, led by Pandit Malaviya, was visibly fusing itself with the Swarajists. He had not the slightest doubt that Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Malaviya would be able to give battle to the Bureaucracy in a better way than they had been able to give within the last three years. He did not think that in the local Councils the prospects were gloomy at all. Non-acceptance of office by Swarajists would solve many problems. To his mind Khaddar, Councils and the volunteer movement would help them in winning Swaraj. He appealed to them to give all possible support to the movement that they could (cheers).

The Congress was then dissolved.

NINTH SESSION OF THE

National Liberal Federation

AKOLA—THE 27TH DECEMBER 1926.

The ninth session of the National Liberal Federation commenced at Akola on the 27th Dec. under the presidency of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar. There were about 400 persons present in the pandal including delegates from several provinces and visitors and a number of ladies. Prominent among the delegates present were Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu and Mr. Sudhansu Mohan Bose of Calcutta, Pandits Hridaynath Kunzru and V. M. Tewari, and Mr. Krishna Rao Mehta from the United Provinces, M. Hridaydutt Sharma from the Punjab, Mr. Swaminarayan Shahu from Bihar, Messrs. G. K. Devadhar, J. R. Gharpure, N. M. Joshi and V. K. Mainkar from Bombay, Messrs. S. G. Vaze, D. V. Ambekar, Mr. and Mrs. Gadgil, Rao Bahadur Kale, Mr. K. S. Jathar from Poona, Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit Jayabant Kelkar Bambvale from the Central Provinces, Rao Bahadur Mudle Brahma Khare, Mr. J. B. Deshmukh, Professor Bhanu and others from Berar.

The Welcome Address.

Rao Bahadur DAMLE, in his welcome address, made a lengthy review of events in political India since the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Rao Bahadur Damle, referring to the Sabarmati Pact, said:—

"In the first week of May, 1926, the compromise failed and the Swaraj and Responsivist parties remained the two militant parties in the Congress. The imperious mandates to walk out and walk in to the Congress members in the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils by the Swaraj executive committee and the literal execution of these mandates by the members so enjoined, lowered the Swaraj Party's activities in the public estimation and there is no knowing when the smouldering fire of disagreement may kindle into flames and destroy the apparent amity which is being kept up with great efforts in the working of the Congress programme. One dominant result of the Swarajist tactics which has largely weaned public sympathy from them is the actual suspension of Reforms in Bengal from 13-6-25 to 21-1-27 and in the C. P. and Berar from 20-5-26 to 31-1-27. No manner of reasoning can satisfy an inquiring mind that the Swarajist methods appeal to the general public as calculated to serve the best and true interests of India.

The woes of the Liberals.

"During the period of trouble and anxiety as shown above, the Liberal party had an arduous task to perform. It had to raise its voice of vehement protest against the repressive measures of the Government, to vigorously expose it to true light and maintain the incongruity of the unworkable part

of the scheme of reforms and incessantly but fearlessly combat the futile dissemination of doctrines of non-co-operation, mass civil disobedience, boycott of Councils, Law Courts and Government educational institutions. The Government looked upon the Liberal party with distrust and perhaps with serious misgivings when it unsparingly condemned the Government measures of repression and infamous massacre of the innocent hundreds in the Punjab. The people in the country on the other hand called it by bad names, denounced it as a snake in the grass and as a band of traitors to the country. Foully deprecated and held up to wanton ridicule, the Liberal party was driven to a position which became intolerable. Deprived of all sense of respect for age, education, social standing and eminent public service students and crowds of people ingrained with rowdyism could freely mob public speakers on public platforms. What stormy scenes such high personages as Dr. Besant, the Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri and Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjee had to face during this period of public unrest and tense disaffection towards the Liberals is a matter well within our memory. This was primarily due to the fact that the cult of Gandhism as misinterpreted by the people reigned supreme all over India. The Liberal party withstood with fortitude and forbearance all the rebuffs, ridicule, calumny and misrepresentation, and patiently maintained its ground boldly, firmly and persistently, fully fortified as it was in its correct outlook of the situation by the strength of its convictions.

"Both wings of the Congress as it originally stood came to be distrusted and therefore unheeded by the Government. This was and is altogether an undesirable result. It is undeniable that all the political workers in India whether they are inside the Congress or outside, and whether they belong to some group or another, are animated with the same motive to do devoted service to their Motherland and are fired with the same righteous and noble sentiment of patriotic love for India. They have honestly been seeking out the surest way to carry forward the political status of India to the highest altitude attainable as early as possible. They are agreed also as to the practical limitations within which their activities have to be carried on. In this state of things each right-minded patriot has to place the true interest of his country above his self or party considerations. In the heart of his heart every sensible Indian cherishes and must cherish a rapid advance of his country to the destined goal namely, responsible Government or Swaraj. For an early realisation of this object a concentration of forces from all sides is required to be applied in the right direction. Any move or force which retards this onward march in the direction marked out has to be scrupulously avoided. The road is one and the same. It must be clear to everyone who has to use it, and he must vigilantly keep it in sight despite the elusive effects of a temporarily stormy atmosphere or foggy weather. Deviation from the right path means so much waste of energy and consequent delay in reaching the destination. Those who lose their path and in their stray wanderings ask their fellow workers to join their company require more guides to bring them back to the right path, and this necessarily entails delay. Perhaps it may amount to an act of immodesty or impertinence on my part—an humble co-worker in an obscure corner of the country devoting his attention to the study of politics—to go out of his limited groove and to criticise the value and propriety of the counsel which the widely acknowledged leaders of the non-co-operators and the Swarajists are deliberately giving to the country. That higher task of responsibility and superior authority I

must leave to abler and worthier hands. I shall, however, content myself with asserting my honest conviction that the activities of the Swarajists and non-co-operators in the country are proving a serious handicap to the smooth and orderly progress of the country along the right path."

Proceeding the Rao Bahadur said :—" The Government of India Act 1919 expressly prescribes a definite procedure for the determination of India's claim to a further and larger measure of responsible self-Government, and provides that the statutory commission as its accredited agent will investigate the merits of the claim and report its recommendations to the British Parliament for final determination. Can it be in any way possible for the Swarajists and non-co-operators to avoid the prescribed procedure ? They are not in a position to deny the binding force of the Act. Much less can they question the authority of the British Parliament to determine the merits of the claim. India will be on her trial before the Royal Commission which will come out to India in 1929. If the Swarajists and non-co-operators who pose themselves as the real representatives of India purposely keep out and avoid ventilating their just grievances, who will suffer ? Can they afford to treat so lightly this grave situation ? Can they not cast aside their personal sense of displeasure or dislike and give up their attitude of wrecking or obstructing the reforms, for the sake of their country which they love so dearly and in advocating and furthering whose cause they are and ought to be prepared to make the largest personal sacrifice demanded of them ? The claims of India will have to be presented before the Commission as strongly as possible with united will and purpose. Shall I be appealing in vain to my fellow countrymen when I imploringly beseech them to rise to the occasion to prove themselves to be the worthy and loyal sons of India and to work whole-heartedly, lovingly and unitedly to press India's claims on the attention of the Commission in the best and most effective manner ? I feel confident that petty party quarrels and differences will not prevent them from the performance of their clear duty to their country. Shall I be fruitlessly invoking their goodwill and co-operation in the heavy and responsible task ahead of us which will require the full measure or energy and attention from the best and most capable brains in India, no matter what way their inclinations lie ? The country's need transcends all personal difficulties and grievances. Let us then forget the past, forgive the ills and misunderstandings, forgive the wrongs, real or imagined, and sincerely join hands solely to throw our heart and might into our country's cause and win it easily and successfully with one mind and aim,"

Hindu-Muslim Unity.

Dealing next with the Hindu-Muslim question, Rao Bahadur Damle observed : " It is now common knowledge how Turkey has emerged from war and in the light of the world knowledge the Angora Republic has shaken off the hold of old religious notions, ideals and prejudices. With the Turks religion does not stand above politics. Its claims on its followers have been subordinated to those of the State. In India, however, the same old notion is sticking in full force and the Mahomedans continue to attach to religion a higher place than to the duty towards the State. Their idea, as it appears to the outside world, seems to be that humanity has come into being and exists for the service of religion. With due respect to this religious doctrine which it is nobody's right to meddle with, it will be admitted on all hands that a substantially major part of the Mahomedan

everyday life is engaged like that of the non-Mahomedan population in attending to non-religious matters of purely worldly importance and in their life-long continuous associations with their fellowmen of different faiths they have very rare occasions to reflect the peculiar impress of religious preachings on their everyday actions and dealings. As men of the world, therefore, they have to subordinate the demands of religion to those of social and political duties." Continuing the speaker said : " The religious truths so far as they are divine claim common allegiance and homage from humanity as a whole. That being so the apparent points of antagonism discernible in what may be strictly deemed to be mere outward conventional appendages should not be regarded as of great significance and value. They may be made adjustable to suit varying needs and circumstances , such adjustment does not affect the high divine truths. It behoves the leaders of both the communities, therefore, to seriously consider the religious aspect of the situation and to find out a workable formula in practice to avoid the outbursts of religious passion and consequent communal disturbances."

The Non-Brahmin Movement.

Turning to the Non-Brahmin movement the Rao Bahadur pointed out :— "The assertion of individual rights is always welcome but higher social duty demands that the assertion of the right or its exercise need not be expressed in an offensive tone or manner. Further, the recognition of this right must be free from feelings of hatred and animosity. The Non-Brahmin agitation set on foot in some places assumes form which is distasteful and offensive and instead of winning public applause alienates public appreciation and sympathy. My earnest appeal to those who are leading this agitation is that they should guide its course so inoffensively and decently that it engenders no feeling of hatred, annoyance or disrespect towards the Brahmins as a class."

Election of the President.

Sir Chimanlal SITALVAD then proposed Sir Sivaswami Aiyar to take the chair. In doing so he said, since they separated from the Congress nine years ago the Liberals had demonstrated their usefulness in forming a separate organisation during these nine years. Though misrepresented, maligned, and abused the Liberal Party had pursued its principles and followed what it thought to be right in the real interest of the country and it was gratifying that slowly but surely the country was coming to realise that real salvation lay in following the principle advocated by the Liberal Party and not in following the claptrap of the people who promised Swaraj in a year or a month by plying the Charka and following the doctrines of civil disobedience and non-co-operation. The recent elections had also afforded them considerable encouragement and he instanced the overwhelming majorities secured by many of the adherents of the Liberal creed. He urged that the Liberal Party should be more active throughout the year in preaching its creed and it was sure to find more supporters. It only required steadfast working and firm belief in their principles to make them acceptable to the general population. Sir Chimanlal then referred to the large administrative experience of Sir Sivaswami, his work in connection with the Muddiman Committee and his high political sense and commanded him to take the chair.

Mr. C. Y. CHINTAMANI, in seconding the election of Sir Sivaswami to the chair, said that during the eight years since the old Congressmen deemed it necessary to separate themselves from that organisation and form a Liberal Party, there was none more uniformly loyal and faithful to the principles of the party and more constantly helpful to everyone connected with the party than Sir Sivaswami. He remembered his highly instructive Presidential Speech at Calcutta in 1919 and few at that time hoped that the Liberal Party would survive so long in spite of its numerical weakness. What change in public feeling had taken place since in their favour and what useful work they had been able to do was due in no small extent to Sir Sivaswami, lawyer, educationist, scholar, upright statesman, and patriot whom they claimed not only as a leader, but as a teacher. This year the Liberal Federation met in circumstances more critical; speaking with reference to its own internal affairs, than hitherto, and they required the help of a politician of great foresight and insight to give them a sagacious lead.

Mr. Jatindranath BASU, in supporting, said that Sir Sivaswami Aiyar had been all his life a great worker in India's national progress, having particular interest in the military organisation of the country for which India had been depending on an alien power. It was fortunate that they had Sir Sivaswami to lead their deliberations at this their critical stage.

After Mr. Pandit had also supported the election of Sir Sivaswami the proposition was carried with acclamation.

The Presidential Address.

Sir Sivaswami Aiyar then rose to deliver his long Presidential Address. The following are some of the important extracts from his speech .—

Liberal and Swarajist Creeds.

Let us now turn our eyes to the position of our own party. From the very moment of the inauguration of the reforms we adopted the view that, while the reforms fell short of our expectations and were defective in many respects, they marked a substantial step in advance of the previous state of things and that we were bound to work the reforms for what they are worth. The reforms opened to us new opportunities for useful constructive work and we felt we were not justified in throwing them away in a fit of sulkiness. There were imperfections inherent in the very structure of the scheme of the Act. There were difficulties created by the rules framed under the act and by the manner in which they were worked by the Governors. There were also difficulties created by the exceptional financial stringency which prevailed during the first term of the Legislative Councils. In spite of all these impediments we resolved to work the reforms in a spirit of co-operation with the Government We were prepared to demonstrate our fitness for further advance by the success with which we could work the constitution The goal of political parties in India is no doubt the same, but there are only two ways of attaining it—either with the consent of the British nation and Parliament or against their wishes and by force of arms. The latter method is so obviously impossible that no party in India has advocated it. But, as a substitute for a revolution by force of arms, the weapon of non-violent non-co-operation has been suggested. From the beginning we pointed out the dangers of the policy of non-co-operation and the difficulty of maintaining non-violence. The numerous outbreaks of violence that followed the inauguration of this policy have abundantly justified our warning. The enquiry made by the Congress Committee showed that the country was not prepared for mass civil disobedience. The policy of non-co-operation originally included the boycott of councils as well as schools and law courts. The boycott was a complete failure and the Swarajist party was then started with the object of wrecking the councils from inside. The policy was adopted against Mr. Gandhi's own advice and soon found to be impracticable. The Government of India Act has been framed with sufficient foresight to provide against all dead-locks which may be created by would-be wreckers and the Swarajist party has learned how impossible it is to wreck the constitution or bring the machinery of administration to a standstill.

Swarajist Failure.

The leader of the Swarajist party was obliged to confess during the last Delhi Session of the Assembly that the party had failed to achieve its object. He said that he had no further use for show institutions like the Assembly and that the least they could do to vindicate the honour and self-respect of the nation was to get out of them and go back to the country for work He said that in the country they would try to devise those sanctions which alone could impel any Government to grant the demands of the people. He hoped and trusted that the nation would give a suitable reply to the truculent rejection of their demands and would send them again in larger numbers with a stronger mandate and, God willing, with the sanction for fulfilling its aspirations and enforcement of its commands. It is perhaps not strange that show institutions have a great fascination for the Swarajists and that they have again decided to enter the show-halls. The Swarajist party has not been returned in larger numbers except in Madras. May we ask what new weapons the learned Pandit has forged and what sanction for enforcing the commands of the people or of the Swarajist party he has secured? The sanction which he darkly hinted at could only be the sanction of mass civil disobedience. We wonder whether the country has since the 8th of March, 1926, been secretly or openly prepared for mass civil disobedience and whether it is any more fit to resort to this weapon than it was when the Congress Committee submitted its report. Knowing, as the Swarajists must do, that the country is not prepared to follow them in the stunt of civil disobedience, their talk of sanctions is meaningless and can only be sheer bluff. Many members of the Swarajist party cherish the belief that bluff may deceive the British people. But the British Government has been sufficiently long in this country to be able to distinguish between bluff and effective threats and prominent statesmen in the seats of authority have repeatedly warned us that, while the British Parliament would be willing to carry out its promises, it would never make any concessions to menaces or violence.

Changes of the Congress Creed.

The creed of the Congress party has undergone many changes. They have climbed down from their heights of non-co-operative aloofness to participation in the work of the councils. They have climbed down from a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction to a policy of supporting some at least of the measures for the benefit of the people. It is not however likely that the Swarajist party as a whole will abandon their infructuous policy and return from the barren wilderness to the paths of common sense and wisdom.

The Revolt of the Responsivists.

With the robust good sense and grip of actualities which is characteristic of the Maharashtra community, they have led a revolt against the fatuous policy of the Swarajist party and succeeded in forming the party of Responsive co-operation. We welcome the formation of this party which has practically adopted our creed, though it has not joined us and seems to fight shy of the name "Liberal". In what respects the creed of this party differs from ours and what its distinguishing characteristics are, I have not succeeded in ascertaining. But I prefer to dwell upon the large measure of agreement between their views and ours rather than upon any differences All honour to the leaders of this revolt and I offer my felicitations to Mr. Kelkar, Mr. Jayakar, Mr. Aney and other leaders on the conspicuous success which has attended their efforts. The formation of the Responsive Co-operation party is really a triumph of the principles for which the Liberal party has all along stood.

It is an irony of fate that, while the principles for which the Liberal party has stood have been slowly gaining recognition, the party itself should have fallen into disfavour with the people. But the explanation is not far to seek. In the first place, the policy of moderation does not appeal to the popular mind in the same way as a policy of extremist. A member of the Moderate or Liberal party, who is prepared to look at the different sides of a question and make allowances for them all, can never indulge in the same sweeping statements and denunciations, as a member of a party which refuses to look at the other side of the question or face realities and is prepared to recommend short-cuts, however dangerous, to the end in view. The Liberal party cannot possibly make specious promises of a millennium to be attained in months or weeks and can neither attribute all the evils under which the country is suffering to the foreign domination nor refuse to recognise the benefits that the country has derived from the British connection. In the second place, the Congress party owes an immense portion of its prestige to its association with the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. They have exploited

his influence to the utmost and profess to be followers of his impracticable constructive programme which a large number of them do not believe in. Witness, for instance, the use of khaddar on ceremonial occassions and the borrowing of khaddar clothing just before entering meetings of Congress Committees. Again, the Swarajist party has had the advantage of the widespread organisation of the Congress and its prestige. Having entered the temple of non-co-operation as worshippers they have quietly dethroned the simple-minded "Mohant" who is satisfied with the nominal allegiance and lip-homage of its followers. We have also to contend against the odium which has been sedulously created in the country against all persons who co-operate with the Government in any measure. The action of the Government in enhancing the salt tax by certification led the people into the belief that a policy of co-operation with the Government had no effect in restraining the Government from unpopular legislation. And let me finally add an observation borne out by our experience of social psychology that parties bent upon destruction display far greater zeal and energy than parties interested in construction or conservation. It is no wonder that under all these difficulties our party fell into disfavour with the people. We shared the unpopularity of the Government and got no credit for our achievements in the first term of the Legislative Assembly and Councils.

Our party lost heart and failed to cope with the situation. Our lack of enthusiasm and our woe-begone sense of despair are responsible for the present plight of our party Parties with vastly larger funds and followers and far more efficient organisation like the Liberal party in England have suffered greater disasters. But, firmly convinced as we are of the soundness of our principles, we may with confidence look forward to a brighter day for the party of constitutionalism, by whatever name it may be called. Our party has had no occasion to revise its creed and is the only party in the country which has been throughout consistent in its principles. The fact that an influential section of the Congress has adopted the creed of Responsive co operation is the best proof of the soundness of our creed. The dangers that we predicted as the result of a policy of non-co-operation have been raised. Beyond producing a spirit of distrust in the sincerity and intentions of the Government and beyond weakening the sense of respect for law and order, the policy of the Congress party has been barren of any results whether by way of constructive or destructive work. It passes my comprehension that men of light and leading like many of those who are members of the Swarajist party could still believe in the efficacy of their methods of attainment of Swaraj.

The Conditions of Further Advance.

Now that the time for the appointment of the Statutory Commission is approahing, it is to our interest to prove our fulfilment of the conditions of advance laid down in the preamble of the Government of India Act and in the speeches of British statesmen from time to time. Our Swarajist friends appeal to the doctrine of self-determination and ask what right one nation has to judge of the fitness or otherwise of another nation for responsible Government. Whatever may be the justice of this contention in the abstract, there is no wisdom in refusing to face hard facts. The British Government is ruling over the country and has no intention of leaving it, unless the Parliament is satisfied that the conditions imposed have been fulfilled. The British Government is the master of the situation and is not prepared to yield to any threats. The Congress party wished to make the position as hot and uncomfortable for the Government as possible so that they might yield to our demands and they have admittedly failed There is a dictum of Hindu Law that facts cannot be altered by a hundred texts To refuse to recognise the stern logic of facts may be a heroic pose but is not consistent with common sense. It would be not merely a peaceful but an easier road to the attainment of Swaraj to so shape our policy that we shall be able to satisfy the Statutory Commission that we have fulfilled our part of the bargain.

So far as we can judge from the utterances of British statesmen, the main point upon which they desire to be satisfied is our willingness to co-operate with the Government in working the reforms introduced in 1921. It is laid down in the preamble of the Government of India Act that the action of Parliament must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities for service will be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. The Commission to be appointed under the Statute will be charged with the duty of inquiring into the working of this system of Government and reporting whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible Government or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible Government existing at the time. We have from time to time pressed for the acceleration of the appointment of the Statutory Commission. Signs are not wanting of a disposition on the part of British statesmen to

advance the appointment of the Commission. One can see a marked change in their utterances and a tone of greater willingness to appoint the Commission earlier. From the point of view of those who consider that India has been and is already fit for responsible Government, the delay on the part of the Government in yielding to our demands for reconsideration and further advance is held to justify a suspicion of their intentions.

Let us, however, look at the other side of the shield and put ourselves for a moment in the position of the British statesmen. In the very first year of its existence, a resolution was moved in the Indian Legislative Assembly for the establishment of autonomy in the provinces and the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government. Eventually, it was passed in an amended form requesting the communication to the Secretary of State of the view of the Assembly that the progress made by India in the path of responsible Government warranted a re-examination and revision of the constitution at an earlier date than 1929. May it not be said with some show of reason that the resolution was premature and need we wonder at the reply of Lord Peel that the new machinery had still to be tried in its working and that the merits and capabilities of the electorates had not been tested by time and experience? A resolution was again moved in 1923 by Dr. Gour and in 1924 a resolution was passed on the motion of Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar recommending the early revision of the Government of India Act.

While these resolutions show that the Legislative Assembly did not relax its efforts to secure a revision of the constitution, the view of English politicians that these attempts were premature or indicated impatience cannot be regarded as unnatural or as indicating an intention on their part not to honour the promises of the Parliament. When the Labour party which is the most friendly to us came into power, the Premier, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, declared in his message to India that no party in Great Britain would be cowed by threats of force or by policies designed to bring the Government to a standstill. He urged upon all the best friends of India to come nearer to Britain rather than to stand apart and get at the reason and goodwill of the British.

I now pass on to another difficulty pointed out as one of the hindrances to the attainment of responsible Government, viz., the control of the defence The difficulty is not one of our creation. It is the Government which is responsible for our present inability to take charge of the control of the defence of our country. It is only after the great war that the Government have professed any sympathy with the aspirations of Indians to enter the higher military ranks and their professions of sympathy have not yet been materially translated into practice. Even at the present moment, there is no evidence of any concern or desire on the part of Government to make this country self-sufficient in the constitution and organisation of its defensive forces. The British Government is quite alive to the value of the resources of India in man-power for the army but has no wish to utilise Indian talent for the officering of the Indian army in the same or even in any appreciable measure. Reforms in the direction of Indianisation are an uphill task even in the civil services of the administration but they are far more so in the military services. No one, who is acquainted with the long delays of the Government of India and of the Imperial Government in arriving at a decision on proposals relating to the training of the people for defence, will wonder at the popular dissatisfaction thereby caused. The Report of the Territorial and Auxiliary Forces Committee was submited to the Government in the beginning of last year and the orders of the Secretary of State are still awaited. The establishment of an Indian Sandhurst at an early date was recommended to the Government so far back as 1921. It was only in 1925 that the Government was prepared to take action even to the extent of appointing a committee to consider the subject. The Skeen Committee is said to have just concluded its labours and submitted its report to the Government of India. How many months or even years the Imperial Government will take to pass orders on the subject we cannot forecast. All the more important resolutions of the Assembly with regard to the Indianisation of the Army have either not been carried out yet, or been refused. Though the Air Force will play the most important role in future warfare its doors are closed against us as in other important branches of the army. The scheme of a Royal Indian Navy is in a process of slow embryonic development.

The Real Reasons.

While we cannot acquit the Government of blame for our past helplessness in the matter of defence, it is not difficult to understand the reasons for their unwillingness to embark on any considerable scheme of Indianisation. The Government cannot completely get rid of the old notion that India must be kept by the sword not in the sense of being administered by a system of martial law, but in the sense that the maintenance of British Rule must in the last resort depend not upon the civil administrator but upon the

control of the army. Britain does not mind experiments in the sphere of civil administration, so long as she keeps the army in her control. They feel they cannot afford to Indianise the army, because they do not feel sure what its reactions will be on the maintenance of the British ascendancy or connection. It is this lack of faith in the loyalty of India to the British Empire that is really the underlying motive of the attitude of the Government. There are other reasons also which have no little influence upon the policy of the Imperial Government, though we cannot be expected to sympathize in or attach any weight to them. I may here quote an extract from Sir Valentine Chirol's book on 'India'. It is observed by that fair-minded writer :

"Though the army department may wish now to approach it (question of Indianisation) chiefly from the point of view of military efficiency, it has to reckon with the strong racial objections of British officers to being placed in the position of ever having to take orders from Indian officers. Nor can one ignore the danger of personal friction between the British and the Indian officers with their very different outlook and social habits if they are made to rub shoulders in a common mess-room. But the feeling goes deeper and experienced British Officers, not unnaturally proud of the confidence and even personal affection of their native officers as well as their men, are found to declare that the Englishman's prestige with the native troops themselves will be gone, if they are ever placed under other than British command Indians whom education has trained to modern standards of self-respect resent deeply such a stigma of racial inferiority."

British statesmen have often acknowledged in the past and are now in the habit of proclaiming that they hold India as trustees for the people. Is it unreasonable to ask whether our self-constituted trustees have ever displayed any consciousness of an obligation to hand over to the people the army which is being maintained at their expense or to train their "cestuis qus trustent" to officer and control their military establishment. The Government of India Act declares the policy of Parliament to be to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Indian administration. This would certainly include the military as well as the civil branches of the administration. If the British Government as our trustees have made no attempt to prepare us for our responsibility for the defence of our country, it is necessary in our interest and for the credit of our trustees that we should press them to declare and affirm explicitly the goal of their military policy in India and to frame a suitable scheme of Indianisation to enable us to reach the goal within a generation at least.

Concluding Sir Sivaswamy said :

Our Relations to other Parties.

The public is often impatient at the existence of a number of parties in the country and believes that if they could all be merged into one and unite their forces, it will be easier to attain the national goal. They are disposed to curse the party politicians and to attribute motives of personal glorification or aggrandizement to them. There are other countries also where new parties have been formed for the purpose of attracting notoriety to the leaders or gratifying their ambition of self-advancement. While the multiplication of parties for such purposes deserves to be deprecated, the existence of vital differences of opinion in matters of principle cannot be ignored. The suppression of such differences in the interests of artificial unity is injurious to the honesty of public life. All artificial unity must share the inevitable fate of bunkam. While it is not possible for the Liberal party to sacrifice its convictions or merge itself in any party which differs in essential principles, we are prepared to co-operate with the members of other parties, wherever it is possible for us to do so on particular questions. It is in that spirit that Mr. Chintamani made gallant efforts in 1925 to bring about a coalition. The failure of his efforts was due to no fault of ours. It will be our duty and our policy to co-operate with any and every party in all questions where we can see eye to eye with them.

The Work Before Us.

The oriental has often been accused by Western nations of a tendency to fitful work. There is some truth in this charge. We have our fits of feverish excitement and our fits of apathy and depression. One of the virtues we have to learn from Englishmen is that of dogged perseverance and steady work. Our energies are like our mountain streams, at times flowing in torrents but more often drying up. Our energies have to be dammed up and directed into a steady perennial stream flowing not over the rocky beds of non-co-operation and indiscriminate obstruction, but over the fertile and promising fields of constructive constitutional work and social welfare that remain neglected. Another virtue we have to learn from the Englishman is what has been described as the 'committee sense.' I will give you one illustration of the lack of it. When the enhancement of the

salt tax to make up the deficit in the budget came before the Assembly, some of us suggested a distribution of the burden under other heads also, like income-tax and customs. We had an informal representative conference of the members of the Assembly and, after an excited discussion for three hours during which the Bombay men would not hear of an addition to income-tax and the Calcutta men would not hear of an addition to the customs duties, we parted without arriving at any agreement and the enhancement proposed by the Government was carried Let us resolve upon constructive work in the councils of the country and let us realise that with the increasing remission of provincial contributions more funds will be released for such work. In the field of education, co-operation and social reform, there is a vast field of useful work which demands our attention and our energies The Liberal party in particular has yet to learn the virtues of organisation, of self-sacrifice, personal, pecuniary or both, and of sustained work from day to day and from year to year Let us not allow our souls to be palsied by despair but work with a courage which will quail before no obstacle and a sturdy optimism which will endure any reverse or disappointment and success is bound to crown our efforts for the welfare and progress of our fatherland

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Proceedings and Resolutions.

SECOND DAY—THE 28TH DECEMBER 1926.

1.—Murder of S. Shradhanand.

The National Liberal Federation resumed its session on the next day the 28th December and proceeded with resolutions. The first resolution put from the chair and passed in silence, the audience standing, recorded the sense of horror at the murder of Swami Shradhanand and the loss sustained by the country in the death of the great patriot, educationist and religious and social reformer. Another resolution similarly passed recorded the sense of regret at the death of Sir Krishna Gupta, N. M. Samarth, Rao Bahadur W. R. Dhoble and others.

2.—Indians Abroad.

The next resolution expressing the earnest hope that the Conference between the Delegates of the Government of India and South Africa might result in the repeal of the Colour Bar legislation and securing for the Indian settlers free and full citizenship rights and urging that Indians settled in any part of the Empire should be accorded the rightful position as equal subjects of the King was proposed by Mr. Venkatesh Narain Tewari. The mover after enumerating disabilities said that by these annual protests they could at least show that they were not parties to the iniquities under which Indians abroad were suffering.

Mr. V. N. Deshpande, in seconding, said the real cause of the trouble was that Britishers in the Colonies looked upon Indians as an inferior race. There could be no bargaining for their natural rights. They must have them and hoped the Round Table Conference would be able to solve the question.

The resolution was unanimously passed.

3.—Release of Bengal Detenues.

Rao Bahadur Jayavant moved a resolution to the effect that the Liberal Federation strongly reiterates its protest against the continued detention of many persons in Bengal under the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1925 and urges that they should be either set free or tried under ordinary criminal law. The Federation again urges the repeal of the said Act as well as of the Deportation regulations of 1818, 1819 and 1827. The mover said that since this iniquitous measure came on the statute book, the whole of India opposed it and urged for its repeal. The measure was a disgrace to India and should be repealed at once. The opposition to it had not died down as wrongly stated in the moral and material progress of India issued by the Home Department but would continue as long as they were there. He urged that the Bengal internees should either be set free or tried in law courts.

Mr. Jatindranath Basu, in seconding the resolution, said that the British nation claimed to be the most advanced and democratic nation imbued with a high sense of justice with a most advanced system of administration, but looking at these legislative enactments it seemed that India instead of progressing onwards was receding backwards. So many Bengalee youngmen to be kept interned without trial on the information of subordinate police officers was a disgrace to the British administration in India. If the British Government in India had given even small attention to public health and material interest of Bengal than they were giving to the revolutionary movement which was confined to a very small section of the population then there would have been no such movement at all. He hoped that the Government would show greater statesmanship by releasing the internees.

Mr. Digbe, supporting the resolution, said that every province in India felt keenly on the subject. Release of the Bengal internees would go a great way to pacify the political atmosphere of the country.

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

4.—Separation of Judiciary and Executive.

The next resolution urging immediate and complete separation of judicial and executive functions and services moved by Mr. D. G. Dalvi. seconded by Babu Surendranath Varma and supported by Mr. V. M. Kelker of Nagpur was carried.

5.—Hindu-Muslim Relations.

The next resolution on Hindu-Muslim relations was moved by Sir Chimanlal SETALVAD. The resolution ran thus —

> The National Liberal Federation of India deplores the estrangement of Hindu-Muslim relations, exhorts both communities to make earnest and sustained efforts to bring about better understanding and urges the Government to see that law is enforced with firmness and strict impartiality in all matters likely to engender communal friction."

Sir Chimanlal, in moving the resolution, said that it was a very important matter that all public men in all public institutions had to deal with and unless some method was devised to remove the present undesirable tension between the two great communities all their hopes of placing India in her proper position among the nations and of political advancement were doomed

to failure. The country divided as at present and the two communities full of distrust of each other could never expect to attain self-Government. Already the Hindu-Muslim division had no doubt been very much exploited by the enemy of the country to keep them back, but it was at the same time no use minimising its importance. The speaker then went on giving the causes that had led to the present undesirable state of things. He deplored the conspicuous absence of Mussalmans from their political gatherings of late, both Liberal Federation and National Congress sessions. They had of late begun to regard that they must have their own separate political organisations and their interests to be separately guarded though in their organisations they do nothing different. They make the same demands for political advancement of the country. What was behind this distrust of each other? According to the speaker, the reasons that had engendered distrust were more political than religious and did not appear to be real. He declared that their Hindu leader, Mr. Gandhi, was primarily responsible for the present state of distrust. It was due to one of the many Himalayan mistakes committed by the Mahatma that he chose to mix religion with politics. It was he who dragged in the Khilafat politicians and it was he who encouraged Mahomedans to look to the affairs of other countries as matters more than their immediate interests as citizens of the Indian Empire. However, the fact remains that the interests of Mahomedans in India are Indian. They suffer under the same disabilities and their interests are absolutely identical. It behoved the leaders of the two communities to remove this feeling of distrust instead of emphasising the differences. He deplored the speech of Sir Abdur Rahim at Aligarh last year. Nothing is gained by emphasising the differences but real statesmanship lay in trying to bring both the communities together. He also deplored any utterances of Hindu leaders that might tend to irritate the feelings of Mahomedans in respect of Suddhi and Sangathan movements though, in the speaker's opinion, they were legitimate movements. Sir Chimanlal appealed for a common understanding by removing the apprehension of the Muslims being swamped in any political arrangement about the administration of the country by a give and take policy.

Mr. C. Y. CHINTAMANI, in seconding the resolution, made a feeling speech in the course of which he said it would be more than a platitude if he was to enlarge upon the information on the estrangement of relations between the two communities. Two years ago, the Unity Conference was held in Delhi on the initiative of the then President of the Congress and the late lamented Swami Shraddhanand and was attended by prominent representatives of all communities. That Conference lasted for nearly a week and amply dealt with the various points of disagreement. The Conference left out purely political questions of communal representation in public bodies and public services. The speaker was also going to leave out that aspect of the problem. The conclusions arrived at the Delhi Conference were reasonable and even the Liberal Federation had given its consent. It was a thousand pities that no success had attended those efforts. The position now was peculiar in Northern India, including Bengal. This question agitated more the public mind than music before the Mosque during the last year or so. If the relations between the two communities to-day to all appearances were more unfortunate than they were in the recent past the reason for this situation is to be found in the manner in which the newfangled

demand of the Muslims to stop music before mosques at all times had been dealt with by those in authority. The resolution before the meeting urges the Government to see that law is enforced with firmness and strict impartiality in all matters which tended to communal friction. The clause he said had been in the resolution for good and sufficient reasons. Calcutta delegates and those from U. P. would be able to testify that the attitude of administrative authorities in dealing with such questions left a great deal to be desired. He then referred to the situation in the United Provinces and particularly the Ramlila procession incident at Allahabad where the District Magistrate sought to enforce unprecedented restrictions upon the liberty of the Hindu community to take out the time-honoured procession The District Magistrate gave out that he would not allow the procession to be taken out unless the Ramlila Committee agreed to take out the procession at hours which would not conflict with prayers in any Mosques situated on public roads. When it was pointed that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had laid down that it was the civil right of the citizens to take out such processions subject only to the duty of the Magistrate to make such regulations as in his judgment were necessary for the preservation of public peace, the only reply forthcoming from the Magistrate was that Mussalmans were the most generous and that they did not object to music before all Mosques except two and that Hindus, on the other hand, were not prepared to make any concession to Mussalmans.

Mr. Chintamani then referred to similar highhanded acts of the Magistracy at Aligarh and Etawa and asked if it was worthy of the Government which prided itself upon the establishment of British rule in this country and put forward as its main justification for its continued existence here as the dominant party that it was an impartial arbitrator to keep the peace between warring Hindus and Mahomedans to fail in such a deplorable manner?

The speaker then referred to the memorable speech of Lord Irwin at the Chelmsford Club which inspired them with noble thoughts and assured them that Government Officers in circumstances of exceptional difficulty tried their best and successfully to act with impartiality to prevent or to minimise disturbances. He did not balance the Viceroy for having spoken thus in his first year's regime, but since then attempts had been made to impress on His Excellency that he should no longer be content with what provincial Governments might tell him but that it was at least possible that there are some circumstances when the Viceroy should have made impartial and independent enquiries and tried to arrive at the truth. In this resolution the Government were asked to see that the law was strictly enforced with impartiality. He was personally of opinion that they were on strong grounds in making the accusation against some of the local Government officials. He next referred to the Rajeswari procession in Calcutta and opined that the order was so manifestly unfair that Hindu leaders who always kept aloof from affairs with all reluctance deemed it essential to protest against the Government. In the United Provinces he declared the Government were simply immovable. Hindus of Allahabad asked the local Government not to give an ex-parte judgment but to institute an enquiry and the reply was that no enquiry was wanted. In Delhi, Muslims were given permission to take out the sacrificial cow in procession on the Bakr-Id day in spite of the Hindus' protest. Even Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was constrained to protest against such Government action.

Concluding, Mr. Chintamani said that the Liberal Party should consider it the first duty to do everything in their power so far as opportunities were opened to them to remove misunderstandings between the two communities but it was also a complement of the same duty that they must not hesitate to tell the Government what they thought of its part in the affairs in the past.

Mr. Mainkar supported the resolution in Marathi which was then carried.

6.—Co-operative Organisation and Army Indianisation.

The next resolution regarding the improvement of the condition of the people by measures of better organisation of the co-operative movement and free and universal education was moved by Mr. N. M Joshi who emphasised the importance of the work among the masses. He was supported by Messrs. Parthasarathi Iyengar, Dalip Mansingh and R. K. Satarkar.

Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru moved that the Government should make an explicit declaration defining the goal of British policy to be the making of India self-sufficient in the matter of defence within a reasonable short period and the Government should take effective steps towards the Indianisation of the Army. The establishment of an Indian Sandhurst and reduction of military expenditure were points emphasised by the mover. He was supported by Messrs. J. N. Basu and M. B. Marathe.

Both the resolutions were passed and the Federation adjourned till next day

THIRD DAY—THE 29TH DECEMBER 1926.

The third day's session of the National Liberal Federation of India was resumed at 1-30 in the afternoon.

7.—C. P. Land Revenue Enhancement.

Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma moved an emphatic protest against the Central Provinces Government in giving effect to the enhancement of land revenue assessment in some talukas against the opinion of the Berar Legislative Committee and even without the Government of India's sanction to the principles of the assessment as required by the Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Parliament and recommending that the collection should be suspended till the necessary legislation was passed with the approval of the Berar people. The mover urged that taxation should not be based on what was just. He urged that the Government of India should discharge its trust by taking the people of Berar into confidence in fixing the principles of assessment.

Rao Bahadur Mahajani, in seconding, said that Berar was in a peculiar position being neither British nor in the Nizam's Dominions. It had no legislative Council of its own and was helpless. In support of the resolution, he pointed out that agricultural indebtedness in Berar was increasing rapidly and it was impossible for agriculturists to bear the burden of the enhanced assessment.

Rao Bahadur Khare, Messrs. Namdeo Rao, Patil and others supported the resolution which was carried.

8.—Propaganda Work.

The next resolution emphasising the urgent necessity of educating the electorate and calling upon the Liberal Associations to take up the work of organisation was moved by Rao Bahadur Kale of Satara and seconded by Messrs. Gadre, Deshpande Altekar and M. B. Marathe from Belgaum and was carried. The two last named speakers made eloquent appeal for funds for propaganda and it was announced amidst cheers that Mr. Venkatesh S. Mudholkar of Akola who professed Swarajist faith so long had joined the Liberal League and had contributed Rs. 101 towards its propaganda funds.

9.—Indianisation of the Services.

Rao Bahadur Mahajani then moved:

"The National Liberal Federation is of opinion, (1) that there should be rapid Indianisation of all superior civil services (2) that principles and conditions of recruitment for all such services should vest in the Government of India, (3) that actual recruitment should be made by an Independent statutory body like the Civil Service Commissioners in England, and (4) that direct recruitment should be by means of examination and not of nomination by Government."

In moving the above resolution Rao Bahadur Mahajani said that communal representation was detrimental to public interests and that recruitment to higher services should be made by holding competitive examinations and not by Government nomination.

Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao of Bangalore, in seconding the resolution, narrated his experience in the medical service regarding the disabilities of Indians and the injustice they suffer from.

The resolution was supported by Mr. S. G. Vaze and carried.

10.—Revision of the Indian Constitution.

Sir Moropant Joshi next moved.—

"The Federation reiterates its conviction of the necessity of revision of the present constitution of the Central and Provincial Governments on the following lines —

1. India should be accorded the same status as the Dominions.
2. Except in respect of foreign and political affairs and of the defence of the country for a transitory period, the Secretary of State in relation to the Government of India should occupy a position analogous to that of the Secretary of State for Colonies in relation to Dominions.
3. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.
4. The superintendence, direction and control of revenues and administration of British India should be vested in His Excellency the Governor-General in Council.
5. While for the transitory period His Excellency the Governor-General should remain responsible to His Majesty's Government and British Parliament for the foreign and political relations of the Government of India and for the defence of the country, His Excellency the Governor-General in Council should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the whole sphere of internal civil administration.
6. Provincial Governments should be responsible to the respective Legislative Councils and Governors should be constitutional Governors.
7. Indians should be trained for and freely admitted to all arms of defence and such financial provision should be made for their training as the Legislative Assembly may decide.
8. The Legislative Assembly and Legislative Councils should be wholly elected bodies with due provision for the protection of the rights of important minorities."

Sir Moropant JOSHI, in moving the resolution, said that the general principles which had been found capable of being worked properly had been

put as a basis of recommendation to the Government. Now that the Statutory Commission was coming to India later than it ought to have come and after six years of vain regrets and methods found unworkable, they had come back to their old principles. He was proud to belong to the Liberal Party which kept its mental attitude undisturbed, though the whole country was practically upset. Though they did not claim credit for inspiring others with liberal methods, they kept up an ideal to which everbody now found it necessary to conform. That was why they valued Liberalism. From the very beginning they asked for Dominion Status. Those who did not agree with them reviled them for not asking for Swaraj. The speaker wanted to nail the lie to the counter. The Liberals expressed joy when the Reforms were introduced for complete acceptance by the Government of the country of the change from autocracy to democracy and admission of the principle. They declared even then that that was not enough. From the beginning the Congress and the Liberal leaders had this idea of Dominion Status and nothing else. During the last six years of experiment, the Liberal Party had done eminent service which would be remembered and had been telling the Government that the Reforms conceded were not enough. They agreed to work them in the spirit in which they were given and proved themselves fit to work them. After the working had shown that the Reforms given would not meet their aspirations and would not be for good Government which it should be, they had shown that it was not what Indians wanted. He reminded the critics that the value of Liberalism lay in the manner in which the banner was kept flying and the mental equilibrium kept intact. Lord Birkenhead's speech had borne him out that unless there was response and co-operation, no advancement was possible. That was the dictum of the rulers in spite of threats. Thus the condition was such that they were not in a position to wrest the power from the rulers, but only by a spirit of co-operation should they succeed. There were signs on the horizon that Lord Birkenhead was taking a favourable view of the matter. Everybody now felt that the Liberal methods were right. The Council elections had also demonstrated that responsivism was upheld by the intelligentsia of the country.

Coming to the National Demand, he said it was no other than the Dominion Self Government put forward by the Legislative Assembly. If there was unanimity, the goal would be achieved soon

Mr. C. Y. CHINTAMANI, in seconding the resolution, said that the present constitution could be only worked with such difficulty and constant friction that neither efficient administration nor contentment of the people could be secured by continuing it with all its defects. There being nothing sacrosanct in a date, he urged there should be no reluctance on the part of the British Parliament or the British public to undertake at an earlier date the examination of the defects revealed by the working of this system. It is first of all asked in the resolution that India should be accorded Dominion Status on the lines recently laid down by the Imperial Conference as a result of which statesmen like General Hertzog who had previously stood up for separation from British Empire went back to South Africa and told his fellow Boers that they need no longer be dissatisfied with their position within the British Empire. The position of India had been dismissed summarily. It was stated there that the Conference recognised India as the most important part of the Empire. According to the Government of India Act 1919, " At present the Government of India lays down that the superintendence

and control of the revenue and the administration of British India shall have been in the hands of the Secretary of State for India in Council." We are not satisfied with that position. We want that the controlling authority should be the Government of India in India and not the distant Secretary of State, ignorant and irresponsible to the people of India but in view of the conditions that exist, conditions for which we are not primarily responsible in view of the circumstances that we are not ready at the present moment and cannot be prepared for the military defence of the country, and in view of the complicating fact of the position of Indian States in India, we make the reservation that for the transitory period in respect of the foreign and political affairs and the defence of the country the Governor-General shall retain his responsibility to His Majesty's Government and to the British Parliament. Dyarchy that exists in the provincial Governments has compelled provincial Governments to be divided into two heads, reserved and transferred. We make no such recommendation with regard to the constitution of the Central Government. We only say that the Governor should remain responsible to the Secretary of State for the administration of foreign, political and military for a transitory period. That the present position in the Central Government is highly unsatisfactory was admitted in anticipation by the distinguished authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and it has been admitted, it may be indirectly and by implications but still admitted substantially and without doubt, by no less a responsible man than Lord Irwin in his speech at Calcutta. His Excellency observed the sovereign defect of this constitution. Things should be as they are and from what we have known of the high character and the just-mindedness of Lord Irwin, I trust we may hope that if only our representatives in the Legislative Assembly give a good account of themselves, we shall find in His Excellency a warm friend and adherent. As regards Provincial Governments it is necessary in the interests of good administration for the uplift of the people that the present constitution of Provincial Governments should be amended without avoidable delay and no part of the scheme with regard to the province is more urgently needed than such a transformation of the position of the Governor as to make him a constitutional Governor and not an arbitary being that he at present is. This is the feature viz., the irresponsibility of the Governor of the revision, and that alone can be described as an outward revision which will place the Governor in the same position in which Governors are in the Dominions.

In the last clause of the resolution we have urged that the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Councils should be wholly elected bodies. One need not labour the proposition that responsible Government is utterly incompatible with the existence in the legislatures of members whose only constituency is the Government House. If you want the Governors to be responsible to the legislatures, you must have nothing less than that those legislatures should be representative of the country and should not be constituted so as to enable the Government always or frequently to hold the key so as to be in a position to determine the result of divisions. For such reasons, it is essential that the legislature should consist entirely of elected members.

The question of the rights of important minorities is a matter which has received great consideration in the past and will need equal consideration in the future,

In concluding, he appealed to the Liberals to bear in mind that the

growth of the Hindu Muslim disagreements was being put forward as an almost invincible argument againt action at an earlier date in the desired direction. This being so, their efforts to minimise disagreements and promote good understanding and mutual confidence should be in proportion to the keenness of their desire to win self-Government at an early date.

The resolution being further supported by Messrs. G. K. Gadgil and others was passed unanimously.

Sir Moropant Joshi then proposed a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee and the President for having given them a wise guidance.

President's Concluding Speech.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, in reply, said that he was anxious about the success of the Federation. The Conference had been a success owing to the efforts of Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle. He thanked the volunteers for their arduous work. He was depressed by the unpopularity of the party, but it was his joyful experience that there was much enthusiasm among the Liberals in Akola. He had no doubt about the future of the party. It stood for commonsense and constructive work. If the country returned to wisdom, it was due to the activities of the Liberals. He had great admiration for the Maharashtra community for steadfast work. They had the virtue of perseverence. The Mahratta led the movement against the Mughals and the same spirit would be required to fight for Swaraj. He said that Rao Bahadur Kale had impressed on them the necessity of educating the electorate. He hoped that Maharashtra would set an example to other provinces. Public spirit and wealth did not go together. Given the necessary zeal and enthusiasm, the public could be persuaded to their point of view. Want of success of the party was due to the failure to carry their work to the country. Propaganda work in all directions was, therefore, necessary.

This concluded the President's speech and the Federation was declared closed and the President was profusely garlanded amidst cheers.

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE

All-India Hindu Mahasabha

GAUHATI—THE 28TH DECEMBER 1926.

The special session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha sat on the 28th December in the evening in the Congress Pandal after the Congress had concluded its sessions. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya took the chair. The whole of the big Pandal was packed to its fullest capacity. A large number of village and hill-folk were present. The proceedings began with the " Bande Mataram " song."

Chairman's Speech.

Mr. Hem Chandra GOSWAMI, Chairman, Reception Committee in welcoming the delegates said :—

" I consider it a proud privilege to accord a hearty welcome to the great leaders of thought in the Indian Empire to this ancient city of Pragjotishpur of hallowed memory standing on the ruins of an ancient civilization, as ancient as the rocks you see around you. Although we have lost our independence only a hundred years ago, judging from our present state you can very well cry in astonishment ' oh, how fallen, how changed :' Our members are so few, being decimated every year by Malaria, Kalazar and other epidemic diseases and our resources so splendid having no trade, no commerce, no industry to depend upon that. We really do not know how to give you a suitable reception. We are quite alive to our short-coming of not being able to look after your personal comforts as we wished in the heart of our hearts, but, I assure you on behalf of the Reception Committee, that we have spared no pains to do our little best in the country. With these words I invite you gentlemen to deliberate on the future welfare of the Hindus as a nation. We have now arrived at such a initial moment in our national life that if you fail to put our heads together and devise the best means possible to consolidate the Hindus of different provinces and formulate plans for a concerted action we are sure to perish at a no distant time. It will scarcely lead India in the path of progress if we devote our whole energy for its political salvation leaving aside all other activities to take care of themselves. The Hindus have now well high forgotten their noble tradition and the true mission of life. If we intend to live as a nation, as a progressive and vigorous nation, we must all combine casting aside all our petty provincial differences. Though the highest aim of Hinduism is the unification of all the diversities and to see unity in the midst of diversities, by the irony of fate we have acquired the knack of creating differences where there are none.

" Gentlemen, I now invite your attention to the following points :—(1) It is high time that we should organise a solid religious association for the whole of India having its branches in different provinces to advance the cases of Hindus and Hinduism. (2) Hinduism is said to be not a prose-

lytising religion but in Assam the conversions of Animestic people is going on almost every day before our very nose. We should try our best to convert these people to our faith with the help of the religious heads. (3) We should try to uplift the depressed classes of India. (4) Hindu boys and girls should be taught physical culture so that they may defend themselves against their enemy. (5) To establish inter-provincial communications we should have a weekly paper in Hindi to propagate these ideas amongst the masses of the Hindus; this will also facilitate the spreading of the knowledge of Hindi among them.

"Gentlemen, the Hon'ble President, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has already done yeomen's service to the Hindu nation by his earnest endeavours to bring together the diverging forces working in the Hindu society. I mention with great pleasure the name of our illustrious countryman Lala Lajpat Rai, Dr. Moonjie and Swami Satyananda and numerous others who are working in the same field. It is most gratifying to the Hindu mission under the guidance of Swamis Satyananda, Nagisananda and Kumar Bimalendu Rai and others who have already reclaimed over 500 families in the Garo Hills, Khasi Hills and Assam Valley. You know Babu Piyush Kanti Ghose of the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' to whose untiring zeal the Sammilani owes its origin is also a very powerful advocate of its cause. I am sure, there are many persons in different provinces who would help our cause. Our duty is to find out these persons and allot to them the proper share of their work. To organise such an association you could not have selected a better place than this. We sat here under the feet of our mother Kamakhaya by whose grace we expect to attain our noble object. I welcome you gentlemen most cordially, the members of the Hindu Maha Sammilani and delegates to Pandu over the mighty problem of the Hindu nation and find out their satisfactory solutions.

"You must have been shocked at the cruel news of the tragic end of the great Hindu leader Swami Sradhananda brought about by a Moslem assassin. Though we all deplore this dastardly murder we must remember that this and such acts instead of damping our spirit should put us in mettle and goad us to more concerted work.

Pt. Malaviya's Address.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya then came to the rostrum and delivered his extempore speech. He said that the great assembly met under a great shadow of grief for the death of Swami Shradhananda, the greatest worker of the Hindu cause.

Giving a brief history of the Swami's life Pt. Malaviya said that the Swami had sacrificed his all for the establishment of the Gurukula for the training of young men in national and social service. He had also courted imprisonment for the political struggle of the country.

Continuing Pt. Malaviya said, "Swami Shradhananda was the pioneer of the Suddhi movement. It was he who really felt about the desire of those Hindus who had once forsaken their religion and he inaugurated the Suddhi movement. Up to the last day of his life he thought for Suddhi, and Sangathan. But he was murdered by a cowardly assassin in his sick bed (shame, shame). The Swami was the martyr of the Hindu cause just as Guru Teg Bahadur was the martyr of the Sikh. Because the Swami is dead the

Hindus should work out his work—Suddhi and Sangathan. The Swami never did wrong. Mussalmans convert people of other faiths to their own religion every day. It is, therefore, not improper for the Hindus to do Suddhi work. I would like to emphasise that in his Suddhi and Sangathan work the Swami never followed the path of wrong. If the Mussalmans stop their Tabliq I would like to see the Hindus also give up their Suddhi. A resolution will be placed before you to fix a day for the Hindus all over the world to mourn over the death of the great man and pray for the peace of his soul. A proposal will also be made before you to start a memorial fund to commemorate the Swami's death. I hope you will accept the resolution and work up to it. Swami Shradhananda was a Congress worker and he never lagged behind in the fight for political freedom of the country. Following the ideal of the Swami every Hindu and Mussalman should take a solemn vow not to do any such act as may promote communal tension, either by writing or by speaking.

"Every Hindu knows that to create knowledge and the love of God the Hindu religion is a precious one. But it is very much regrettable that the Hindus have been losing their faith in the magnanimity of their religion. I think that every Hindu should help the Hindu Sabha by deed, word and thought. Arrangements should be made in every village for holding small religious congregation where the people of the village can go and attend the congregational prayer. In this way we can bring more life into the Hindu race by instituting the religious feeling in their mind.

"I have travelled from the Himalayas to Kumarika on the one side and from Karachi to Dibrugarh on the other, but sincerely speaking I have never seen the like of a simple and sincere people as the Assamese. Missionaries have been converting hundreds of Hindus of the Garo, Khasi and other hills. It is high time that the Hindus should keep those Hill tribes into their faith.

"The opium consumption is a very pernicious custom in Assam. Preachings should be done by all to give up that bad and ruinous custom. If you can put a stop to this I shall deem my visit to Assam successful. I am really glad to meet Swami Gurumaru, the most influential religious preceptor. I hope you will do missionary work throughout Assam with Swami Gurumaru as your leader. You should try to start one Hindu Sabha and Katha Sabha in every village and if you can do this, you will save the dying Hindu race from ruin.

In conclusion Pt. Malaviya said.—"It is high time also to eradicate the evils that have been sapping the life blood of the Hindus. We should stop early marriages, guard the helpless widows and the religious temples and take up cow protection work."

Resolutions.

The following resolutions were taken up for discussion at the second day's sitting of the Sabha on the 29th December, excepting resolution No. 1 which was disposed of on the 1st day. All the resolutions were passed unanimously.

1.—Late Swami Shraddhananda.

"The Mahasabha expresses its abhorrence of the cowardly, cold-blooded and treacherous murder by a Mussalman fanatic of the brave and noble patriot and an honourale

leader of the Hindu community, Swami Shraddhanandaji, who had consecrated his life to the service of the motherland in general and of the Hindu community in particular when he was lying in sickbed after an attack of serious illness. While mourning the great loss caused by the death of the Swamiji, the Mahasabha recalls with pride that he became a victim to the pistol of the assassin for no other reason than his honourable devotion to and dauntless courage in carrying on the sacred work of Suddhi and Sangathan which he carried on with scrupulous fairness. The Mahasabha offers its deep sympathy to sons and other relatives of the deceased in their sad bereavement The Mahasabha calls upon every Hindu, wherever he or she may be, to show his or her grateful reverence for the Swamiji by offering Tilanjali and prayers for him on Sunday the 9th January 1927."

2.—Swami Shraddhanand Memorial.

"The Mahasabha further resolves to raise a permanent endowment fund of Rs 5 lakhs to be known as "Swami Shraddhanand memorial" with a view to carry on the work of Suddhi and Sangathan and hereby calls upon every Hindu, high and humble to contribute his quota to the fund and to send the amount to the Manager, Punjab National Bank, at Delhi or at any other branch of it. The Sabha also requests every Hindu organisation to collect and remit contributions to this fund to the said bank at Delhi or to any other branch of it and to intimate the fact to the Secretary, Hindu Mahasabha, Delhi.

3.—An Appeal to Hindus.

"The Mahasabha invites the attention of Hindus all over the country to the second object of the Sabha, namely the promotion of goodwill and friendly relations between Hindus and the followers of other faiths in this country and it appeals to them that while they should firmly promote by all legitimate and honourable means the objects of the Hindu Mahasabha, namely to organise and educate their co-religionists, to protect and promote their religious, cultural, social and, where necessary, political interests or to refrain from doing anything which may be reasonably calculated to retard the growth of an united Indian nation or to give any reasonable ground for complaint to members of other communities inhabiting this country.

4.—Patuakhali Satyagraha.

"This Mahasabha expresses its sympathy with the suffering of the Satyagrahis of Patuakhali who have been sent to jail for asserting in a peaceful manner their right of taking out processions with music on a public street The Mahasabha trusts that the Hindus of other parts of India will lend every legitimate support to their brethren of Patuakhali to enable them to continue their Satyagraha until their right is fully vindicated and recognised.

6.—Hindu Hill Tribes.

"The Mahasabha draws the attention of the Hindu community to conversions of Hindu hill tribes to other faiths which has been going on on a large scale in Assam, Bihar, Chota Nagpur and other places as well as among Hindus of East Bengal resulting in deplorable decline of the Hindu population in the said areas

This Mahasabha appeals to Hindus to take a lesson from well-organised missionary efforts of Christians and Mussalmans and to organise and strengthen Hindu missions to check the tide of these conversions and to promote religious, social and economic advancement of Hindus in those places.

7.—Organisation of Hindu Sabha in Assam.

"Resolved that steps be taken to organise Hindu sabhas in every district and subdivision of Assam to carry out the objects of the Hindu Mahasabha.

8.—Special Session at Hardwar.

"Resolved that a special session of the Hindu Mahasabha be organised to be held at Hardwar for purposes of propaganda during the coming Kumbha fair and an attempt be made to enlist the co-operation of energetic and self-less sadhus and sanyasis to carry on the work of the Mahasabha throughout India."

THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE

All-India Christian Conference

MADRAS—THE 28TH DECEMBER 1926.

The 13th All-India Conference of the Indian Christians commenced its sitting on December 28th in the Wesley College Hall, Madras under the presidency of Rai A. C. Mukerjee Bahadur. There was a large gathering of Indian Christians present including the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Devadoss and Mrs. Devadoss, the Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur R. N. Arokiasami Mudaliar, Mr. Arokiasami Mudaliar of Pondicheri, Dr. Asirvada Nadar, Prof. S. E, Ranganadham, Messrs. V. Chakkarai, P. Chenchiah, R. N. Danapal Mudaliar, K. W. Rama Rao, Balasingam Satya Nadar, J. E. Hensman, J. J. Hensman and Sivasubramaniam of Bangalore.

Welcome Address.

Dr. Asirvada Nadar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the gathering. In the course of his speech he said :—

"As you are all aware, the Montford Reforms are given to us from the year 1920, and from the beginning of their introduction an unhealthy communal feeling was aroused among the people resulting in communal hatred chiefly between Brahmins and non-Brahmin Hindus and sapped the national unity and strength. Our community has not actively joined any party and there has never been any fracas between Christians and non-Christians which, I think, is due to the fluid of peace and harmony running in the veins of Christians—our heritage. This year a healthy independent party—moderate nationalists—has come into existence and every one has great expectations from the party. Under the present reforms our community is given only five seats in the local Legislative Council, for the whole province which is divided into five groups for this purpose. Of these electorates one is mostly a Catholic, another is a Protestant and in the rest the number of Catholics is predominating. If therefore our Catholic brethren do not have forbearance and equity there will be returned in every election one Protestant and four Catholics. But it is gratifying to note that this year in the Tinnevelly and Ramnad group our Catholic brethren have shown the above virtues and returned Mr. Daniel Thomas, a Protestant. To avoid this unpleasant inequality between the two sections a compact was made in the year 1920, but to our misfortune it was short-lived. In the tenth Conference which was held in Bangalore a resolution was passed urging the Indian Christian Associations in the Madras Presidency to take early steps for rectifying the causes which are likely to lead to a very unhealthy growth of sectarian feelings in the community itself, and the Conference appointed a Committee for the purpose. But I am sorry to say that though three meetings were convened our Catholic friends did not respond to our invitations. Last year the Indian Christian Association of Madras corresponded with the Catholic

Association requesting them to come to some amicable settlement with regard to elections recently held in the presidency and after their deliberations in Tanjore last December they wrote to say that any resolution passed by that body concerning elections would not be binding on their electorates. This year a Protestant gentleman came forward as a candidate for the Central group, that is, Madras, and after a few months, through some mystical power he suddenly dropped the idea. Apart from my desire to have equitable advantage alternately for each section of our community I wish to avoid the unnecessry waste of money which our community can ill afford, and other unpleasant consequences of a heated election, by establishing a compact between the two denomination and unanimously nominating three Protestants and two Catholics in one term aud two Protestants aud three Catholics in the second and so on till we are given at least six seats when we can have an equal number of seats if we should possess the same virtues of equity and forbearance. This act of ours will not only set an example to others but will also draw admiration from them. In this respect this time both the Congress and Justice Parties in the Madras City maintained regular discipline among their respective partymen. No more than four candidates in each party contested the seats. Instead of their taking a lesson from us we have to take one from them. Having had a bit of experience now, I hope, we shall do better when further instalments of Reforms are given to us after 1929. If no mutual agreement be possible at all we shall have no other alternative than to move the Government to grant us permission to contest in the general election with reservation of seats in five or six major groups or centres instead of communal electorates. This system has no doubt some difficulty of adjustment of the Christian voters but I do not think it is an impossibility.

" Our share in the political life of the country has not hitherto been very active. Apparently we have carried out to the very letter the teaching of our master —" Take therefore no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself ". It is comforting to report that there have been no Hindu-Muslim differences in our Province but on the other hand both the great communities move very friendly. The leaders deserve praise and we trust that other Provinces where the unhealthy differences exist would follow their splendid example. It is a matter for regret that in their nation-building efforts the other communities seem to consider our community as a negligible factor. I should think that the fault is not on their part but our own. Our early moral and religious training, our tenets, our private and public probity and the fact that we occupy a middle station between the western people who have influenced our life and faith, and the eastern to whom we belong by reason of our birth and upbringing, and are therefore in a specially advantageous position for reconciling and co-operating the conflicting ideals of the two sections and interpreting the one to the other, all stand in our favour to serve in a Ministry of friendship and reconciliation. I should like therefore that we enter into the national regeneration of the country and be a guiding principle from its infancy. If we do not join the rank now but sit quiet with folded arms, when the fishes and loaves are distributed we shall have no claim. As our Lord has said, " Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your father which is in heaven." We shall illumine the country and be also the Ambassadors of peace and good will.

"On the evening of the 18th instant some of us ventured to present an address couched in terms of Christian fellowship and a copy of the English Bible to Sriman Srinivasa Iyengar on the eve of his departure to Assam as President-elect of the Indian National Congress, fully realising that in the enormous task he has undertaken, his responsibilities are great and that he is in need of sound wisdom from the one who is all wise, all powerful, and the creator of the universe, visible and invisible and according to our faith, experience and knowledge that such a being is no other than the true God we are worshipping and praying to that he may direct him in all his deliberations and place him under the guiding principles of the book.

The Problems of Community.

Some of the problems confronting us are the Indian Church Measure, the remarkable Union Movement of the South India United Church and the South African Indian problem. But as these are in worthier hands we need not go into their details. As for the South African question we receive daily re-assurances from the press of an early happy settlement by the Round Table Conference. Our economic and un-employment question is so serious that it must be left in abler hands to be grappled with. But I may be permitted to touch upon one aspect of this question as affecting our community. Most of our young men after their University career prefer entering the services to walks of life. Some at least should, I think, take to agriculture trade or other industries, in the prosecution of which their education would no doubt be a great help, and they would then be a source of improving the material prosperity of the community. I should also touch upon one of the disabilities which the so-called self-supporting churches in South India are labouring under. For some reason or other as a post-war retrenchment, or to extend missionary labours in other unexplored fields or to internal dissensions at home due to higher criticisms and consequent shortage of funds there, almost all missionary societies have made considerable cuts in their monetary support towards missionary work in India and the worst sufferer therefrom is the Church Missionary Society in Madras. The step taken by the Parent Society is somewhat premature and the stoppage of support except that of a few special gifts from endowments for purely evangelistic work among the non-Christian tells much upon our ordinary work. The congregations here were either not prepared or are too poor to cope with this unexpected responsibility which they have been taxed even beyond their capacity. We cannot make retrenchments without seriously affecting the efficiency and sphere of work. Another hardship which our members are experiencing from the authorities of Christian Colleges and Schools is the forced retirement of several experienced and able teachers who have spent almost their lifetime as teachers as soon as they attain their 55th year of age even though they are quite healthy, efficient and fit physically and mentally. For a minor community like ours to come forward or at least to maintain its own position, backing up from influential quarters from outside and push on the part of our members are required. I am sorry to say that we do not possess these advantages to any appreciable degree. But it is comforting to know that when our men and women enter into any walk of life they by their tact, manners, private and public character, gain the approbation and confidence of their employers and the public. These qualities coupled with other special

advantages which our community possesses should, I think, encourage them to take part in all public activities.

MR. R. N. MUDALIAR'S SPEECH.

Welcome address over, Mr. Balasingam Satya Nadar read the messages of sympathy and then requested the Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur Arokiasami Mudaliar to address the gathering.

In responding to the request, the Hon'ble Mr. Arokiasami Mudaliar said he was glad to be present at the Conference and to give public testimony to his conviction that for the uplift of the Indian Christian community in the Southern Presidency and elsewhere, it was absolutely necessary that all Indian Christian denominations should join forces and work together on a common platform. (Applause.) So far he was aware, it had not been the case. He did not propose at that meeting to start an analysis of the reasons that had operated against that desirable union. But he was sure of this, that possibly certain sections of the Indian Christian community had been scared away by the belief that that was more or less a set of religious convention in which they were afraid of taking part. If the objects of this Conference were widely known and if it was divided into different sections —political, social and so forth, it would not be found impossible to secure the hearty co-operation of all sections of the Indian Christian community in matters affecting their welfare. They were all aware—and the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee made it plain—that there were many matters in which they had to work in common. For one thing, the Government treated all sections of the Christian community as one unit for political purposes, and if only for political purposes, it was necessary that they should unite and work together on a common platform. Besides, there were social questions as, for instance, the uplift of the depressed classes. They were aware that among the Christian communities there was a large section of the so-called depressed classes and the problem of their elevation must occupy the attention of the whole community and particularly a Conference of this character It might be possible to secure the co-operation of various denominations if the Conference divided itself, as the Indian National Congress had done, into various sections.

The question of a pact between Roman Catholics and Protestants among Indian Christians was a difficult one. It was attempted once before and it failed. He was not sanguine that it would be possible to establish a convention of the sort which the Chairman of the Reception Committee was referring to. The fact that certain communities were in a majority in certain electorates must tell on the ultimate results and there were associations of Roman Catholics or Protestants who could give a lead. Even if they were able to create associations, which could authoritatively settle the candidates and enforce its mandates, he was not sure they would at all be near the solution of the problem of arriving at a pact. But he was not without hope. It would depend on the work which the workers of the associations would be able to put forth.

Speaking on the communal electorates, the speaker said :—

One other point has been referred to by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the question of communal electorates. Even as a private individual, I am prepared to express here my strong conviction that we of the Christian community have lost tremendously by the creation of these separate

electorates, (Cries of hear hear). We have lost tremendously in political importance. In point of number we form but a small group and having absolutely no voice in the election of the majority of the members of the Legislative Council, we have sunk to the position of absolute insignificance. It seems to me that when the time comes for the revision of the present electoral system, it will be the duty of Indian Christians to press for a vote in the general electorate, it may be with reservation of seats for Indian Christians, till such time when by the development of national consiousness we could get on without separate representation.

Gentlemen, there are various other questions which have been referred to in the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee. But my object in consenting to say a few words to you, was, as I said, to give public expression to my conviction that it is necessary that all Christian denominations should unite together for common purposes."

The Presidential Address.

Rai A. C. Mukerjee Bahadur was next installed in the presidential chair. The following is the text of the address delivered by him —

"We meet for the second time in Madras after a lapse of 12 years. It was the session of the Conference that was held here in the year 1914. Since then we have met twice in Bengal, Bombay and the United Provinces each and once in Orissa, the Punjab and Central Provinces. Even after thirteen years of existence we have to confess that our body is far from being strong. The Conference is worthy of better support. Its object being to promote the well-being of the Indian Christian community one would think that the very enunciation of the object would draw under its banner all the various members forming the community. One has to confess however that except perhaps in my own Province, the United Provinces and the Punjab, the bulk of the community has shown great apathy towards the movement. Whether it is due to lack of knowledge about it or whether it is due to an absence of propaganda on its behalf throughout the length and breadth of the country, or whether again it is due to a want of appreciation of the possibilities which lie at the base of such a movement, I am not able to say. Perhaps all these various causes are more or less responsible for this unhappy situation, for true it is that our leaders have not shown that amount of earnestness in making this body strong and really representative of the feelings of the community which is expected of them. They still appear to be unmoved. One great cause of weakness, we sincerely deplore, is that with the exception of a few public spirited individuals here and there—and their number is very small—the great Catholic community has, as a body, held itself aloof from the All-India Conference. The Conference is most anxious that this community should also be united with us. Neither we nor they can separately speak in the name of the Indian Christian community. In spite of all our differences, and whether we are willing to recognise each other or not as members of the same body, there is not the slightest doubt that we are members of one community and that we either rise or fall together. We do not discuss religion or articles of belief in these Conferences. We discuss things which work for our solidarity and for the uplift, social and economic, of the members of our community, and that ought to appeal to Catholics and Protestants alike. Such aloofness does not exist among Europeans and Anglo-Indians in this country.

They in their Associations all unite and work together, Protestants and Catholics, alike. Why not we ?

Need for Co-operative Effort.

Ladies and gentlemen, the time spirit demands that we should combine. These are days of union and of co-operative effort. I have not much knowledge of conditions in the South, but I do not suppose that the conditions would be very different from the North where various communities have felt compelled in their own interest to form Sabhas and Samajes, and these have contributed considerably to the strength and uplift of their communities. Kshatriyas, Kayasthas, Marwaris, Sikhs and even such depressed classes (please remember they are not all untouchables) as the Ahirs, Kurmis, Barbers, Chamars etc., have organised themselves into Sabhas and Samajes and these are doing an immense service in removing social evils, in enforcing duties, in asserting rights and in adopting measures for the uplift of their members. It is an encouraging feature to find that whereas no heed was paid as long as demands were urged by individuals, people are gradually educating themselves to concede to demands when they are made on behalf of a whole people. The struggle may be short or long but there is no doubt that if there is justice and righteousness underlying a cause success is assured. Let the lesson of the historic Satyagraha at Vaikom not be lost. Vaikom is not and cannot be a solitary instance. Such Vaikoms help to educate the public conscience and it is that which we so earnestly desire to see.

Christians and Politics.

Ladies and gentlemen, this leads me to the consideration of a much bigger problem, a problem which has not claimed that amount of attention which it deserves, namely, that we cannot remain aloof from the body politic. We cannot afford to be indifferent to those aspirations which are inspiring the Indian nation in these days. Not unjustly has the charge been levied against us that we Indian Christians have in a way cut ourselves off far from the main body of India and have constituted ourselves in an absolutely wrong sense into a 'peculiar people,' an 'elect race'. What I said in reference to the Catholics and Protestants applies with ten-fold more strength to Christians and our non-Christian countrymen, for here also, we either rise or fall together. It is true that constituted as this Conference is we are not an out and out political body. We attempt to unite Indian Christians irrespective of their political beliefs. Persons holding extreme political opinions, whether Swarajists or Liberals or Conservatives, all have a place and work in our conferences. At the same time, I submit that it will be a great mistake to make the Indian Christian Conference with its limited object and its comparatively restricted outlook to be the be-all and end-all of our existence as a community. While working for our own social and economical uplift there is no reason why we should not share in that larger life, the national life which concerns us all, Christians and non-Christians alike. Our members are perfectly free to ally themselves with any school of political thought with which they find themselves in sympathy. I would go further and urge on them that it is their duty to take their full share in the country's deliberations in matters pertaining to the nation's progress. Use your own judgment. Follow the lead of those whom you can trust but follow them intelligently and thoughtfully. Do not be afraid to ask them questions. Do not be afraid to press

on their attention your own points of view which you conscientiously hold. But the chief thing is let us not be indifferent to our country's progress. We certainly do not desire—do we?—to be content with being hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country. We certainly desire that India should have her rightful place in the commonwealth of nations and not merely be a suppliant begging at the doors of other peoples and show as if we would feel grateful for any crumbs that may fall from their tables. We may have to fight for it we may even have to suffer for it. Let us be prepared for both. And here may I say to those in our country who to-day in regard to the Government seem to be out for a fight, that we shall gain more by co-operation than by non-co-operation, more my fighting constitutionally than by an out and out obstructive policy. Whatever may be the opinions held by the enactors regarding their own conduct, I believe that these walk-out methods have not only been fruitless but have really given the bureaucracy the chance to do things in their own way. Their action is more like the acts of children. What we need is to put up a fight a strong fight in our legislatures and if we fail to achieve our object let us keep at it and a time will come when reason will prevail No one can deny that there has been progress. There was a time when power was entirely in the hands of the bureaucracy. Is that the case now? And who can say that the change will stop here? Let our goal be clearly the same level as the other self-governing colonies and dominions. Nothing short of this will satisfy us. But the mere use of high-sounding words and phrases like non-co-operation, obstruction and the like is not going to take us to our goal. We have to remember that the Englishmen is a hard-headed and unimaginative person and he can only see things through the eyes of cold reason. It is up to us to convince him that we are in deadearnest and one of the ways by which we shall be able to prove it is by not neglecting to build from the bottom. Let us not neglect the nation-building part of our programme.

Inter-communal Unity.

"It is where the true spirit of democracy is wanting we have such woeful disasters enacted as we have seen taking place in various parts of the country. In the North we have had open fights and bloodshed In the South we have the manifestation of bitterness of feeling among class and class. It seems to me that we Indian Christians ought specially to feel the challenge that comes to us from outside to help to bring about that spirit of friendliness, of brotherliness which our Lord inculcated when he charged us to love even those who hate us and pray for those who persecute us. I am sure even though his onslaughts were directed against our community as much as against Mahomedans, yet let it be said to our credit that we Christians have not manifested the temper and feeling which the Mahomedans have done and we Christians deplore the tragic death of Swami Shraddhanand at the hands of the wicked assassin. The cause of religion cannot be served by such means. We must all stand for freedom to worship in the way we desire but for that very reason we should be ready to concede to those who differ from us the same freedom that we desire for ourselves. What did Swami Shraddhanand do more than Mahomedans and Christians are doing every day. I sincerely trust and pray that the Hindu community will not lose its head over this tragic event. This terrible catastrophe ought also to serve as a call to the leaders to try and examine themselves. Have they done anything to foment such feelings, not intentionally perhaps? We all

know that enormities have been committed as an indirect result of the actions and utterances of leaders. Let us each set our own house in order. But let us not stop there. We are out to build up a nation. Let the leaders teach those that trust them and profess to follow them that it is not by violence that a nation can be built up.

"Have we done anything to heal the sores of our country or have we not rather been content with crying 'peace' 'peace.' when there is no peace or, worse still, have been indifferent to events taking place outside? You remember what a powerful appeal Mrs. Sarojini Naidu made to us, Christians, when on the invitation of certain Christian friends in Calcutta she addressed them. She put the searching question to them, "What have you Christians, the Messengers of the Gospel of love, what have you done to heal the wounds of discontent, of racial animosity, of bitter communal strife? What are you doing now at the present critical moment for Mother India?

"We Indian Christians must respond most heartily in the midst of such tragic happenings to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's appeal.

Upliftment of Converts.

Having pleaded for the solidarity of the community, the President went on to say:—

"Again we have to remember that we are daily receiving accessions to our numbers and the greater proportion of these come from classes to whom opportunities for making progress had been denied. Many of them are poor, they are uneducated, their outlook on life is very narrow but all the same they are members of our community. Do we owe a duty to them? On account of the vastness of their numbers unless we are careful to raise their condition they will surely drag us down. Just think of this. There was a time, before the so-called mass movements had begun, when we were ahead of any other community in India in education. But we no longer occupy that position now. There was a time when the community stood lowest in point of crime. With the accession of large numbers of men and women from among the criminal tribes of India we can no longer boast ourselves of being a community free from crime. Do we want to stop their coming in on this account? By no means. We are out to preach deliverance to the poor and release to the captive, whatever be the nature of that poverty or captivity. It is for us to help to uplift the masses in our community and if we become pioneers amongst our own people we shall show the way to the rest of India. We do thank God for the Gospel of Jesus Christ which points out the way not merely of our own salvation but also the salvation of society of the nation. This will call for no small amount of sacrifice. We are called upon to think how best we may bring about the amelioration of our community. We must examine, for example, whether the system of education now in vogue is best calculated to help this class of people. Whatever the causes that may have led to it, the present system of education, unrelated as it is to the life of the people does not really help them. Our system is hidebound and allows no room for the experimentation of new methods. Our funds are low and we look to grants to help us run our schools but the system on which Government distributes its grants-in-aid binds us hand and foot to follow the Government curriculum and that curriculum at its best is not calculated to meet the requirements of the people. What seems

to be an urgent reform is that Government should relax the rigours of its education code and permit grants-in-aid to be given to those who are willing to try new methods and new experiments.

Call to the Youths.

In the best interest of our Christians in areas where mass-movement into Christianity have taken place, those who have the charge of our people ought to forego, if necessary, the Government grant and introduce better and modern methods of education among them. Christian missionaries have been the pioneers of English education in India. There is need here for pioneers and we ask them to be those pioneers. Let there be fewer schools if need be, but let them be schools where something real, something substantial, something more than mere numbers of passes may be attempted even with the loss of a Government grant. And here is also a call for our young men to give their best for their people. We often hear the cry "back to the village." But that cry will remain a cry in the wilderness unless the best talents among us go to the villages and devote themselves to raising the standard of life among our villagers. What is being urged here is actually being done in other countries where young men with good degrees are content to live a quiet life in the village teaching in a village school or acting as pastors in village churches and raising it to such a state that people find all that they desire in their own village. The village becomes a cultural centre.

Communal Representation.

The members of our community ought to come forward and claim seats on Municipal and District and Taluk Boards, on the Legislative Councils and the Legislative Assembly. This brings me to the consideration of the vexed question of communal representation. I have already said that I do not like the term 'community' because of its unsavoury implications. It seems to me that it is the adjectival form of the word which is more open to objection. This term has been misused and it is that which has produced certain very unhappy results. What do we mean when we use the terms? Do we want to put into it the connotation which, for example, the Mahomedans or the party known as the Justicites put into it that in all public appointments we should maintain the principles of communal representation, that each community should have a fair share of the loaves and fishes of office. I hope not. In fact, I feel sure that as a body we do not mean that, for it will be an awful thing for any country if this principle is carried out. We want the best men to occupy positions of responsibility irrespective of whether they are Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Sikhs or Christians We cannot approve of such action as the Mahomedan party for example made itself responsible for when one of its leaders had the effrontery to telegraph to His Excellency the Viceroy that the Mahomedan community would resent if a certain appointment which had been held by a Mahomedan was not again given to another Mahomedan. We congratulate His Excellency the Viceroy that he had the courage to reject such a suggestion and he hereby did justice to a member of our own community who had proved his worth by long years of highly creditable service. We do not want this sort of communalism at all. A fair field and no favour is the principle which should be kept constantly in view. But if by communal representation is meant that in our legislative and other administrative bodies such as

Municipal and District and Taluk Boards the voices of minorities should be heard, why then, the demand is not unreasonable. As things unfortunately are in India, religious prejudices are often appealed to in departments of life where these prejudices ought to have no place whatsoever. I have spent a considerable portion of my life in public service where I had actually to deal with questions of elections and so forth. And again and again have I witnessed passions being stirred through unhealthy means. One candidate is a Hindu and it is the duty of Hindus to support him. Another is a Mahomedan and the Mahomedans must rally round him. So and so is a Kayastha and all Kayasthas must stand by him. Is that a fact or not? Why even leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai have been going about persuading people to return only such men as would promote Hindu interests. Is this not a most unhealthy condition of this? Fortunately for us, our community is so small that even if we had the desire—which I stoutly maintain we have not—we could not promote the interest of our community to the prejudice of other communities. What we do desire is that in the counsels of our country, our voice, the voice of a minority occupying the third place on the score of population, should also be heard.

In conclusion, the President said :—" Let our position not be misunderstood by our fellow-countrymen. The rule by majority is liable at times to go wrong. Did it not do so when England passed its Education Act some years ago which violated the rights of Non-conformists? That law had to be amended. What chance is there for the voice of minorities being heard unless some means or other is devised whereby they could be heard?"

Resolutions.

The following resolutions were passed at the second day's sitting of the Conference on the 30th December —

1.—Swami Shraddhananda's Death.

This Conference views with profound horror and indignation the assassination of Swami Shraddhananda and appeals to the leaders to continue their efforts towards bringing about a better understanding between the Mahomedan and Hindu communities It emphatically condemns the abuse of religion for purposes of political and communal propaganda

This Conference further requests the President to convey to the bereaved family of the Swami their sincere condolences.

2.—Nomination to the Executive Council.

This Conference expresses its profound disappointment that since the introduction of the Minto-Morley Reforms no member of the Indian Christian community has been appointed to the Executive Council of the Government of Madras and having regard to the fact that the Indian Christian community is an influential minority community and has in its ranks a number of competent men, urges on the Government to recognise the claims of the Indian Christian community for representation in the Executive Council when the next vacancy arises.

3.—Communal Representation.

While looking forward to the time when the development of the national consciousness may justify the abolition of the system of separate representation, this Conference is strongly of opinion that a representation of the Indian Christian community on the various legislative bodies in the country is absolutely necessary.

This Conference recognises that the right of representation by election has been conceded to the Madras Presidency It regrets however that the claims of the other Provinces in this respect have been ignored, and in the case of the Central Provinces representation

even by nomination has been denied. This Conference therefore urges on the Government the recognition of these claims also

In the Presidency of Madras the right of election by a special electorate has been recognised, but the experience of the last three elections has revealed certain grave defects in the system This Conference therefore urges that in the Madras Presidency as well as in the other Provinces seats may be specially reserved for Indian Christians to the extent of 10 in the Madras Legislative Council and 4 in each of the other Provincial Legislative Councils and 4 in the Legislative Assembly and Council of State each, but that Indian Christian voters be brought on the same roll as the non-Mahomedans, the requisite number for each body being returned by the votes of the general non Mahomedan electorate.

This Conference further empowers the All-India Council to formulate a scheme at an early date in the light of the foregoing resolution after consulting Provincial Associations and leaders and submit the same to the Government.

4.—Educational Report.

(a) This Conference urges on the Government and Missionary bodies that in order to make education profitable to the villager and beneficial to the country it is necessary that a scheme of village and district industrial and vocational schools where village industries are taught on improved lines along with the elementary education be established and that, as a beginning, model industrial schools be started at suitable centres immediately.

(b) This Conference protests against the abolition of the concession of half fees for Indian Christian Girls in schools and colleges in the Presidency of Madras and urges the restoration of the old system and further prays that in the matter of stipends for teachers' training a uniform standard be introduced for all classes in the Presidency of Madras."

5.—Home Industry.

(a) This Conference earnestly advocates the introduction of Home Industry such as spinning weaving, basket-making, lace making, etc., into the homes of the Indian Christian community.

(b) That a small committee be formed consisting of J. R Sivasubramanian (Convenor), Dr A. C. Asirvada Nadar, Mr C. F. P. Zacharias and Mr. C R. Bhaktul with power to add for the purpose of working up this scheme and presenting a report thereon to the All-India Council

6.—Co-Operative Credit Bank.

With a view to improve the material prosperity of the Indian Christian community, to encourage thrift among its members and to help them in their financial difficulties and trade enterprises, this Conference urges on the local Association to form and conduct an Indian Christian Credit Bank on lines fitted to their local conditions, and to report from time to time to the Conference the progress of the scheme.

(b) That a small committee be formed consisting of Mr. A C. Asirvadha Nadar (Convenor). Mr. J M. Sivasubramaniam, Mr. S. Ambrose, and the Rev. Dr. V. J R Asirvadham and Mr. V. Chakkarai with power to add for working of the scheme and submitting a report to the All-India Conference.

7.—South African Problem.

This Conference is awaiting with anxiety the deliberations of the Round Table Conference now sitting at Durban and devoutly hopes that the ultimate findings of the Conference will do adequate and full justice to the claims of Indian residents in South Africa.

8.—Prohibition.

This Conference considers that the total prohibition of sale and manufacture of alcoholic liquors and other intoxicating drugs, except for scientific and medicinal purposes, as soon as possible, should be the definite goal of all temperance legislations in the country. It is gratified to learn that a resolution to the effect has already been passed by the Legislative Assembly. It calls upon the Christian members in the Assembly and the provincial legislatures to give unstinted support to any efforts that may be made to push forward this object.

After a few closing remarks from the President, the Conference closed with the benediction.

EIGHTEENTH SESSION OF THE

All-India Muslim League

DELHI—THE 29TH DECEMBER 1926.

The 18th session of the All-India Moslem League was held on the 29th December in the afternoon outside the Ajmere Gate, Delhi in a spacious and profusely decorated pandal. The attendance including about 80 delegates was in the vicinity of 500. Among the distinguished participants were Sir Abdur Rahim, Sir Mahomed Iqbal, Sir Mahomed Abdullah and Sir Rahim Bux.

The Welcome Address.

The ball was set rolling by Khan Bahadur Pirzada Muhammed Hossain, Chairman of the Reception Committee, who in the course of his speech said among other things :—

" It is only (a) when we are accused of planning restoration of Mussalman rule in India which we take to be an astute move on the part of interested parties to subject us to suspicions of the rulers and concomitant disadvantages, (b) when we are denied our fair share in the Government of the country, (c) when we find hypocritical plea of efficiency raised by Hindu friends to maintain their monopoly of offices, (d) when we find that the majority community is carrying on an intensive campaign for communal organisation in the hope of establishing Hindu Raj in India, it is but human that we should think of protection against such aggressiveness." Continuing, he said that they must all strive to build up a composite culture, a happy and progressive Indian (as distinguished from Hindu) nation which should draw upon what is best in each of the several cultures which have found their way into the country.

Music Before Mosques.

With regard to the question of music before mosques, he said that the Government had taken a correct view of the problem in such questions and settled it by executive order. Had the Hindus followed Mahatma Gandhi's advice and left the question of routes for sacrificial animals to be determined by the goodwill of Mussalmans and not asserted an aggressive attitude, this minor issue would never have arisen. By abandoning the correct attitude suggested by Mahatma Gandhi and following a course of provocative aggressiveness, Hindu zealots had themselves postponed the settlement of this issue. Now that the question had been reduced to insistence on civil rights, once again the executive decision of the Government puts the contending parties in correct position ; but he would once again draw the attention of the Indian Mussalmans to the advisability of maintaining a perfectly calm atmosphere for the exercise of their rights which must not be tainted by resentment.

Muslim's Constitutional Demands.

If India was to be a self-governing dominion of the British Commonwealth and a representative system of Government suited to the genius of the people was their goal, each constituent of the Indian Empire in federal development or otherwise must know the exact position of India. Neither unanimity of purpose nor prosecution of a common object could be possible without it. A clear statement of Muslim demands based on accepted principles of representation and self-determination must be placed on record for the acceptance of both the Government and other constituents of the Indian Empire. He suggested for discussion with this question in view the following changes :—

1. Each compact group with common interests bound by ties of common religion, language and culture (as far as possible and practicable) should be parcelled out into separate provinces to determine its own future in harmony with the larger common interests of the entire continent. Present distribution of provinces had a history of haphazard development behind it and had no rational basis to rest upon.

2. All Provinces must work out their destinies as far as their distinct interests were concerned and contribute their share in common to the Central Government.

3. There should be proportionate representation in the legislature and services.

4. An irreducible minimum of representation in legislatures by Mussalmans elected by exclusively Mussalman constituencies should be guaranteed.

5. Proportion of Muslim seats in the Provinces where they are in a minority would automatically be solved. When suggestion No. (1), was given effect to it was only fair and just that where any community was in an effective majority it should retain its effective power and where it was in an ineffectual minority, adequate safeguards should be provided to protect its legitimate interests.

The basis of co-operation with either the Hindus or the Government, said the speaker, was the recognition of the irreducible minimum of Mahomedans' constitutional demands. He deplored the differences of opinion between Muslims over foreign politics which unfortunately and unwisely was being done in India.

In view of the forthcoming Royal Commission of 1929, he considered it most appropriate for the League to issue an invitation to the Central Khilafat Committee and other organisations claiming a representative character for the formation of a coalition for the purpose of the formulation of the demands of the Muslim community to be placed before the Commission. Should the Indian National Congress find it worth its while to call a Round Table Conference for the purpose of exploring the possibilities of forming a constitution acceptable to all the communities, the League should hold itself in readiness to respond to its invitation. Finally, he expressed grief at the loss of Swami Shraddhananda.

Mr. M. A. JINNAH, the outgoing President, next invited Sheikh Abdul Quadir to take the chair and reviewed briefly his connection with the League from 1919 when he was first made President. Mr. Jinnah, in introducing Sheikh Abdul Qadir to the audience, said that the latter was a man who

distinguished himself in various branches of life and rendered great services to the community and the country and the speaker had no doubt that Mr. Quadir would guide them right and under his presidentship the League would successfully go through this session.

Presidential Address.

Khan Bahadur Sheikh Abdul Qadir then rose to deliver his Presidential Address. In the course of his speech he said —

First of all both the Congress and the League should each put its own house in order and try to bring within their respective fold all the sheep that had gone astray. Then they should both sit together and devise ways and means of acting in harmony wherever possible and of agreeing to differ in a friendly way, when such differences become inevitable. Having accomplished this, they should stand together before the coming Commission on Constitutional Reforms and make a united and vigorous demand for complete reforms. In the meanwhile, as a preparation for that, they should work hand in hand in the spheres of intellectual, economic and industrial progress.

Late Swami Sharddhananda.

The speaker next denounced Swami Shraddhananda's dastardly murder. There were many Mussalmans who differed with the Swami's religious propaganda, but he was sure they would be as sorry as others to find that a co-religionist of theirs should take it into his head to put an end to his life. No man could render a greater disservice to Islam or lend a stronger impetus to the Shuddi propaganda than he had done by this foul deed.

Communal Representation.

Touching communal representation Mr. Abdul Qadir argued for increased representation of Moslems in the Assembly and the Councils and other public bodies, and opined that the best solution of this problem would be to retain separate electorates till there was a mutual desire to give them up, or till any particular local area asked for a joint electorate. The question of employment under the State he proceeded was not merely a question of loaves and fishes but a question of power, opportunity and of training. The vitality of this question gained still greater force in the case of Mussalmans because some other avenues of work, particularly in the line of trade or commerce, were practically beyond the reach of most of them for want of sufficient capital.

Continuing, Mr. Abdul Qadir advocated expansion of Tanzeem and Tabligh movement, and concluded by advising agriculturists to further the co-operative movement which had been remarkably successful in the Punjab.

Concluding, he said that he would have liked to touch upon two questions which he considered were very important. Those were the South African question and the Sandhurst Committee, but he hoped that after the questions were thrashed out by the Subjects Committee and were brought before the League he would, if necessary, express his personal views on them.

The Honorary Secretary's report for the year 1926 was then adopted and the proceedings were adjourned till next day.

Proceedings and Resolutions.

2ND DAY—THE 30TH DECEMBER 1926.

Seven resolutions were unanimously passed when the League re-assembled on this day. The attendance slightly improved upon that of the previous day. The first three resolutions expressed grief at the demise of Nawab Imadul Mulk Syed Hussain Bilgrami, a Muslim leader, Mr, Khawaja Yousuf Shah, member of the Moslem League, and on the murder of Swami Shraddhanand and the consequent injuries inflicted upon a Moslem who died later on.

4.—Indians in South Africa.

Sir Abdur RAHIM then moved the fourth resolution which deplored disabilities under which Indians in South Africa were already placed by anti-Indian legislation and regretted the proposal for fresh legislation which if sanctioned by the South African Parliament, would make the position of Indians intolerable in South Africa. The League earnestly hoped that the proceedings of the Round Table Conference now in progress would result in a just and equitable settlement and the establishment of friendly understanding between India and South Africa, removing the cause of the most serious conflict between the two countries.

The mover said that it was inadvisable to utter anything which would tend to strain the relations between Indians and South Africans and thus make the work of the Round Table Conference difficult. Their attempt should be to smooth and pave the way for favourable settlement of the question. He, however, was of opinion that a favourable settlement might be arrived at and the serious and disgraceful disabilities which were imposed upon the Indians in South Africa removed, and no one could deny that justice required that they should have all the rights of citizenship which other South Africans enjoyed. Concluding, Sir Abdur Rahim said :—"We cannot allow our men to be treated as so many primitives."

Mr. Malik Bakrat ALI supporting the resolution, trusted that the Round Table Conference would find an acceptable solution of the most serious question.

Mr. Syed HABIB, said that in the Imperial Conferences it was repeatedly uttered that there was no colour differentiation amongst the inhabitants of the various British Dominions. This was only in theory and not in practice. Englishmen wanted that the Chinese should allow them to live and trade in China. They wanted this from a foreign country, but they could not vouchsafe the same privilege to a section of the people of their Empire. He was, however, inclined to think that the Round Table Conference could never succeed. If it did not he would demand of the Indians to rise to the occasion by doing some practical work.

The resolution was then put and carried without opposition.

5.—Muslim Representation in Government.

Mr. Mirza ALI moved the next resolution which emphatically declared it necessary that there should be adequate Muslim representation in the Central and Provincial Governments in India and demanded that, wherever such representation did not exist at present, the defect should

be made good at the earliest possible opportunity. The mover opined that unless Mahomedans were properly represented in the Cabinet of the country and unless they had their proper representation in the higher services, it would not be possible for them to make that advance which was their right to make. He declared with emphasis that Muslim efficiency was second to none. Therefore, if they were given chances to hold higher offices, their efficiency would as a natural course increase.

The resolution was carried amid acclamation.

6.—Ministry in the Punjab.

Mr. Din MAHOMED moved the penultimate resolution which deplored the absence of a Muslim from the Punjab Ministry and registered the necessity of having at least one Muslim Minister in the transferred departments of the Province. He explained how, in spite of an adequate number of seats in the Punjab Council being allotted to the Muslims, the Hindus managed along with the Sikhs to form a majority. Thus, it was impossible for the Muslims in the Council to either defeat the Hindus or the Government. Therefore, they were in a very weak position. Thus, it was incumbent upon the Government to safeguard their interests by appointing a Muslim Minister. He alluded to the interests of the Muslims being sacrificed by the outgoing Ministry. In this connection, he instanced the appointment of five non-Muslim Indian medical servants from the Punjab. He recommended that out of the two Ministers one should be a Muslim.

Sir Abdur RAHIM said that when as many as 36 men of one community made a unanimous demand that a representative of their community should be in charge of one of the portfolios in the transferred departments it seemed to him that the Local Government would find its hands forced to recognise the demand. The law was sufficiently elastic and the Governor could appoint a Muslim Minister in addition to the two already existing. Then it would be far better as the three communities of the province namely Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims would be represented in the Ministry. He was sure that Sir Malcolm Hailey would not like the experiment of Bengal being repeated in the Punjab.

Dr. Safaat Amed KHAN said that his argument in favour of the appointment of a Muslim Minister was not one of loaves and fishes, but it was that of the restoration of the confidence of a community in the Government. He therefore trusted that no one would object to the resolution which when put was carried unanimously.

7.—The Bengal Detenues.

The last resolution on this day urging the Government to release the Bengal detenues or to put them under trial without further delay was moved by Mr. Chagla of Bombay. Mr. Chagla said that in England the question of elementary and fundamental rights of the people was regarded as most sacred, yet it was denied in a part of its Empire. There was not a single responsible organisation in the country which had not put forward this demand. In defence of their action, the Government have two reasons. One was that since the detention of these prisoners dacoities in Bengal had disappeared. His repply to this was that the argument was the most dangerous one. The Government could the next time arrest all the leaders to

do away with communal strifes and yet put forward the same argument. The next argument was that no one would come forward to give evidence against the detenues. This difficulty existed in other coutries, including England; but they had not detained men in this way. British politicians wanted Indians to co-operate but to their dis-appointment they did not find many co-operating with them. The Swarai Party was not for obstruction. Let the Government either release the detenues or give them a chance for trial.

Mr. Mahomed YAQUB said that there was a large number of high officials in the C.I.D. who enjoyed fat salaries from public money but they had not been able to make up a case against these detenues. This showed that all the boast of efficiency of the department was a farce.

The resolution was eventually carried without dissent and the meeting adjourned.

3RD DAY—THE 31ST DECEMBER 1926

The League reassembled foi the third time on the 31st December in the morning and adopted four resolutions. Attendance was smaller than that of the previous day but a large number of prominent Mahomedans were present.

8.—Sandhurst Committee's Report.

Maulvi Mahomed YAKUB, moved a resolution urging upon the Government the necessity of publishing the report of the Sandhurst Committee with a view to giving the Legislative Assembly an opportunity to consider it in the Delhi Session and trusting that the Government would take early action in the direction of accelerating the Indianisation of the Army.

Mirza Itjaz Hussain of Delhi, in supporting the resolution, said that Mahomedans were more concerned about Indianisation of the Army, because they were more fit for this kind of service. The resolution was carried unanimously.

9.—The Statutory Commission

Mr. Malik Barkatali of Lahore next moved that the Muslim community should be properly represented on the Statutory Commission when it was appointed. The mover, in a long speech, dealt with the necessity of the appointment of a Muslim who could command confidence of the whole community The resolution was passed without much discussion.

10.—Reforms for N W F. Province.

Mr. Abdul AZIZ next moved a resolution urging on the Government to introduce reforms in the North-West Frontier Province immediately. The mover said that in the India Office and in England, a wrong notion was spread that the inhabitants of the Province were Afridis. This was entirely wrong. He took an opportunity of explaining to Lord Morley that it was not so. He pointed out that such demand was made by the Muslim League, the Assembly and other organisations more than once, yet the Government had not taken any action The people of the North-West Frontier province, he emphasised, were in no way inferior to the inhabitants of any other province. They were on the other hand remarkably superior in physical strength

Mr. Sayid Kaim Shah, in supporting the resolution, said that the inhabitants of the province in general and Kashmir, in particular, would not be satisfied if the reforms were not introduced forthwith. He maintained that they were nor inferior educationally to any other province. The Punjab was not prepared to take them in. Therefore the only course was to fight for Reforms.

Mr. L. K. Hyder said that it was not desirable to amalgamate the province with the Punjab. There must be a frontier province. He referred to the notion amongst certain people that if Reforms were given to the province they would look beyond the Khyber pass. This he said was entirely wrong. If ever there was a province in which there was homogeneity of language, religion and race it was in the North-west Frontier Province. Therefore from all points of view it was the only province for Reforms. Another argument put forward by the opposition was that the financial position of the

province was not sufficient to withstand any foreign invasion. Defence he said was a non-provincial question. It was an All-India question and should not be expected to be met from the finance of any particular province

Sir Abdur Rahim said that as there was unanimity of opinion amongst the Muslims that the Frontier Province should get reforms, he hoped that the Government of India would consider the question carefully.

Malik Barkat Ali of the Punjab and Mirza Ali Mahomed of Bombay voicing the sentiments of their co-religionists in their respective provinces emphasised the necessity of giving reforms to the North-West Frontier Province immediately. The resolution was eventually put to vote and carried.

At this time the League adjourned for lunch, but met again in the afternoon when some important business was transacted and the meeting was adjourned *sine die*. The most important resolution of the session was moved by Mr. M. A. Jinnah as follows :—

11.—The Reforms and Representation.

"That the All-India Muslim League has repeatedly defined its position with regard to real advance in the future constitution of India in its sessions in 1924 and 1925 and reaffirms the resolution passed at its session at Aligarh in December 1925 to the following effect, namely, that whereas the speedy attainment of full responsible Government is one of the declared objects of the League and it is now generally felt and recognised that the conception of Swaraj should be translated into the realm of practical politics, and whereas it is the declared policy of the British Government also to enable the people of India to take a decisive part in the moulding of their own destinies which is marked by the declaration of August 1917 and the enactment of 1919 which formed a definite epoch in the history of India as a herald of the time when India will possess full autonomy and will rank as an equal with the Dominions and with the United Kingdom itself as a member of the British Commonwealth,

"The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the present constitution of India must be amended and urges that for this purpose the Government should undertake a revision of the Government of India Act 1919 and without any delay, appoint a Royal Commission to formulate, after due enquiry and investigation, a scheme so as to place the Indian constitution on a sound and permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress to establish full responsible Government in India and thereby secure stability in the Government and willing co-operation of the people,

"Provided, however, that for any scheme of the future constitution of India, the All-India Muslim League reaffirms and unequivocally declares that the following basic and fundamental principles must be secured and guaranteed namely, (1) All legislatures of the country and other elected bodies be constituted on a definite principle of adequate and effective representation of the minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or to an equality; (2) representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of a joint electorate, and (3) the territorial re-distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal, and North-West Frontier Provinces; (4) full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities, (5) no bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body of three-fourths of the members of any community if that particular body oppose such a Bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such a case.

"The League hereby appoints a Committee of the following gentlemen as the Central Committee in order to formulate a scheme so far as possible in consultation with a Committee or committees that may be appointed by other political organisations and to report the same to the Council of the League for the consideration of the League and for submission to the Royal Commission when it is appointed. The League also appoints provincial committees with power to add to their number to prepare and define a scheme of future reforms to be submitted to the Central Committee for their consideration."

[The following are the members of the Central Committee referred to above: (1) Mr. Jinnah, (2) Sir Abdur Rahim, (3) Mr. Abdul Aziz, (4) Sir Mahomed Shafi, (5) Sheikh Abdul Qadir, (6) Maulvi Mahomed Yakub, (7) Sir Ali Imam, (8) Mr. Mahomed Hussain and (9) Sir Abdul Qaiyum.]

Mr. JINNAH, in moving the resolution, made a long speech. He said that the resolution laid down as the first proposition that the League desired that the Government of India Act 1919 must be amended and that a definite advance of a democratic character must be made. The Mahomedans were not in agreement with any policy of non-co-operation with the Government nor did they sanction the policy of obstruction or of making the reforms impossible From the last elections, it was clear that the Muslims wished to work the Reforms for what they were worth. They were anxious to see that their future position in the country was thoroughly defined and secured.

Reverting to the Lucknow Pact he said that it was not made by their request. The initiative came from the National Congress although there were differences of opinion, he thought that the Pact was the finest temporary solution of the difficulties. He then referred to the Congress point of view on the subject of the Mahomedan position in the country and said that it was far from assuring. No responsible Congressman or Hindu leader had come forward with a concrete proposal with regard to the future of the Mahomedan community. Individual pronouncements were, however, made by one person or other; nothing definite was forthcoming There was no escaping away from the fact, communalism did exist in the country By mere talk and sentiment it could not be removed. Nationalism could not be created by having a mixed electorate The history of Canada showed that a separate electorate system did not prove an obstacle in the progress of representative government. He earnestly appealed to the leaders of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha to accept the hand of friendship and fellowship of the Mahomedan community, to meet, confer and exchange views in real seriousness to find out a solution. A resolution to the effect which he was moving to-day was sent in 1924 to the Secretaries of the Congress, but no encouraging reply was received by the League. He appealed to the Muslims and Hindu leaders to let the past be forgotten and the hatchet be buried and meet in a spirit of friendship and fellowship for formulating a common demand. "We desire nothing else but justice and fairness and I assure you that if we, the two communities, can settle our differences, it will be more than half work for responsible Government won. But if, unfortunately, there is going to be a failure and it is our misfortune that we cannot come to a settlement, the next course open to the Mahomedans is that we must prepare our case for placing before the Royal Commission and fight the battle." If the Royal Commission did not satisfy the Mahomedans, they could carry their struggle to the highest tribunal. They would maintain that a principle which was sacred and was a matter of life and death to them must be secured, but he hoped that there was brighter future for the Moslems He hoped that better minds amongst the Muslims and Hindus will realise that the only course for India was to work in friendship, harmony and co-operation. He hoped that India would rise to that nationhood for which they were aspiring.

A number of speakers then voiced the same sentiment as that of Mr. Jinnah. Dr. Kitchlew said that once the principle of the resolution was accepted by the Hindus, all mistrust amongst the two communities would disappear On account of their numerical strength, it was for the Hindus to rise to the occasion and by pleasing the Muslims to win their hearts.

Sir Abdur Rahim said that it was impossibe to imagine that the Muslim community in India should be satisfied with being relegated to a position of political insignificance under any Government. With regard to the question of the electorate, he said that the principles which were applicable to the conditions in England or other Western democratic Governments were not applicable to the peculiar conditions in India. In some quarters it was stated that Mahomedans returned to the Council through separate electorates were less patriotic and nationalist in outlook. He instanced the case of Bengal and said that the fear was an erroneous one. Mahomedans in the Councils were as earnest set of workers in the case of political advancement of the country as anybody else. If representative Government was required in the country, it was only essential that separate electorates should be continued. Otherwise the Legislatures would no longer be representative. A Government official exercised great influence on the progress of his community. If seventy million Mahomedans were denied a proper share of the administration, it was not possible for them to protect their interests and to advance their cause. Concluding, the speaker emphasised that it was the unanimous desire of the community to have adequate representation in the services and have their own electorate.

Three more speakers expressed their views and the resolution was eventually carried amidst cheers. The proceedings of the League then came to a close.

THE ALL-INDIA

Political Sufferers' Conference

GAUHATI—THE 27TH DECEMBER 1926.

The All-India Political Sufferers' Conference met at Gauhati on the 27th December under the presidency of Dr. B. N. Dutt. Mr. N. C. BARDOLOI, Chairman, Reception Committee, in his address of welcome, said:

"My dear fellow sufferers, ladies and gentlemen, I extend my heartfelt welcome to you to Assam in this Pandunagar whereto we have come to attend this annual meet which not only serves as the main meeting ground for all independence-loving men of India but also serves to keep alive the only organisation which is expected to be the future Parliament of India, namely the Indian National Congress. But we meet here to-day under the shadow of a great calamity. Swami Shraddhanandji is no more. A man with keen eagle eyes, distinguished erect figure and straightforward and sincere nature, he is still before my mind's eyes. The man whom ten Gurkha bayonets could not touch at Delhi was struck down by the hand of Caine. A thrill of horror and sorrow has passed through the whole of India and it affected little Assam also. However, let us remember that inscrutable are the ways of Providence and God in his infinite kindness might have inflicted the greatest pain with a view to cure a continuous and galling pain. Our greatest concern is that a great sufferer and a brave soldier for the country's freedom has gone out of our ranks leaving us weaker and poorer. Let me also express our profoundest sorrow at the death of the great Chittaranjan who was always the friend, philosopher and guide of the political sufferers. I believe in my heart of hearts that the Indian National Congress has got a definite meaning since the Non-co-operation movement. However much I may differ from any of the parties which now compose the Indian National Congress, my only ambition is that I shall boldly and forcefully put forward my views and fight for my ideals and if I fail and the majority wills otherwise, I shall obey the will of the majority as the views of the country just as they do in England or any other free country.

"In the history of this nation, there was only one period when the whole of India was practically united by a common ideal and practically carried everything before it in their non-violent onslaught and that was in 1921. All honour to the great saint of the century, our revered friend and leader, Mahatma Gandhi. Times have changed since then and are changing fast. Practical ideals are now dead stones or fossils. But the main idea running through all is that we should free our motherland from the evils of a bureaucratic government. There are many amongst us who were perfect No-Changers in 1921, but who have changed to-day to Swarajists or Responsivists. What does it matter? The sufferers have proved by their suffering that they are striving for independence. The great *Paramatman* free and we as small particles of the great infinity must be imbued

with his virtues to some extent. The whole inner being is crying for freedom, the whole nature is pervaded with the ideal of freedom. Can it be considered for a moment that there is a single individual amongst us to-day who does not want to be free? In striving for these ideals, if one has suffered, it is the suffering of a patriot, a real soldier's. Nobody should complain of his suffering. It is the proud privilege of humanity to suffer for the good of mankind. So, my friends and fellow-sufferers, I pray of you never to complain or to parade your sufferings before others. I find that many a weak brothers get embittered by their sufferings when they see wordly-wise men making up their piles of gold and when they called them mad men. True it is that there are many a political sufferer worried and wounded in heart in their struggle for existence. But the wonderful thing is that whenever opportunity arises, it is they who rush to suffer afresh. The band of selfless sufferers are small and scattered and I believe that this organisation of political sufferers will make it possible for them to know each other and to keep up a spirit of camaraderie just as a spirit of camaraderie must exist in the army for efficient working.

"I understand that the principal aim of the organisation is to help them in every possible way. The honourable President-elect will give you a lead regarding the conditions of the political sufferers and I hope he will give you a lead as to how best to help them. I find to my great pleasure that many a political sufferer, free from the worry of securing Government employment, has taken to trade, commerce or other callings. Some of them are doing very well. Indeed, their examples ought to be followed. There are some again who have taken to the production of Khaddar and spinning, simplifying their habits and striving to fulfil the ideals of Mahatmaji. In the excitement of 1921, the charkha found great favour with the masses because it was generally associated with the idea of paralysing Manchester and thereby forcing the Government to come to terms. But shorn of this excitement, Khaddar has now steadily increased in production and it is now being worked as a means of economic salvation of the country. I cannot think of anything better than this for the political sufferers. Charkha spinning and Khaddar business is now a practical business proposition. I leave it to you to decide whether it should not be made one of the primary duties of political sufferers to take to Khaddar work. I do not propose to inflict my political opinions on you any more but I do hope that this Conference will give you a clear and definite lead as to the duties of political sufferers and how best they can help each other and be helped by the public".

The Presidential Address.

Presiding over the Conference, Dr. Bhupendra Nath DATTA pleaded for constructive work among the masses of India by organising them on an economic basis so that passive resistance could have some force and they would be in a position to challenge the alien bureaucracy. Otherwise exciting them through religious passion and goading them to civil disobedience would only make them food for British cannon. So far the Indian national movement was a class movement, a movement of the middle classes fighting against the domination of the British middle class over India. It was wanting to get control of the means and instruments of production in India in its own hands; failing in it, at least to have

a share of it in the exploitation of India's wealth. The non-co-operation movement having got the masses in their hands, accepted the policy of direct action and the tactics of social revolutionaries of the west. The non-violent non co- tion policy with its tactics of hartals, satyagraha, civil disobedience etc., when divested of their Hindu phraseologies and translated into international political terminologies, were known as nation-wide general strike, passive resistance, sabotage, boycott, mass action and direct action. All these were tactics of occidental revolutionary parties but the frenzied mass energy broke loose at Malabar and again at Chauri Chaura. The revolutionary middle class leaders got frightened out of their wits in seeing the spectre of revolution which they had helped to conjure up and capitulated at Bardoli and as a result, the off-tide of non-co-operation began. The Indian bourgeoisie alone had proved itself to be important to wrest freedom from foreign masters and the new phase of asking the masses to join in politics had been ushered in. But all honour to those of them who had suffered for their revolutionary political activities and for ushering in the new phase in Indian politics.

"We are poor nameless untouchables and like the story of Achilles and the tortoise the wrath of the alien bureaucracy follows incessantly our heels. Yet we have still dynamic energy left in us which will be of some service to the cause of freedom. Up till now, the masses of India have been exploited for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. The feudal aristocracy has eliminated itself from the arena of the fight for freedom. The bourgeoisie which wants to wrest the political power from its alien rival sought the aid of the masses to gain their object. The Indian bourgeoisie wants to end the struggle with the rival by a round table conference and time is not distant when the bourgeoisie in getting what it wants will withdraw itself from the alien rival and the struggle for national liberation. Rather it will join hands with its rival in exploiting the masses in order to have a share in the means and instruments of production of India It therefore behoves the workers for freedom to work with this social class and organise them instead of being agents of armchair politicians."

Proceeding, the president urged the necessity for starting a fund to alleviate the sufferings of the families of their comrades and help the needy sufferer. As one who had recently returned from exile, the president pleaded strongly for the exiles. To his opinion these exiles, instead of living a dog's life in India, could be of better service to India from abroad. In every country where they lived they could open our cause to help Indians in every way to establish friendship with the nations of those lands. Such attempts had been made in the past by the exiles both in Germany and America but without help from the motherland they could not do much. The future of India lay in being a part of international politics and in order to enlist the sympathy of other countries, the Indians must do extensive foreign propaganda there.

As for the release of our comrades in Indian jails, there must be country-wide propaganda. Indian people did not dwell in bar libraries and in chambers of commerce but in factories and fields. They must mobilize intellectuals for the service of the masses. Political suffereres know they were poor, but it was the poor people who had always ushered in new eras in the history.

Work before the Conference.

The task before the conference was as follows:—"All the political sufferers should be knit together into one unit and an All-India association of theirs as the nucleus of a new movement must be formed. In order to train the workers a school must be founded in a suitable place where they will be trained in history, political science, theoretical and applied sociologies, social psychology, economics, civics, etc. After being trained in these arts and imbued with the psychology of the proletariat, they should go to that toiling masses and work amongst them. The field and factory workers and the toiling masses in general should be organised in labour unions. A detailed plan of it can be matured later on. In order to start a new movement amongst the broad masses of the people, a propaganda department has to be established. Books expressing new ideologies and an organ of the movement will have to be given out. Co-operative movement in all its aspects, viz, credit societies, consumer's societies, agricultural loan banks, agricultural co-operative societies must be started which will be of great help to the chronic poverty-stricken masses. The unemployed intellectuals can take up this work with profit, for we will have to appeal to the people to support this people's movement and a fund has to be raised to meet all these expenses. A "paisa" fund ought to be started for this aim. Taking these things as the minimum programme in our hands, let us go amongst the masses and organize them. We must realise it for certain that the battle of India's freedom shall never be won in the councils, in the assemblies and by demagogy."

Resolutions.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Conference —

(1) Resolved (a) that in order to keep a record of the national movement the provincial organisations of the Hindustani Sangha do prepare detailed lists of all political sufferers in their respective provinces and submit the same to the All-India office before 1st (?) 1927, (b) that funds be raised to help the needy and deserving political sufferers and their dependents in accordance with the recommendations of the Executive Committee.

(2) With a view to strengthen the masses of the country and remove their crushing poverty this Conference exhorts all Indians to use as far as possible only Swadeshi things for their daily requirements and to confine their requirements to things made in this country.

(3) That this Conference exhorts the people of India to face all kinds of injustice and oppression with weapons of determined passive resistance.

(4) That this Conference immediately begins organising field and factory workers and the employees all over the country.

(5) That this Conference sends its greetings to the British proletariat and asks their co-operation in the common cause of freedom from all kinds of exploitation.

After appointing a provisional committee with Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon as Secretary, to frame necessary rules for the organisation and another committee to collect funds to give effect to the first resolution the Conference was dissolved.

Constitution.

When the resolutions of the Conference were being discussed, Mr. Shaukat Ali wanted to know positively as to what was the constitution of the conference. He further added that unless or until they could know the constitution it was difficult to ascertain whether the conference was pro-Congress or anti-Congress. The Conference appointed a committee to formulate a constitution.

SECOND SESSION OF THE

All-India Volunteers' Conference

GAUHATI—THE 27TH DECEMBER 1926.

The second session of the All-India Volunteers' Conference was held at Gauhati on the 27th December under the presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru. The President of the Congress, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Horniman, Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali and Mrs. Gandhi attended.

Mr. Kuladhar CHALIHA, in welcoming the delegates to the Conference, said in the course of his Address: 'Discipline is the guiding principle of all volunteers and they must be ready and willing to merge all their personal prediliction to that of their commandant. It would be useless to call oneself a volunteer unless one is punctual and thorough in his work. It has been brought to the notice of authorities of several Seva Dals that in some places threat to strike and refusal to take food are the most embarrassing situations in which the commandants were placed by their volunteers whose guiding principle should have been to put up with all inconvenience in the matter of food, raiment and accommodation. As volunteers for the national and social cause, they must always be prepared to bear all hardships and privation, difficulties and inconveniences. The movement is a peaceful movement and so they should work in a non-violent way. Their duty is not to question why. Theirs is to do and die. Self-assertion in a soldier is a dangerous thing and a true volunteer like a true soldier should always obey implicitly.

" Service and sacrifice are the essential qualities of volunteers. We are a subject race and our sacrifice must be in inverse ratio to the degree of our subjection. Otherwise there is hardly any hope for regaining our freedom and liberty. To Mr. Hardikar belongs the credit of organising and expanding the volunteer movement and it is up to young men of India to organise on the line he has suggested. The volunteer movement is the mainspring of their national life and unless they have an efficient volunteer force they would never be able to work and Swaraj would be out of question."

In conclusion, he appealed to all to protect the national flag from all dishonour and if necessary to die for it, for the flag was the symbol of national self-respect and national pride.

Presidential Address.

After the Reception Committee Chairman's address was over, Pandit Nehru delivered a stirring speech in English. He regretted the absence of Mr. T. C. Goswami, the President-elect due to illness. The Pandit humorously said that he was not the president but was there to introduce the elected president who was behind the scene. The Pandit expressed his thorough concurrence with the beautiful speech of the President of the Reception Committee and said

that the latter had put in a nutshell the duties of volunteers to the country. The immediate cultivation of an *espirit de corps* was required among volunteers without which no service could be rendered to the country. He said that the volunteer movement was yet in its infancy, but the day was in sight when it would take the form of a regular trained army. He urged that with the exception of arms required for the military, there should be nothing wanted in the Indian army of volunteers. No country had ever achieved freedom without sacrifice and if Indians wanted freedom, sacrifice should be their motto.

Continuing, the Pandit regretted at the harrowing happenings in the country which, he said, had taken a dangerous form in the assassination of their revered leader. The mischief required to be nipped in the bud. The Pandit was of the belief that the day would come when they would be able to replace the police by volunteers for which a perfect organisation was necessary. Concluding Pt. Nehru said "Volunteers, remember you are soldiers of unity. You must girdle up your loins to restore unity. You are the future army of India."

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, the Congress President, next distributed the prizes to Karnatak volunteers for enlisting 15,000 volunteers. Mr. H. K. Krishna won the first prize for enlisting 1,800 members.

Two resolutions were then passed in five minutes. The first urged the opening of branches of Hindustani Seva Dal in all towns, districts and provinces and requested the Congress organizations to help in that matter. The second appealed for financial help. Maulana Shaukat Ali, Messrs. Harisarvottam Rao, Rajendra Prasad and Mrs. Perine, grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naroji, spoke very briefly on the resolutions.

Mr. A. Swali of Burma donated Rs. 500 on the spot. With a strong appeal for funds by Maulana Shaukat Ali and usual thanks to the chair the meeting dispersed. All business was over in an hour. Mr. Goswami's short presidential address was read by Mr. Harisarvotam Rao. The following is the text.—

Mr Goswami's Address.

Delegates, Volunteers, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The composition of a Presidential address to the Volunteers' Conference for the second year in succession, I find, is a difficult task. It is not merely a literary difficulty, it is the difficulty of one who in inaugurating a new year has also to render an account for the old year. The honour—which I prize as beyond my deserts—of being called upon to assume the responsibilities of another session of the Volunteers' Conference is embarassing; for I feel I have to submit myself not only to considerable self-examination but also to a public verdict on my tenure of office as President of the All India Volunteer Board during the year which is about to close. And, after all, I am not able to present to you any glowing record of proud achievements. Our efforts have been humble, the measure of their fruition has been even humble. But the infant movement is getting out of its swaddling clothes and its lisping speech. It is learning to struggle against inclement circumstances, It has begun its conscious struggle for existence, its appeal is in louder tones and in accents more distinct, determined to have the ear of India; it is acquiring strength of body and mind by waging contention against forces of disruption and the decay of our national solidarity.

As I began by telling you, we are unable to offer you proof of concrete achievement. Yet, if you look around, you will, I am sure, endorse our claim to those intangible results which are not the less valuable because they elude occular grasp or because they can be argued out of dialectic existence. The message of our movement has reached the furthest ends of our country and has provoked thought in

the minds of thousands of men and women, who are realising the need and the usefulness of co-ordination of activities and the organisation of disciplined action. Under the influence of a great political upheaval, such as we had in 1920 and 1921, volunteers enrolled themselves in tens of thousands to serve their countrymen and to defy the unjust ban of the foreign Government, presenting a spectacle of enthusiastic patriotism which thrilled the country and awed the tyrants. But that was temporary. So are organisations which grow up in connection with specific events, some of which render marvellous service. Our aim has been, and, I hope, will continue to be, to perpetuate the volunteering spirit and to give permanency to institutions, which encourage and develop it. We want to give a direction to the entire volunteer movement and to infuse it with a national purpose.

We must not aim at centralisation, but rather the opposite; and the ties and strings that should bind different organisations must be silken threads of spontaneous loyalty, the basic fibre of which is freedom. The All-India Volunteer Board must realise that good Government is that which, without sacrificing efficiency and discipline, appears to govern least. The new constitution which we framed in Delhi in February last gives almost complete autonomy to provincial organisations. I am convinced that the provinces should develop their volunteer organisations in their own way. At the same time some practical hints and guiding principles which experience has taught us to regard as essentially helpful, should be accepted by all.

Last year I emphasised the non-partisan character of our movement. At the same time I pointed out our connection with the Indian National Congress. We must support the Congress unless new developments make it inadvisable to do so—a contingency, which I am loath to contemplate. I appeal to the Provincial Congress Committees to take up more earnestly the work of building up Provincial Volunteer Boards, and to induce the Districts to take up the work. The need for volunteers is constantly felt (1) in times of threatened disturbance, (2) for gatherings of pilgrims on sacred days, and (3) for Congresses and Conferences. The time has come when permanent organisations are required, and efforts, however glorious, are proving inadequate.

One great service which the Volunteer movement can render the Congress is the enlistment of members of the Congress. I hope this year's Congress will recognise this.

In conclusion, I must express the country's indebtedness to our General Secretary, Dr. Hardiker, whose untiring zeal never yields to despondency even when it receives little response.

I apologise for my inability to deliver the address personally at Gauhati. I am prevented, under medical orders, from undertaking the long journey. I trust the deliberations will be ably conducted with the co-operation of those who compose the Conference.

THE TENTH SESSION OF THE

Non-Brahmin Confederation

MADURA—THE 25TH & 26TH DECEMBER 1926.

The tenth session of the Non-Brahmin Confederation opened at Madura on the 25th December 1926 under the presidency of Sir A. P. Patro. In welcoming the delegates to the Conference Mr. M. T. Subramana MUDALIAR, Chairman of the Reception Committee, said that their movement was both national and democratic. It was started for the purpose of rousing various communities from their long stupor and lethargy to social and political consciousness. It was not based on any narrow political principles or hatred of any particular community. The idea underlying the movement was equal opportunities for all. He added that they were not against Brahmins but against Brahminic monopolisation of power at the expense of other communities. Co-operation of all communities especially that of Brahmins and non-Brahmins, was necessary for the salvation of the country. But, he maintained, co-operation between the two commuuities must be natural and spontaneous and this could be effected only when an illusory sense of superiority by birth becomes extinct in their Brahmin brethren. Continuing, he said that though their party had got a set back in the recent elections, yet the fact remained that principles for which the party stood, remained unchanged and unshaken. The set back was due to lack of organisation and of their gross neglect of electorates. So he suggested that the first business of the confederation should be to re-organise the party and start the work of associations throughout the presidency so that by the time the next elections came, they might be so well organised to come in such a large majority as to outnumber all possible combinations of other parties against them in the council. Only then they could be in a position to take their share in the reformed constitution.

The Presidential Address.

Sir A. P. Patro began his address by referring to the dominant "Time Spirit" of Nationalism, which, he said, required leadership of persons of experience, talent and above all practical statesmanship. He then feelingly referred to the tragic death of Swami Shraddhanand. He said that the vision of responsible government was before the nation and the leaders who desired to be true to their country could no longer afford to be visionaries, The formation of the *Justice* movement had proved of immense practical and political utility to the Madras Presidency. Patrotism required the full utilization of every scheme of reform for what it might be worth and the policy of obstruction and rejection, whether from within or without the Council, should be opposed by those who had the good of the country at heart. To oppose where we should co-operate, would be the height of unpatriotism. The *Justice* party had been discharging its functions as a constitutional party ever since the advent of the non-co-operation movement.

It has been actuated by service of the masses and has struggled hard to redress communal inequalities, preponderance and monopoly. The Reforms scheme, declared Sir A. P. Patro, made a definite advance towards responsible government. Notwithstanding its defects, it deserved to be worked for what it was worth.

Sir A. P. Patro maintained that a close analysis of the elections in the Madras Presidency showed that the country had been with the *Justice* party and returned a substantial majority of constitutionalists and nationalists not opposed to communal justice. He urged that the next step in their political advance must naturally be provincial autonomy under adequate safeguards. Unless those who had gained actual experience co-operated with the Statutory Commission, complications and mistakes might set in and the object of British statesmen might not be gained. The Central Government should be correspondingly modified with the advent of provincial autonomy.

He emphasized the necessity of political education of the masses for the political evolution of the country, and said that caste must gradually disappear and until its disappearance caste bigotry and exclusiveness must be replaced by tolerance, good-will and a spirit of equality. The task called for immediate attention in view of the constitutional advance ahead. He concluded by saying: 'It is of utmost importance that efforts should be made to promote inter-communal cordiality and good-will, as communal antagonism is certain to prove disastrous to national advancement. Every community must be trained to think of what is due to others and the best minds of the country must be directed to achieve this result.'

Resolutions.

The confederation then adjourned to meet again on the next day the 26th Dec. when it passed resolutions relating to temple entry, the release of the Bengal prisoners or their trial in courts, equal treatment in jails and railway refreshment rooms, the immediate establishment of Tamil University and permanent settlement in the presidency. The confederation hoped that the Round Table Conference on the South African question would bring about satisfactory results. It was resolved, to put the work of the confederation on a stronger basis, to form a committee and establish youth leagues throughout the presidency.

A resolution supporting and appealing to the Viceroy to give his assent to the Hindu Religious Endowments Bill was passed. Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar, in moving the resolution, warned that if this Bill which had been passed by two successive Legislative Councils was now interfered with, non-Brahmans of every school of political thought would stand as one man to condemn it.

The Raja of Panagal, leader of the party, speaking at the conclusion of the conference, said that their movement stood for equal opportunities for all and wanted to put down monopolies. Their enemies believed that by defeating the Justice party they would put down the Justice movement. They counted without the host. Their defeat had only roused them. He was glad to sit in the opposition after six years of power.

The confederation then came to a close.

TWENTIETH SESSION OF THE

U. P. Provincial Conference

KASHIPUR—THE 5TH DECEMBER 1926.

Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta, president-elect of the U. P. Provincial Conference, reached Kashipur (Naini Tal) on the morning of the 4th December. In the afternoon he was taken in procession through the main roads of the town.

The conference met at 2 p.m., on Sunday, the 5th Dec. Among those present, besides the president-elect, were Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena, Babu Sri Prakash, Babu Sampurnanand and Chaudhri Raghubir Narayan Singh.

The Welcome Address.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant then read out the welcome address of Kunwar Anand Singh, Chairman of the Reception Committee. The Kunwar declared that only a return to the old civilization of ancient India could solve the problems of the world. But the world would not assess that civilization at its proper value until India had regained self-Government. Petty things, he continued, should not be allowed to detract their attention from greater ones. So long as India did not get Swaraj, what difference did it make if they had more schools and hospitals, better roads or a few more Government posts? They must, therefore, concentrate their energies on their efforts to get Swaraj. Mr. Gandhi had shown them the way and it was for them to proceed along it. He made a vigorous appeal for Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Presidential Address.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant then proposed and Chaudhri Raghubir Narayan Singh, Thakur Manjeet Singh Rathore, Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena and Pandit Badridutt Pandey supported the election of Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta to the presidential chair.

Babu Shiva Prasad GUPTA then read his address in Hindi, of which the following is a summary:—

Speaking about the meaning of Swaraj, he said that its only simple meaning was "our rule" which meant power to decide the system of Government of our country in accordance with our own wishes, free from all interference by foreigners. As to the method of achieving Swaraj, he laid stress on constructive programme to be adhered to patiently and perseveringly which alone could create that atmosphere which was necessary to carry out non-co-operation or civil disobedience successfully.

He asked the Muslims to consider seriously if it was possible for the civilisation of Arabia to flourish in Indian soil. The mode of living and the

culture of India would surely be quite different from that of Arabia. He urged them to follow the well-known proverb "When in Rome, do as Romans do." On the other hand he asked the Hindus to bear in mind that the time of egoism had gone and that there was nobody who could be called "Melchcha."

After laying great stress on the production of Khadi without which, he explained, India could not be free in respect of cloth, he turned to the question of councils. He thought it a waste of energy, time and money to seek election to the present councils, for "the freedom's battle could not be fought within them." But "at the same time" he continued, "he could not completely ignore them, as much harm to the country was likely to be done by their mere existence."

He could not favour the policy advocated by the Independent Congress party or the Responsive Co-operation party which was in a way similar to the policy of the Moderates or Liberals. He suggested that the Gauhati Congress should make its policy regarding councils clear, and should resolve that if Congressmen did not secure the majority of seats in the Assembly and in more than half of the total number of provincial councils in the country, they should walk out from them. But if they secure the requisite majority they should be permitted to give trial to their policy up to March and April, and in case it was not possible for them to do something substantial within that period, they should be asked to come out of them.

He suggested that at least two hundred paid workers should be appointed in each province by spending a lakh of Rupees to carry out the constructive programme of the Congress in tahsils and districts, and this, he thought, will revolutionize the whole atmosphere of the country in five years. He supported foreign propaganda and federation of Asiatic countries.

In the end Mr. Gupta drew the attention of the audience to the resolutions passed recently by the Imperial Conference which rendered the dominions practically independent of, and no longer subordinate to the British Empire. He regretted that although India still remained where she was erst-while, yet the Maharaja of Burdwan declared that India was proud of Britain's sovereignty over her. "It is a matter of shame for us" said Mr. Gupta "that still there are Indians to be found who take pride in India's disgraceful bonbage." The Conference then adjourned.

SECOND DAY—THE 6TH DECEMBER 1926.

The Conference met again in the afternoon of Monday, the 6th December. The first resolution, which was put from the chair, welcomed Mr. Gandhi who was to visit those provinces in January.

Pandit Shrikrishna Dutta Paliwal moved the *SECOND* resolution which recommended to the Gauhati Congress to resolve that no member of any Congress executive should act against the decisions of the Congress, and if any member did so he must be removed from the executive.

Pandit Gauri Shankar Misra moved an amendment which fell for want of a seconder and the resolution was carried.

Babu Sampurnanand moved and Mr. Paliwal seconded the *THIRD* resolution which congratulated all who had helped the Congress in the elections, regretted that certain leaders had opposed the Congress, thus further streng-

thening the bureaucracy, and urged the Gauhati Congress to decide some definite policy and programme for work within the Council.

The speaker said that the heart of the populace was sound and there was faith in the Congress and the motives of Congressmen, but the interference of others had spoiled national work. He did not impugn the motive of the Congress leaders but jealousy and lack of confidence ruined them as now in the past. Those who have opposed the Congress have worked against the country, even if their motives were good. Great leaders have said that the Congress crushed Hindu interests and invited the Afghans. Now a definite policy, he continued, was wanted for those who had gone to the Council as well as a definite programme for those who were outside the Councils.

Several speakers took part in the discussion regarding this resolution. After it was seconded by Mr. Srikrishnadutta Paliwal an amendment to the effect that the Congress should have nothing to do with the elections was moved by Mr. Gaurishankar Misra. The amendment was seconded by Mr. Ramsaran Singh. Maulana Shaukat Ali said, he still thought that the Councils were useless. He was a soldier and wanted all to have the spirit of a soldier and obey the Congress. Those Congressmen who were opposed to the Cawnpore resolutions should have resigned from the Congress before opposing the Congress candidates. On return from abroad he was surprised to find quarrels in the Provincial Congress Committee and none heard his instructions, though he was elected its President. Mr. Sampurnanand replied briefly the arguments raised against the resolution. The amendment was rejected and the original resolution was passed unanimously.

Maulana Shaukat Ali then moved the *FOURTH* resolution recommending widespread use of charkha and khadi as the sole means of the country's progress and freedom. Mahatmaji told him that some important members of the Agricultural Commission held that in an agricultural country charka was the possible life-giving cottage industry. It was passed unanimously and the meeting adjourned.

THIRD DAY—THE 7TH DECEMBER 1926.

When the conference re-assembled on the next day, the 7th December, a resolution was passed condemning the grazing tax levied in the hill districts.

The *SIXTH* resolution, moved by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, regretted the communal dissensions which enabled the Government to take away old privileges like those of taking Ramlila processions and good-will between the different communities. The resolution was carried.

Babu Purshottam Das Tandon moved the *SEVENTH* resolution to the effect that communal electorates had proved very harmful and that the Gauhati Congress should work for their abolition. It was passed.

Thakur Munjit Singh Rathore moved the *EIGHTH* resolution protesting against the treatment meted out to under-trial political prisoners in general and to Babu Damodar Swarup Seth, an accused in the Kakori case in particular. The resolution was supported by Babu Raghava Das and passed.

After the usual vote of thanks, the conference dissolved at 6 in the evening.

EIGHTH SESSION OF THE

Andhra Provincial Conference

ELLORE—THE 28TH NOVEMBER 1926.

The Eighth Andhra Provincial Conference commenced its momentous session on the 28th November at 2-30 p.m. in the Panduranga Cinema Hall, Ellore, with much eclat. The hall was filled with delegates and visitors, numbering about 2,000. On the big dias were seated the President-elect, distinguished visitors, and leaders.

After the singing of national song by the boys and girls of Santiniketanam of Guntur, Mr. A. Govindachryulu, Chairman of the Reception Committee delivered his welcome address. The following are interesting extracts from his speech :—

"The duty of giving you a hearty welcome on behalf of the West Godavary public is bestowed upon me by the Reception Committee, and I accordingly welcome you cordially to the Conference.

"In a few days the Indian National Congress will meet at Gauhati to determine the programme for the next year. As our resolutions will undoubtedly influence the deliberations of the Congress, we have to discuss all the problems calmly and fully.

"Though at the last Andhra Provincial Conference at Masulipatam a resolution had been passed, defining Swaraj as complete Independence, it was however not accepted by the Congress.

"For all living beings, from the lowest to the highest, the desire for liberty is inborn. This desire for liberation from bondage to supreme bliss will always be vibrating in our hearts and there shall be no mundane influence to obstruct the heart's desire to obtain that supreme bliss.

Indians Abroad.

"By colour prejudice, we are subject to innumerable hardships in the Dominions. If the Empire is to serve as a peace-maker between itself and other free countries, there must be peace within the Empire itself. There must be harmony and goodwill amongst its various component parts. Instead of that, we find an organised attempt made to drive out the Indians from the Dominions.

"At the Imperial Conference recently held this problem was not at all touched. It is plain that the Empire is meant only for white Colonists and the coloured races have no voice in it. The policy of the radical imperialists to make it the home of white civilisation will be realised if things are allowed to drift as at present.

"There is no affinity between the culture and traditions of the East and the West. Cultural affinity exists among the various nations of the East. Such universal persons as Tagore may dream of a fusion of East and West. The attempt is highly visionary and not at all practicable. Unity is between equals. It is futile to visualise an union between two, when one party assumes airs of supremacy. The white man imagines himself a superman and

classifies all non-whites uncivilised. It is high time that all the Asiatic should organise themselves into a confederation for self-protection. Now it is the duty of the Congress to take all possible steps for the immediate formation of the Asiatic Federation.

League of Nations.

"Though the coloured races are not yet ready to organise themselves even for self-protection, yet the white nations, soon after the war, have actually begun to organise themselves into a league of nations to protect their own interests and maintain their hold upon the coloured races of the world. This institution failed miserably to attain its objects. It cannot protect the coloured subject races against the tyranny of their white masters for it is dominated by Imperialists. Now at least the Asiatic countries must wake up and disown their belief upon the mission of the league, and organise into a federation.

"In order to counteract this vicious attempt, strong propaganda work must be carried out only to protect our own interests and not for the sake of retaliation. But in foreign countries this may be misrepresented by the Government. People who travel abroad to become acquainted with foreign countries are influenced by British Embassies to speak and write about only the British point of view. When such untruthful propaganda is going on in the name of India we must at an early date, check this lie by means of efficient foreign propaganda.

"As we all know our liberation depends upon our own efforts—notwithstanding the formation of the Asiatic League and foreign propaganda. Unless we organise ourselves and strongly agitate to get our National Demand, it is futile to depend upon foreign interference and yearn for British justice. All reforms which were supposed to be bestowed upon us, were the outcome of strong popular demand.

"Lord Birkenhead is alarmed at the thought of the British relinquishing a bit of their present hold lest we should fly at one another's throat. He dreams only of streams of blood when once our irons are loosened a little bit. The other doctrines enunciated by our rulers are: (1) That the black races are not fit to enjoy political liberty. (2) if the whiteman's burden is removed from the groaning shoulder of the black they would cut each other's throats, (3) that the whites are the appointed masters to uplift the blacks from their degradation all round, (4) that the right of owner-ship and enjoyment of all the land said to be conquered by the sword vests with the whites for ever, and (5) that though this doctrine of conquest is outrageously spoken at all times, the subject races have to respect Law and Order and not attempt at all an armed revolt.

"His Lordship wants that the Royal Commission should only weigh our fitness and hints insultingly—white Empire before him dancing—that not only British but also Colonial Statesmen may form its panel. In none of his speeches does he speak of the Mandalay detenues. What is it for that he demands co-operation from India? Is it only for more submission and to disarm us entirely?

Elections and After.

"In 1923 elections the party advocating offices was to a large extent defeated. This year's elections also clearly manifested the true index of the country by returning Congressmen in large numbers. It is plain that N. C. O.

doctrines spread by Mahatmaji have been planted deep in the hearts of the people and they know full well without extraneous tuition and influence the relative value of contending parties. So, in the interests of the country, all parties should respect the verdict of the nation in favour of non-acceptance, as far as we can judge from the results in Madras and elsewhere and they should join the Congress, the only representative body of the Nation.

"At present no compromise is possible. The nation has returned the Congressmen on the ticket of non-acceptance of Office. If Congressmen now turn their eyes towards offices, they are deliberately prejudicing the nation's faith in the Congress.

"Our aim is to achieve Swaraj. We are not to reach our goal at the shortest time. If we can realise that all our evils fly away, what is then the programme for us now to arrive at that result? Any such programme must not be contrary to the fundamental principles of the Congress.

"There are, at the present day, three parties in the Congress: the Responsivists, the Swarajists and the No-Changers. Leaders like Messrs. Venkatappaiah, Vallabhai Patel and Sham Sundar Chakravarty are ever ready to sacrifice their lives for the achievement of Swaraj. Responsivists like Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar, Lalaji and Malavyaji have made immense sacrifices for the country and it is idle to question their patriotism and fidelity to the country. Hence it is the duty of the Swarajists to chalk out a programme in order to make the two groups join them and fight shoulder to shoulder against the bureaucracy. However desirable this amalgamation may be, the fundamentals must not be lost sight of. The Council programme was started with the aim of wresting the Councils from the Government supporters and show to the world at large their utter futility. During the last three years this aim was carried out in the Assembly and in the Councils of the C. P. and Bengal especially.

"Our programme should now therefore be a revision of the Cawnpore resolution, with slight alterations. At the very first sitting of the Councils, the Swarajist's have to vacate their seats with a declaration that they are going out of the Councils to organise the people for direct action. This method of action would expose the Government better than the obstruction both in and outside the Councils. This can be done by the Swarajists, whether they may be in maiority or minority. We cannot make the Councils work without a quorum, under their present constitution. In the Councils when there is a majority, it can be shown that they are worked only by Government members. If the Swarajists are in a minority, obstruction is impossible without the support of the Independents or Responsivists. As the latter are for offices, the Swarajists have either to support the Ministry or failing to obstruct, have to remain in vain.

"For any programme to be carried out successfully we cannot but think of Hindu-Muslim unity first. As Mahatmaji said that the foreign Government does not try for this unity, for trying for Hindu-Muslim unity and attempting to consolidate their power in India are two contradictory purposes. The policy of divide and rule is an age-long one since the East India Company stepped into India. Our leaders must try to spread this gospel of Unity among the masses.

"When once the work with the masses is taken up, in order to make them intelligently take to our programme, they must be lifted from their present position and they must be weaned from the habit of drink.

"Every year foreign cloth worth Rs. 70 crores is imported into India. By spreading Khaddar, we could stop the outflow of our wealth and thus help the poor. If we are to stop the whole outflow an intense propaganda throughout the length and breadth of our land must be carried out.

"All this intensive programme, keeping the Councils vacant, boycott of drink, labour organisation and constructive work is to be laid down only for one year. In this work, the no-changers will work whole-heartedly with the Swarajists; we have to accept a programme like this at the ensuing Congress and request Mahatmaji to lead us again as the period of silence which Mahatmaji had enjoined upon himself is well high over.

"I hope all these suggestions will be fully considered under the Presidentship of Mr. K. V. R. Swami Naidu. I need not introduce Mr. Swami to you. In 1921 at the call of the Congress he had renounced his practice and was for a time His Majesty's guest, having disobeyed the Magisterial order. I thank you all, Sirs, on behalf of the Reception Committee for having elected such a leader to our Conference and give you, once again, my hearty welcome and request Mr. Swami Naidu to take the chair".

The Presidential Address.

Then the President, Mr. K. Viraraghavaswami, delivered his presidential address which was greatly appreciated. The following are extracts from the address :—

"I thank you from the bottom of my heart for choosing me for this office of trust, honour and responsibility. There is a general impression even among the educated classes that India was always governed by foreigners and that it cannot defend itself even if Swaraj is granted to day".

After tracing the ancient history of India, the President said :—

"It is clear that India had Swaraj for thousands of years and the foreign invaders, that conquered the country and established their sway over the land, could only occupy portions of India. The foreign rulers were not allowed any permanent hold on the country. The Hindu kingdoms that remained unconquered developed their resources and reconquered the country. It is absurd to say that India was always under the foreign rule or that Indians had become so weak that they could not defend themselves.

"The great world war broke out in August 1914. England cried for help and India with her generous heart responded. She had forgotten for the time being all her grievances and stretched every nerve to help England in her hour of distress. The Great War was won and we have to see how, after the war, the pledges made by England to India were redeemed.

"The operation of the Defence of India Act, which was purely a war measure, was extended. Under the Defence of India Act the executive were empowered to intern any person in a particular locality and any restriction might be laid upon him. A man might be arrested and kept indefinitely in jail without being brought to trial. For those who were to be tried new courts and new laws of evidence and procedure were prescribed.

"Under this law, terrible mischief had been done. Persons whose guilt was never brought to light were deprived of their liberty. Some were interned in unhealthy places. Some actually went mad or were nearly so. India wanted freedom: the bureaucracy made preparations to put her in chains!"

The President, after describing the horrors of the Rowlatt Act and other measures passed in the name of law and order and the tragedy of the Jallianwallah Bagh, said: "There is indeed a destiny which shapes the ends of India however rough we may hew them. I am a believer in the destiny of India. We passed through a period of preparation. rehearsaling is over. The real drama has to be enacted, God willing, in the near future. Who else can be a successful stage manager during the period of our preparation than our kind, genial and generous Gandhiji? May he live long, so that he may guide us through in our final enactment also! For Mahatmaji despite his detractors is a believer in the maxim, minimum of suffering and maximum of achievement.

What Non-co-operation has done for us.

"There is an impression among the old moderate friends that the hand of the clock of progress has been set back by the acceptance of Non-co-operation by the Indian National Congress. The idea is the result of a feeling that they themselves have lost hold on the country on account of the Non-co-operation programme. The old moderate politician never knew what it was to suffer or to sacrifice for the country. The highest sacrifice he could think of was to attend the Congress during the Christmas holidays and deliver a fine English speech or two on the Congress platform. The times have altered. Politics now mean intense work and sacrifice. The fruit of the non-co-operation policy is not, as our moderate friends think, undoing what the old politicians have achieved but putting India on the path of freedom.

"It need not be detailed here how much the country has suffered on account of the whole-hearted support given by the Justice Party to the Government By the time of the elections in 1923, the Justice Party had consolidated its power by the distribution of loaves and fishes in the shape of nominations to local bodies to Presidentships and appointments high and low.

How Congress Candidates Succeeded.

"The Congress in its Session at Cawnpore gave the mandate that the Legislative bodies in the country be captured by the Congress. Most of the Congressmen with a clean conscience took active part in the recent elections. The leaders of Andhradesa and the Tamil Nadu started the work in good terms. The voice of the Congress was heard very little in the country after the previous elections. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, the President-elect of the Congrees and Mr. Prakasam, the Andhrakesari, toured in Tamil Nadu and Andhradesa respectively and created a favourable atmosphere for the elections. People began to wonder if non-co-operation was really dead.

"In Andhradesa Mr. T. Prakasam visited all the important towns and villages and had selected the men who commanded the confidence of the electorate as candidates. The success of the Congress candidates in the various districts is in my opinion, due to four reasons, namely, the intense loyalty of the great body of voters to the Congress, the belief of a large majority of the people in the basic principles and the practical wisdom of the Congress programme, the ability and honesty of Congress leaders and last but not the least, the utter disgust of the electorate and the people in the province towards the Justice Party. Mr. Prakasam's great belief in the inevitableness of our success, his untiring energy and his spirit of sportsmanship were everywhere requisitioned and he was never found wanting.

Justice Party and what it stands for.

"The Justice Party was formed in the early part of 1917 just before the arrival of Mr. Montague in India. The advanced political bodies demanded Swaraj within the British Empire. Provincial autonomy was demanded by some and others asked for autonomy for the provinces and some responsibility in the Central Government. The Justice Party alone opposed every one of the above demands and asserted that the members of the Justice Party were averse to any violent and sudden constitutional changes which would impair the authority of the British Government. Just at the moment when Indian aspirations were to attain fruition, there stepped in a party shouting "stop, stop," "Don't grant us anything substantial. We don't want freedom. All that we want at the present juncture is lucrative jobs to some select few of us. The country's freedom may wait, but we cannot wait. Give us the jobs and we willfully co-operate with you." It is not possible for us to find out a parallel case in any part of India.

"The Justice Party never had any respect for the Congress. The few amongst them who were of the Congress severed their connection with it as soon as they saw prospects of office. The Congress men abstained themselves from entering the Legislative Councils in 1920 and that was the best opportunity for the Justice Party to enter the Councils. They did get in, in large numbers and had absolute majority during the first term. How they supported every measure of tyranny, we are all aware of. If patriots like Yakub Hussain were arrested, the leader of the Justice Party came in with a special plea for the Government. If other patriots of this Presidency were arrested and convicted, the Justice Party expressed their joy at it. If the land revenue in the Tanjore District was enhanced by the Government, is had the full support of the Justice Party. If the lands of the Guntur ryots were to be sold within 24 hours without the usual formalities, law and procedure, the Justice Party gave its whole-hearted support. Thus, in return for the jobs given to it, the Justice Party supported the Government through thick and thin. It is not easy to imagine how far the country would have advanced if the Justice Party had cared and worked for the freedom of the country. The good it may have tried to do lies buried in Government records and the evil it has brought is there written large in its book of fate.

Present Political Situation.

"At Cawnpore the Congress had laid down the following programme:—'The work in the Legislatures shall be concentrated on the national demand made by the Assembly by its resolutions of the 18th February 1924 and 8th September 1925 and the following action shall be taken in that connection:—1. The Swarajya Party in the Assembly shall, at the earliest opportunity, invite the Government to give their final decision on the said demand and in case no decision is announced before the end of February or the decision announced is held not to be satisfactory by the Working Committee of the Congress, the party shall, by adopting the proper procedure, intimate to the Government on the floor of the house that the party will no longer continue to remain and work in the present Legislatures, as here-to-fore, but go into the country to work among the people'. If the Government had refused to grant the national demand made by our representatives in the Assembly, that would not have been so great an insult as their attitude not to give any reply at all. What is our next step?

"This is the main question to be considered now and to be placed before the next Congress. I am quite sure you will not say that though the Government has not yielded to our national demand we should go and prostrate ourselves at the feet of this proud Government, beg for its forgiveness for our ever demanding anything from it. I am proud that this slave mentality has left us long since. Any how this is my personal view and it is for you in this sitting to consider the matter and come to a decision.

"So far as this Presidency is concerned some of our friends say that we should take up office and turn out the Raja of Panagal and his men. I know why this extraordinary view is expressed. This Presidency has suffered from the misrule of the Justice Party for six long years. So, our friends feel that we should accept office if not for any thing else, just to keep out the Justice Party from office. I quite sympathise with all those that entertain this view. But I say, let us bear patiently wrongs that are done to us by the Justice Party. Their misrule does not endure for ever. We have to settle our accounts with the bureaucracy first. We can look to our friends later on. It may be that the Justice Party men will adopt our creed when they feel that victory is within sight. These are timid people. They have no heroism in them. They are afraid of the wrath of the bureaucracy. They have no faith in themselves. They admit that if the British withdraw themselves to-day they will be in the grip of the Brahmins. You cannot expect such people to fight for Swaraj.

"I pray to Almighty God that He will give us strength to successfully fight with the bureaucracy and obtain Swaraj. I am not afraid of Panagals and Patros. When the Swarajists were but a handful in the Councils last time they were by their powerful voice able to keep Panagalites at bay and they ultimately brought down the Justice ministry. I do not know why we should be afraid of Panagalites now—when they are thirteen and we forty-seven. I think of Desabandhu Das and the years 1923-24 and 1925 during which he, with a gallant band of forty followers in the Bengal Council, whose strength was full one hundred and forty, gloriously carried out his promise to the electorate by dealing death blows to the Dyarchy which he loathed from the depths of his heart. I wonder how he was able to achieve that end May he from the Heavens inspire us to emulate the example he set for us during the period of his strenuous life on earth.

Need for United Action.

"One other word, gentleman, I finish. Before I close I feel I should venture to make a very humble suggestion in the way of effecting a compromise between the two hostile parties in the Congress. Now that the general elections are over and now that it is clear that nowhere either the Responsivists or the Swarajists are in a majority, I feel the Congress leaders should offer to invite the Responsivists and try to close up the ranks. We should learn to forgive and forget the wrongs we may have done to each other during the period of elections. United we stand, divided we fall—is a maxim whose truth should be kept before our mind's eye. Let us unite and march forward towards our sure destiny, the attainment of Swaraj in the near future. Hindu and Mahomedan and Brahmin and non-Brahmin—all should unite and with one mind march towards our goal. Let us all rise above selfishness, personal and communal, so that beloved and beautiful India may be free". Vande Mataram.

Messrs. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, S. Satyamurti, A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Muthiah Mudaliar, Burra Satyanaraya then delivered speeches congratulating Andhra-Desa on the superb victories secured to the Congress. The proceedings for the day closed at 6-30 p.m. amidst great enthusiasm.

Proceedings and Resolutions.

2ND DAY—THE 29TH NOVEMBER 1926.

The conference resumed its sitting on this day in the morning at 8 o'clock. After the messages of sympathy and the condolence resolutions have been read, Dr. P. Gurumurti moved a resolution congratulating the people, voters, workers and other supporters of Andhradesa on their sincere and wholehearted co-operation and support to Congress candidates, brushing aside all communal feelings and on their having secured success to the Congress. After several speakers had spoken in favour of the resolution it was put to vote and carried.

Change in Congress Creed.

Next Mr. B. Sambamurti moved a resolution recommending to the Indian National Congress to be held at Gauhati to change the Congress creed (1. Article of the Congress Constitution). The word "Swaraj" in it is to be removed and the words "complete independence outside the British Empire" is to be substituted.

In moving the resolution Mr. B. Sambamurti said that this and kindred resolutions had been coming in every year before the Congress during the last five years. Although they were not adopted they should not think that his resolution was unnecessary. They could not satisfy themselves with the interpretation that the word "Swaraj" included "independence," for there were others who were interpreting the word "Swaraj" in other ways. He could not see any reason why its meaning should not be made clear and definite. Swaraj was not a gift of the British Government, but it should be got by their own strength, by their own effort, by their own soul power and sacrifice.

Mr. M. Tirumalarao seconded the resolution.

Mr. T. Prakasam opined that there was no necessity for having a change in the Congress creed as it was decided that the word "Swaraj" was the most appropriate word. He also pointed out that no fresh conditions had arisen for such a resolution.

Mr. G. Kamoji Rao, opposing the resolution said that men like Desabandhu C. R. Das, who said at the Faridpur Conference that he would be satisfied even with Dominion Status for India, were of opinion that for accomodating all parties in the Congress "Swaraj" was the word best chosen and that they should therefore recognise that there was no necessity for a change.

Mr. K. Venkatappiah of Guntur asked them to examine the effect of the resolution. They might have this ideal of independence if they liked. Once Mahatma Gandhi said that it was not necessary to change the word, "Swaraj," into "Independence." Like the people of the Dominions they were not so well-organised and disciplined and armed as to resist Britain

and attain their goal. If the people of the Dominions were not given the right of hoisting their own flags they could secure that right, whereas they in India were exhibiting their incapacity. They should not be so light-hearted as to require an amendment in the Congress creed. There was no good of saying that they would do things which they could not achieve for two or three years. Therefore the speaker thought that it was not necessary to change the present creed of the Congress.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said that they all desired to have independence. But the question now was whether it was necessary now to pass this resolution. The resolution which had been proposed was a resolution of no practical importance now, and therefore they ought not to have taken so much time over it. Mahatmaji had expressed the popular view when he put the word "Swaraj" He understood the mind of India and he said that the word, "Swaraj" would be truly educative, while the word "Independence" would not be so. He knew that the word, "Swaraj," had life in it; he knew that it would grow from one thing to another and further he knew that unconsciously, "Swaraj" would mean "Independence" even in the mind of the ryot, or child. There would come a time when they would have to pass such a resolution. But to-day a resolution like this, would prove their own weakness. Again he asked whether it was right to raise this issue when they expected the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. His own view was that it should not even be discussed and that they should drop it here. It would be a very bad thing to defeat this proposition by votes and all the educative value would be lost by defeating it. The resolutions might be dropped.

The President said that he felt after hearing Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's speech that they would be respecting themselves and the Andhradesa in general if they dropped the resolution at that stage and proceeded to the next, and that there was no harm in dropping it.

Then some confusion arose. Mr. B. Sambamurti insisted on his right of reply and said that it was improper to drop it so abruptly without allowing the Conference and the world to know what he had to say after so much discussion and after the speeches of eminent men over the resolution.

The President then put to the Conference his proposition that they should drop the resolution. 78 voted for and 76 against. Poll was then taken amidst tremendous noise and excitement and the result was that 71 voted for and 86 against. The President declared his motion lost.

Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao supported the resolution stating that the Andhras were ever in the forefront to make sacrifices and that when independence would be declared Andhra Desa would lead the country.

It was 8-30 P.M when the Conference was adjourned to meet on the next day.

3RD DAY—THE 30TH NOVEMBER 1926.

When the Conference resumed its sitting on this day at 11 a.m. Mr. B. Sambamurti was requested by the President to reply to the criticisms on his resolution relating to the change in the Congress creed. After his lengthy reply, votes were taken and the resolution was declared carried, 100 voting for and 53 against.

Other Resolutions.

Mr. Khandala Sarveswara Rao then moved a resolution exhorting the audience to do active propaganda for the removal of untouchability. It was carried.

Mr. K. Subbarayalu made a motion to request the Gauhati Congress to concert measures for the formation of the Asiatic Federation immediately. This too was carried.

M. V. Satyanarayana, moved the following resolution : "This Conference recommends that immediate and adequate arrangements be made for a thorough study and exposition of district and provincial grievances."

The resolution was carried.

Mr. M. Srinivasachari moved following resolution :—"This Conference requests Mahatma Gandhi to take up the leadership of the country, as soon as his one year's vow of silence is fulfilled and to tour throughout the length and breadth of India, to unite the various factions among Congressmen viz., No-changers, Swarajists, Responsivists, Independent Congressmen and others in the Gauhati Congress and to help the country in carrying out the constructive programme." The resolution was carried.

Dr. B. Subrahmanyam moved a resolution urging the people to work out the constructive programme. This was also carried.

Civil Disobedience.

The second most important resolution of the Session of the Conference was moved by Dr. Subrahmanyam. The following is the text —"Whereas this Conference believes that the country is ready to do civil disobedience on a large scale, since it is the chief means for the attainment of Swaraj and that the time has come for resorting to it, this Conference requests the Assam Congress to concert adequate measures on an extensive scale for Civil Disobedience."

In moving the resolution Dr. Subramanyam said that constructive work and civil disobedience would go hand in hand and supplement each other. In the course of his lengthy speech for 25 minutes, he pointed out that the country was ever prepared for individual civil disobedience and the existence of foreign domination was itself a cause and preparation for civil disobedience.

Mr. T. Prakasam advised the audience not to pass the resolution. He said he occupied a very delicate position in that he was the President of the Andhra Congress Committee and a member of the Assembly. He appreciated and admired the courage of young and ardent men who went to jails and made sacrifices and who came forward to have this resolution. He pointed out that when Mahatma Gandhi had suspended all boycotts and non-co-operation and when the Congress adopted Council-entry, it was not the time for passing such a resolution. In the course of his speech, he said that he was never afraid of jails or putting up a strong resistance against Government and that he would lead them for civil disobedience when the time and occasion demauded it. He wanted them not to be hasty.

The resolution was then put to vote and declared carried, 101 voting for and 63 against. The proceedings of the conference then came to a close.

THIRTY SECOND SESSION OF THE

Tamil Nadu Provincial Conference

MADRAS—THE 4TH DECEMBER 1926.

Amidst scenes of great enthusiasm, the 32nd session of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Conference commenced on the 4th Dec. in the afternoon in the Gokhale Hall under the presidency of Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar. The attendance of delegates and visitors was large and all the available space was occupied. Every one of the Tamil districts was represented and many prominent Congress leaders and workers were present. The hall was beautifully decorated with evergreens, paper festoons, tricolor Khadi flags and photographs of Lok. Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Desabandhu Das and other great patriots. The Armenian Street where the hall is situated, put on a festive appearance with triumphal arches and thoranams.

Proceedings commenced with the unfurling of the national flag by Mr. S. Satyamurti who did so in a neat little speech pointing out the significance of the flag and praying that the flag of Swaraj always be held aloft.

Mrs. Govindaraja Mudaliar sang the Bengalee Vandemataram song, after which a Congress worker sang some national songs in Tamil.

Welcome Address.

Mr. C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliar, Chairman of the Reception Committee then welcomed the delegates and visitors to the Conference. In the course of his speech he said :—

"The election has brought to the forefront, in a manner more vivid than had been heretofore, questions of public interest that require to be dealt with firmly and with a clear mind. The election has shown in an unmistakable manner that the political sense of the people has been awakened to a degree that will not abate in its intensity in the future that lies before us.

"It may be said that the election results are not a certain indication of the will of the people. It is not true. The education of the circumscribed electorate takes in it the education of the people, old and young, literate and illiterate, men and women. The generality of public opinion thus generated filters through the electorate and the results are the surest indication of the way in which the public thinks. The results would have been more unmistakable but for the detracting effect that personal influence and consideration had prevailed in certain places and in favour of certain individuals : but that is inevitable till political education of the people becomes complete. The elections have been fought on the principal issue of who are to guide the policy of the province with the sole view of the betterment and improvement of the conditions of the people in general ; in other words, whether Nationalism must reign supreme or whether Communalism must continue in power for some time or for ever more. The verdict is clear and distinct. It was pretended for some time past that the salvation of the people of this province lay in the way of communalism. It was pretended that untold benefits lay in the

pursuit of the paths of communalism. But looking back at the achievements of the party during the last six years of its communal administration, it is difficult to choose any that could be placed to its credit wherein the 97 per cent of the population had shared in common to the exclusion of the remaining 3. It is a misreading of the political life of a people that undertakings for the benefit of only certain classes of them to the exclusion of others will ever bring salvation for those on whose behalf special efforts were made. A community stands or falls as an unbroken unit so far as its general life and conditions are concerned. The administration for the last six years has been lacking in statesmanship, and the larger outlook on life : and therefore is the absence of remedial measures to alleviate the sufferings of the people on whose behalf the administration was undertaken. And it has invited and has deserved the condemnation the people have placed on it.

The Communal Question.

"Clearly analysed, the communal question resolves itself into this · The priestly class, no doubt by long heredity, has cultivated an intelligence and adaptability to environments and has used in the race of life the opportunities that had been placed before it equally with other classes. It has been competing for and winning prizes in the fields open alike to those fitted with the equipment of the type of education devised for taking part in the administration of the country. In this race other classes having equal opportunities had joined. In the past the other classes had a predominant share. The grievance that lies at the foundation of the present communal movement is stated to be that the predominance has shifted to the priestly class ; and the complaint is made that this predominance has been brought about by the unvirtuous exercise of intelligence in bringing about a disparity by undesirable means and methods. It is asserted that the stamina and intelligence possessed by the other classes are not a march to the superior intelligence that the priestly class possesses. Here lies an implication of an unnecessary admission of impotence coupled with the feeling of incompetence based on vague and mainly untrue generalisations. Truth apart the resultant is hatred.

"Supposing the condition stated is true, will hatred avail? Will that bring about a rebalancing of conditions? Can an artificial order in the shape of a G. O. or a harping on the tune of hatred bring about the desired remedy? How far has this administration, whose keynote was pitched in the tune of hatred, achieved the balancing? Is this one factor of an unequal competition in the race for official preferments to vitiate the order of economic and political life of the vast millions of whom the official class forms only microscopic minority? That is a question which has to be looked squarely in the face by all those who take a disinterested part in the political fight to better the country. I do not for a moment brush aside or belittle the existence of this irritating spot in the body politic. I do say that the question demands the closest attention and careful solution. Administrative sagacity has not been wanting in the regulation needed for the adjustment involved in communal claims to official preferments : and in the light of the past, measures bereft of caste-hatred and animosity might and ought to be adopted with a view to prevent complaints in the future.

"But these matters raise only a small issue. Official tyranny and oppression have been practised by every casteman put in power not excluding ones at the headquarters of the Presidency and there is a tendency to mix up this ugly phase of want of character of the undesirable individual with the

caste to which he belongs. That requires only disciplinary action which must be taken irrespective of the caste or race or creed to which the oppressor may belong. To repeat, undesirable exhibitions of clannishness, caste-riddeness and oppressive and dubious methods adopted in their behalf are certainly matters for condemnation. No effort should be relaxed to put them down with a strong and firm hand. This one-sided complaint in short constitutes the foundation for the creed of Non-Brahminism that has been installed in this province and elevated to the position of a party. Deprived of this one factor, the party has not put forward and worked any policy to take into its fold the divergent and conflicting elements of classes grouped under the head of the Non-Brahmin community. Has a thought been given to the fact that the component parts of the Non-Brahmin community have claims for consideration individually and collectively and as to how their amelioration is to be encompassed? What is the scheme under which their individual claims can be attended to co-ordinating them with a view to better them collectively?

Economic Development.

"Leaving for the moment the social aspect, let us look into the economical aspect. Agriculture, industry and trade are our main avocations. Has there been any the least advancement in the bettering of conditions in those directions? Has any earnest effort been made in that behalf? Has any plea been put forward and urged in the methods of governance? Perhaps it will be pleaded that the circumscribed limits imposed by the novel device in government known as diarchy stood in the way. It must be conceded that there is some justification for this. Diarchy has been pronounced as a monument of unworkable, incongruous and cumbrous system of governance which a statesman can devise. If an administration is not to be conducted solely in the interests of the people governed, that indeed is the device. To put the direction of agriculture in the hands of one member of government without any power over the main aid for its thriving, namely, irrigation, and without the power over the purse, a necessary precedent for its successful ordering, is the purest way of not improving agriculture. Then again, with regard to industry, how can its development be furthered without the aid of the purse?

"The question of labour is demanding an urgent enquiry and a speedy solution. Factory labour has problems of its own with its changing conditions. Factory legislation is a question of vital importance and periodical revision thereof is a matter that rests heavily upon those that are to carry on the administration of the future. Neglected as it had been in the past, agricultural labour presents a greater problem. Unemployment has driven many a useful agricultural labourer from our land to distant shores where unsympathetic and exploiting employers have done more harm than good to these unfortunate people. We are aware of the distressing and humiliating conditions prevailing in South Africa and other places. Strenuous efforts having been made by the leaders of the Congress movement, Government has been forced to make an effort in the direction of the amelioration of those masses of suffering humanity. The success of the Congress at the polls is in no small measure due to these disinterested and truly patriotic methods of work adopted on the Congress platform. It should be our earnest endeavour to continue our efforts unrelentingly, unceasingly and persistently till the rights of our brethren abroad are recognised and placed

on the soundest footing. The discredited administration of the past six years had not moved its little finger in this direction.

The Congress and the Ministry.

"This being the situation existing now, the burning question of the hour is, how and by whom has the responsibility to be assumed by way of participation in the Government as at present constituted. For the moment it has been contended that diarchy as ordained has to be worked. Justifying the results at the polls, the Congress party has been called upon to take its place in the dual Government. It has refused, in obedience to the mandate imposed upon it by will of the nation as expressed at the session of the Congress held at Cawnpore. It is not necessary to discuss now the question whether any effort should be made for the changing of the mandate, albeit suggestions and opinions put forward by would-be friends in the press, or enter into a discussion on the question of the recognition of diarchy or of its extinction as an integral part of the Provincial Government, or of the further question of the immediate substitution of provincial autonomy for diarchy. We will leave it alone for the present as it is an All-India question and requires the bearing upon it of the combined political intelligence of the whole of India. The verdict of the Tamil Nadu combined with the other divisions in the province is that diarchy is undesirable and that those who worked it failed individually as its workers. The Local Government is averse to admit the import of this verdict and is making desperate efforts to show to the world that diarchy can successfully be worked. It however found itself placed between the two horns of a dilemma, the Independents and the discredited Justicites. Its fondness for the fallen comrades of the past was in conflict with a desire to make new friendship with the still untired politicians. It did not want to throw its lot with the new political folk as it could not make up its mind to put its entire confidence in its yet-to-be proved unswerving allegiance to it. The brilliant idea of tying together the scarf's ends of these two political entities and forming what is known as the coalition suggested itself to it. Lord Goschen has had sleepless days and nights trying to effect a patch of these two divergent entities.

"The effort has failed. Impressed no doubt by the volume of public opinion that had shown itself in an unmistakable manner, His Excellency had after all to seek the aid of the new politicians. Two of them have had a political career and a fairly correct estimate may be formed of their future policy and method in co-operating in the government of the province. We shall watch with interest the efforts the new ministry will put forward in the carrying on of the administration with its avowedly changed outlook on life uncramped by communalistic twists. It is premature to indulge in prophesies but we shall wait and look on, continuing as we are bound, to carry out the Congress Programme. Under all the varying conditions that may arise as time passes on, His Excellency may feel assured of this, that the Congress party, pledged as it is to the singular task of bringing about the political salvation of the land in the shortest time possible, will stand as a man to have its ideals recognised and accepted.

The Work Before Us.

"Turning now to the future work before us and by us, may I be permitted to put before you a few suggestions. We have been at great pains in educating the public on political lines during the strenuous months of

electioncering.—We will be doing a dis-service to the country if this education, backed up as it is by the enthusiasm generated thereby is allowed to wane in the coming years.

" It entirely lies in our power to create the necessary volume of public opinion by propaganda and organisation to compel the Government to alter immediately its excise policy. Organisation work can best be effected by starting Congress Committees in every nook and corner of the province. The work is easy now as it will be in continuation of the electioneering work. Earnest endeavour in this direction will be the highest contribution we can possibly make in our work of patriotism.

" A new era has dawned upon the land. The policy of mendicancy has been changed into a creed of self-reliance. The political philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi remains to be translated in all its bearings into political action. It is for each province to effect this translation in the direction of its peculiar conditions and environments. The Tamil Nadu has a culture of its own. The Tamil have ever been noted for the soundness of their judgment in all fields of thought. We have as our head one who has proved himself beyond all possibility of doubt to be the fittest leader to guide our destinies in the right direction. Unity has been the keynote of our lives and co-operation has been the creed of their political life ".

The Presidential Address.

Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar then delivered his presidential address. Having thanked the Conference for electing him as President, he said he was invited by the Committee only three days ago while in sick-bed to take the Chair; but he felt he had to obey the call. He hoped they would bear the shortcomings of his address. He then said :

" At the outset, I should congratulate the country on returning a majority of members who are not wedded to communalism to the local councils and to the Assembly. But for the warmth and enthusiasm of the large number of volunteers and propagandists and the whole-hearted support of the principal dailies and other journals, we could not have witnessed the defeat of that party which had no other motto but "Viprakshaya."—down with the Brahmin. It would have considerably enhanced the reputation of Salem and Tinnevelly—the two oldest and the staunchest nationalist districts—if they had returned Congressmen at the polls. It is a matter of regret that these two districts have embraced communalism which is certainly inimical to nationalism.

The Communalist Party.

" The Justice Party was ushered into existence with the connivance of a few ill-intentioned bureaucrats during the war when the country was assured of reforms. Open carricatures were broadly printed in English papers and it would not be uninteresting if I should refresh your memory with one instance. "A Brahmin wanted to let at large an imprisoned tiger. He opened the doorway of the cage out of mercy for the poor beast. No sooner the door was opened than the tiger told its reliever : "I am hungry and I want you for my prey." The poor Brahmin appealed for justice to every one near by, but nobody could help him. At last a jackal out of pity for the Brahmin told the tiger to go into the cage again to judge in what position the tiger was before it was relieved. The tiger

entered the cage, the door wos closed and the Brahmin was asked to go his own way and to attend to his own duties." The truth of the carricature was well exemplified in the fact that the class of Brahmins who were responsible for the Reforms were vilified openly in Council halls, public platforms and non-Brahmin organs. The thousands of volunteers who were undergoing prison life were recommended for worse treatment in jails as if they were ordinary felons. The fact, however, remained that it was these volunteers who made it possible for the party to be in power by their agitation to usher in a new era of political life in India. People who were hostile to the agitation were the first to enjoy the Reforms, the direct result of the agitation. We owe it to the keen foresight of that political party not to succumb to such carricatures or bow down to them but to plod and go its own way towards the political emancipation of the people. They were after all victorious. Whether in villages or in towns there is absolute concord and amity between Dwijas and non-Dwijas. It might be a matter of wonder to many that a party based purely on class jealousy should have lived and flourished so long as six years. The reason is not far to seek. They were patted on the back by the head of the Province, the late Lord Pentland and Lord Willingdon. In this respect I always find the Conservative head of the Province handled the situation more conscientiously. Would communal parties thrive in England or would they get the support of the powers that be? If the reverse is in India then the policy of the Government is apparently "Divide et Impera."

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's Leadership.

"The remedies for the extinction of communalism suggested by some of our liberal leaders was that no Brahmin should stand for election to Councils or get into Government service. But our far-seeing leader Sriman S. Srinivasa Iyengar was intent upon fighting out ignorance and illiteracy and exposing the pretensions of the communalist party. I am glad to say that his strenuous efforts were crowned with admirable success. Sriman has all the qualities of a leader, being endowed with an acute intellect and indomitable energy, pertinacity of purpose, a spirit of sacrifice and unflinching patriotism and unstinted generosity. We cannot imagine how the Nationalist party in Madras would have been without him. Every institution had to look up for its growth and its fulfilment in the enthusiasm and tact of its leader. Everybody knows that his task was no easy one. He had unsurmountable barriers and insuperable obstacles. The strong will in him and his consciousness that he was fighting a just and holy cause made him callous to insults and achieve the victory which he had deservedly won. Next to congratulating the country, we are in duty bound to convey to him our grateful appreciation of his good and selfless work. Many a time he was inclined to resign his leadership, if any one else from any other community would organise the Tamil Nadu, but nobody could. Personally, I feel that there is none else who would equal him in the outstanding features of a leader which he possesses in such a remarkable degree. By his becoming an all-India leader, I am afraid Madras may not enjoy the exclusive benefit of his activities, but let not this sentiment stand in the way of our leader getting the honour of all-India leadership. We rejoice that he is to be enthroned on the Congress gadi, which he has so nobly earned by strenuous and selfless work.

The Swarajya Party.

"The Swarajist Party is the only well-organised, well-disciplined political party in this country to-day. The party's aim is Swaraj. It is resolved upon wrenching out power from an unwilling bureaucracy. It has formulated the National Demand and has placed it before the Government. It has unmistakably made the Government realise the fact that co-operation would be impossible till the National Demand is answered. Its programme is agreeable to the genius and temperament of the educated classes. It is not for self-aggrandisement. The party is only a humble servant of the nation and hence it is trusted and supported. The Government were advertising before the Swarajists entered the Councils that the country was with them because the elected representatives joined them in the enactment of several repressive laws. Now that the Swarajists are in the Council it would be hardly possible for any repressive measure to be enacted. This is a positive advantage.

Responsive Co-operation.

"A new party has just come into prominence under a glorified name. It is only a party of either the Liberals or the Moderates. A moment's reflection would expose the party in its true colours. Six years back many of the present day Responsivists were staunch and orthodox Non-co-operators. These ardent Congressmen should now invent a reason for their having turned co-operators. Their reason is that they had response from Government; what that is we do not know nor are they themselves aware of it. If there should be any rationale in responsiveness, then we should embark upon some thing more drastic than Non-co-operation. Since the days of the Non-co-operation, the best of our leaders were arrested on flimsy grounds, taxes were piled and when retrenchment in Indian subordinate service was made, the steel frame was given higher status and pay against the strong protests of the people's representatives, while the Reforms asked for were not given, even the gesture of or semblance of the same not forthcoming. What is the response that the country is expected to give for this kind of continuous illiberal treatment at the hands of the Government? No longer can the country be befooled by conjuring names of Responsive Co-operation, etc. Agitation and fighting for rights are no pleasant tasks and they entail heavy sacrifices. It is no doubt the spirit of service and sacrifice that has permeated the members of the party to keep up to their creed and pledge and all respect should go to such service rendered to the nation. There is no place in the party for self-seeking people and place-hunters. When the country is embarked on a solemn undertaking in placing the Government on a better footing every party should at least give some time for the experiment of obstruction in the constitutional fashion within the Councils.

"It is not proper to say that the Swarajists are reluctant to share the responsibilities of office. They want to shoulder greater responsibility than sending to their credit in banks the monthly salaries and making retrenchments in school and hospital budgets for want of funds doled out to the transferred half, for joining the reserved half for putting higher resettlement rates as in the case of Tanjore and making occasional speeches for nominating defeated candidates in election. Such responsibilities we don't shirk. Only because these responsibilities are not considered to really benefit the people, the party says they can work it out if they can be placed on a

workable position from where they can administer the nation-building departments to the satisfaction of their conscience. My respected friend Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar thinks that the drink evil might be stopped if the Swarajists accept office. May I respectfully tell him that even he would fail in office under the existing conditions when the outlook of the Government is so narrow and confined ?

Diarchy.

"Diarchy has been condemned on all hands to be unworkable. The latest pronouncement on diarchy by no less a person than Lord Lytton would be pertinent to the occasion. His Lordship observed, " I defended it in the Parliament against the critics who thought it was premature and conceded too much responsibility to the people who were ill prepared to undertake it. I have never been afraid either of accepting or of conceding the responsibility and nothing in my experience out here has shaken me in that faith. If I have any complaint to make of the existing constitution, it is that in too many matters it leaves responsibility either divided or restricted." Every one of the Ministers has borne testimony to the unworkability of diarchy. It is no mean boast on the part of those who belong to the Swaraj Party that the credit of even the halting liberality shown by the remission of provincial contributions was due to them. At least to belie the forecasts of the Swaraj Party that have condemned the Reforms and to prove for the first few years of the beginning of Reforms that the transferred subjects were liberally financed, Bengal and Madras were shown special remissions of provincial contribution. If, in the new order of things, more responsibility was given and full control of the exchequer of the provinces was also given no one would be more willing to shoulder the responsibility than the Congressmen.

"The Swarajists are aware of the burning questions of the day but without powers to remedy the evils, there is absolutely no good in their taking up offices. The Congress has always been effecting improvements in the administration by creating public opinion. Without a strong public opinion behind there is no good in our representatives' voices in the Council. If we do not take offices now, we shall see that our will prevails through the force of public opinion.

"It may be contended that entry into the Council is as bad if not worse than acceptance of office. To such a contention my answer is this. I have already stated that the purpose of the Swarajists in the Council is for the present to ward off evil legislation and to make it impossible to repeat the recommendation of harsh treatment to the honest and innocent volunteers who did no other crime than imploring the drunkards not to drink. If we should take three concrete examples of rectifying legislation or drink problem, our repressive laws and the Endowments Act, our entry into the Councils would be justified. * * * "

The President then expressed his opinion that the Hindu Religious Endowments Bill was a mixture of good and evil, the latter being more prominent than the former and urged that the first measure of the new Council would be to expunge this measure from the statute book if in the meantime the Governor-General gives assent to it. He then dwelt upon the problem of unemployment and said that the protection of industries and Indianisation of offices and opening of new industries are the only solution to unemployment.

Hindu-Muslim Problem.

"The one great difference between the Swarajists and the Hindu Sabha leaders is on the question of "Hindu-Muslim Problem." There is no doubt some point in the reproach in reference to the pact where Muslims have been given a proportionate representation in the Councils and in services. A party that condemns communalism have fallen into the hands of a clamouring section and yielded to the principles of communal representation. The only way of pacifying an important section of India is by granting them what they want. Further, there are fundamental differences and the communal tension is very great in Northern India, and for some time until the differences are bridged it is better they are given separate representation. I am a firm believer in the Hindu-Muslim unity and the differences have been made too much of for withholding the grant of Self-Government.

Panditji and Lalaji.

"With due respect to the Pandit and Lalaji their hostile attitude towards the party that has earned the approbation and confidence of India and other sympathising foreign countries, is not worthy of them. It is a matter of deep regret that some of our stalwart friends who were our comrades in arms, who waged with us several political battles, who guided us in times of great doubt and hesitation, who made enormous sacrifices and who underwent severe hardships are now away from the banner of the Congress. They have by considerable intellectual strain limited their outlook and confined themselves to narrow sectarianism. We feel profoundly for their separation and we shall be thankful to them if they should forget the passing differences, join once again the Congress and guide the great national movement to its destined goal.

"We do not live in an era of tranquillity or of peace. The air is surcharged with the bacilli of unrest and this is a critical and transitional stage in the political life of our country. We Congressmen have just emerged from the great ordeal of a general election. Thank God, the justness of our cause, the purity of our aims and the unsullied character of our methods have by the ordering of a Divine Providence, ensured to us a victory of which we may well be proud. We have pledged ourselves to a great programme and we have also unequivocally expressed our ways and means of working out that programme. The nation has confidence in us and by returning the Congressmen in such overwhelming majority, it has entrusted its destinies into our hands and it is our duty—a solemn and sacred duty—to prove ourselves worthy of the trust and so conduct ourselves as to deserve their confidence by strongly adhering to the creed of the party.

"Brothers, I may refer to a moment to our great Mahatma Gandhi. He retired from political life for a year. The strain on him was enormous. He alone could have possibly survived that strain. May we not hope that at Gauhati Congress, he will join our ranks and take his place to guide us in our struggle which we are to begin?

The Expected Royal Commission.

"We have passed nearly 6 years under the new Reform Act. Under normal conditions, the Commission is expected to be here before 1929 to

consider the grant of an instalment of reforms which would by successive stages take our capacity of self-government. Brothers, our capacity of self-government needs no further test. We have given ample evidence of managing our affairs to our advantage and to our credit. We can stand by ourselves. The Royal Commission is not going to make any new discovery as to our fitness to shoulder enlarged franchise. We have placed our minimum demand and we stand by that at all costs. The verdict of the Commission if one comes at all is obvious. We shall not be satisfied till the minimum demand is granted. We demand it not as a matter of grace. We demand it as our birth-right. I should observe that with all the outward reserve the Conservative Government wishes to expedite the sending of the Commission and not to leave the personnel in the hands of the Government that is soon to follow the present regime in England. I am not asking you not to be in a hurry to get a Commission but I give expression to what strikes me that is behind all the feelers for making us ask for the Commission. The present Ministry in England that has chosen strong Conservatives and military men as Governors and Viceroys will send an equally strong Conservative Commission to take up the burning question of reforms and bury the hatchet for another 20 years. Perhaps Lord Birkenhead thought that the Swarajist will be floored in the polls and on that pretext His Lordship thought of distributing his memorandum on Indian affairs and following that memorandum to announce the Commission. But he should have been disappointed. We are becoming weaker and weaker materially, morally and physically. In 1906 we were prepared to carry on a better agitation with greater grit and vigour, while in 1916 I could find only a diminished strength and pertinacity. While in 1926 we have become a pessimist in human efforts with all the majority of our party in the Councils. So the Commission that comes at intervals will certainly find us deserving much less than what we deserved 10 or 20 years ago because, according to their judgment and standard, the fighting capacity of the nation is the fitness of people for self-government. I am glad our Andhra friends are optimistic and I can share their optimism as I have faith in the divine order of things and as I feel that our poor and innocent nation will not be left as it is.

United Conference.

"I should now conclude my address. So long as the Government of Madras is one and not divided to Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Kanara and Malayalam, may I suggest that the Provincial Conference to be held hereafter be common to all the districts of the Madras Presidency. Let it be a Provincial concern as of old. There is now reduplication of worse and the conferences ever since the partition have become thinner in strength and volume. For intensive strict work and for voting in Congress the divided areas may be maintained but so far as the Annual Conference is concerned we may have an united one.

"Though I could not at the outset reconcile with the Non-co-operation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi, I am gradually coming to recognise the true import and genius of that movement. I look up to the villagers who form the bulk of the nation for successfully carrying out that movement, This needs education, more than political education. The villagers should be taught practical economy. An economic enquiry into the conditions of

our villages should be made and our men should be apprised of the danger ahead of them, if they should be callous to the country's interest and waste their slender resources on foreign articles. The safety razor has defrauded our barbers, the washing soaps our washermen and foreign textile industries have starved the country weavers. Is there no end to the import of motor cars and kitson lamps and the thousand and one other luxuries which poor India can ill-afford in her present exploited condition? Khaddar is a symbol of our plain life and every other aspect should be in tune with the Khaddar spirit. A huge propaganda is required in cities and villages and every one should thank in terms of the nation and nationality. Congress should undertake the work of education of the masses. The Taluk organisations should be perfect and effective. Thousands of willing workers are needed. We cannot shut our eyes to foreign thoughts and foreign propaganda. It is as essential as village propaganda. With the two programmes the Congress can do enormous work. What has been impossible of achievement can be had if for a few years patient education of the masses is undertaken and every one is made to pulsate and throb with nationalism. Mahatmaji alone can raise the huge funds and keep up the organisation. May he be entrusted to do this work. Every effort that lies in our hands should be done and that with the motto "service and sacrifice" and fruit of our action lies in Him".

The Presidential Address being over telegrams and messages of sympathy were then read after which the Conference adjourned.

Proceedings and Resolutions.

The Conference met again on the next day, the 5th December at 12-30 p.m. at the Gokhale Hall, Georgetown, with Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar in the presidential chair.

1.—Condolence Resolution.

The first resolution expressing feeling of sorrow at the irreparable loss sustained by the national movement by the premature death of Messrs. V. M. Thangaperumal Pillai, S. Rangaswami Iyengar (Editor of "The Hindu"), T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar and Mannargudi K. Ganapathi Pillai was put from the chair and carried.

2.—Congress Success in Elections.

Dewan Bahadur V. Masillamani Pillai moved the second resolution congratulating the Congress candidates on their success at the recent elections to the Assembly and the Council and expressing its grateful thanks to the electorate who were the real cause of the Congress success, and to Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar for his vigorous and patriotic work in connection with the elections.

3.—Khaddar.

The following resolutions were put from the chair and carried :—

"This Conference highly appreciates the wonderful progress in the production and sale of Khaddar, made by the Tamil Nadu Branch of the All-India Spinners' Association.

"This Conference requests all Congressmen of the Tamil Nadu to wear pure Khaddar on all occasions".

4.—Removal of Untouchability.

"This Conference recommends to the Indian National Congress, Gauhati, that the removal of untouchability should form one of the important items of the Congress programme for the next year and that steps should be taken to efface from the land this baneful custom".

5.—Village Reconstruction.

"This Conference resolves that a Congress Sabha should be formed in every village and the work of village reconstruction should be carried on vigorously". The resolution was moved by Mr. C. V. V. Iyengar and after a good deal of discussion carried unanimously.

6.—Redress of Grievances.

"This Conference resolves that a committee be appointed to inquire into the various grievances under which the people in this province suffer on account of the existing system of administration and other factors and to suggest ways and means for the redress of those grievances." The resolution was moved by Mr. N. B. Ramaswami Iyengar aud carried unanimously.

7.—Unemployment Problem.

"This Conference requests every Congress Sabha in the province to appoint a sub-committee to concert measures to solve the problem of unemployment in the country." The resolution was moved by Mr. D. Kulandi and passed unanimously.

8.—Moplah Colonisation in the Andamans.

"This Conference, while deprecating the unreasonable and unwarranted attitude of the Government of India towards the Majority Report of the Moplah Andamans Colonisation Committee, strongly condemns the persistent and relentless policy of the Government in carrying out the so-called Andaman Colonisation scheme by virtually transporting free and innocent Moplah women and children to the Andamans.

"This Conference urges upon the Government of India and the Muslim Home Member of the Government of Madras in particular the justice, necessity and wisdom of immediately abandoning the inhuman and barbarous scheme of transporting free and innocent Moplah women and children to the Andamans which have been condemned as unfit for human habitation by more than one Committee appointed by the Government."

"This Conference further calls upon the Government of India to take steps for the immediate reparation of all the Moplah men, women and children who have hitherto been transported to the Andaman Islands under the pretext of so-called voluntary colonization."

"This Conference further calls upon the Hindus and Muslims of Tamil Nadu and Kerala Provinces to rise equal to the occasion and to strive to their utmost to safeguard the elementary liberty of the free and innocent Moplahs against the encroachments by the Government."

The resolutions were moved by Mr. Basher Ahmed Sayeed and passed unanimously.

9.—Capture of Local Bodies.

Mr. M. K. Acharya moved :—"This Conference resolves that the Congress should capture all local bodies."

In moving the resolution Mr. Acharya pointed out that the local bodies such as district boards, taluk boards, and municipalities, were the instruments through which the country was administered. Some powers had been given to these bodies but they were not autonomous. If Swaraj was to be obtained it was not enough if the Congress captured the highest Councils of the nation, but it must capture all the local bodies. If the local boards were captured, it would be easy for them to capture the highest councils. This programme of capturing the local bodies and municipalities was first chalked out by the late lamented Desabhandhu C. R. Das and the Calcutta Corporation was captured by the Swarajists. Again, they were all aware of the great efforts of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar in this province to capture the local bodies and municipalities He believed that the necessity was greater in this province than in others. Corruption and jobbery were rampant in this respect during the last six years under the regime of the Justice Ministry. The administration of the local self-government department had become rotten and he was in one way glad that the old regime had ceased to exist. He hoped that the new Ministry would not repeat the mistakes of the old Ministry and would try to reform the local bodies and also try to confer some more autonomous powers on them. He said that this could be achieved only by returning Congressmen, men who went there solely for service of the motherland and not men with selfish ends in view. He hoped that the province would realise the gravity of the situation and do the needful. The resolution was passed after several speakers had spoken in favour of it.

10.—Independence Resolution.

Mr. M. S. Subramania Aiyar then moved :

"This Conference recommends to the Assam Congress that complete independence of any alien power should be the creed of the Congress."

In moving the resolution, Mr. Subramania Aiyar made an impassioned appeal to the audience to accept the motion whole-heartedly. The speaker first briefly traced the history of the Indian National Congress till the present day. In the first twenty years the Congress was adopting a policy of begging for more Indianisation and for more privileges. Then came Lokamanya Tilak, Arabinda Ghose and others who denounced this policy of mendicancy adopted by the Moderate politicians of the country and urged for a more fighting programme. A split came within the Congress in Surat and from that time the policy of the Congress took a new turn. The war intervened and the fighting programme was suspended for a time. After the war when the leaders found no change of attitude in the Britishers, Mahatma Gandhi started the non-co-operation programme. It spread like wild-fire throughout the country and the bureaucracy came to terms with the people. Thereafter the Independence resolution was brought in the Congress year after year but for some pretext or other the motion was either withdrawn or lost. Now the situation in the country had become grave and there was need for some definite action. It was also necessary that the Congress should unequivocally place a programme before the country. There was no use in having vague conceptions before them. "Swaraj by all peaceful and

legitimate means" was to him a vague clause. What was meant by Swaraj was not clear. Hence he would urge the Congress to define clearly the term "Swaraj" and he was sure that his definition that Swaraj meant 'complete independence of any alien power,' would be acceptable to all true Indians. He knew full well that in his heart of hearts every Indian was having this ideal and yet he could not understand why they should evade the issue and should be afraid to express it frankly. He hoped that the Conference would, unambiguously and without any fear, express its views. He knew that there were persons who would oppose the resolution and who would try to bring in all sorts of quibbles and say that such a resolution was a little premature. But he appealed to the delegates of the Conference not to be led away by persuasion but to think deep over the question and give their verdict.

After several members had spoken in favour of the resolution, the President asked whether anybody opposed the resolution. About half-a-dozen persons raised their hands to signify their opposition.

Tee President then asked those who supported the resolution to raise their hands. The whole gathering rose in support of the resolution.

The President then declared the resolution carried amid loud applause.

11.—Tanjore District Board Railway.

Mr. C. Maruthavanam Pillai next moved the following resolution regarding the Tanjore District Board Railways.—"This Conference condemns the unjust action of the Government of India in proposing to hand over the Tanjore District Board Railway to the local Government and requests the members of the District Board, the Legislative Council and the Assembly to oppose and to put up a strong fight till the Government of India abandons their proposal and agrees to a just and equitable adjustment.'

Other Resolutions.

On the motion of Mr. Vasudevan, seconded by Mr. Vellere Kuppaswami Mudaliar, a resolution calling on the members of the Congress to take more interest in khaddar and asking them to take steps to sell the stock created by the efforts of the All-India Spinners' Association, was next passed.

Mr. Manikavasakar of Negapatam moved the following resolution:—"This Conference recommends to the Gauhati Congress that in future all Congress Sabhas should do active propaganda work on behalf of the labour movement and to work strenuously for the uplift of the labourers.

The following resolutions were next put from the chair and carried unanimously:—

"This Conference resolves that the 19th instant should be observed as a day of prayer for the happy ending of the Round Table Conference to be held on that date in South Africa and for the securing of equal rights to the Indian Settlers in that part of the country.

"While emphatically condemning the indifference of the Government of Madras in the matter of introducing the Land Revenue Bill in the Council, this Conference requests the Congress members in the Council to see to the early introduction of such a bill by putting pressure on the Government to do the needful in the matter."

With this the business of the conference came to a close.

THE TENTH SESSION OF THE

Indian Economic Conference

CALCUTTA—THE 3RD JANUARY 1926.

The Tenth Economic Conference commenced its session in Calcutta on the 3rd January in the morning under the presidency of Mr. M. L. Tannan of Bombay. A distinguished gathering of professors and economists and business men representing almost all provinces and Universities were present including Sir Alexander Murray, Sir D. P. Sarvadhikary, Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, Lala Harkrishan Lal, Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, Radhakumud Mukerjee, Radha Kamal Mukerjee, Prof. P. Basu of Indore, Prof. Radha Kissen, Mr. Narotham Murarji, Mr. S. F. Madan, Mr. G. F. Shirras of Ahmedabad, Mr. C. Gopala Menon of Madras. Prof. Coyajee, Mr. Wordsworth, Dr. Stephen, Mr. J. T. Goodchild, Mr. B. D. Dasgupta, Mr. C. D. Thompson, Mr. B. Ramachandra Rao and Sir Nilratan Sarkar.

Welcome Address.

Sir R. N. Mukerjee welcomed the delegates in a short speech. In the course of the speech he said :—

"Turning now to the purpose for which so many distinguished and learned men have gathered here, I consider that Calcutta is fortunate in that the Conference elected to meet this year in our midst. The value of discussions such as our sessions will provide, can hardly be questioned. But perhaps from another angle criticism may be made, that from the nature of the subjects discussed in an academic manner it is rarely possible that any valuable conclusions can be reached. I claim, however, on the other hand—and I hope you will agree with me—that it is not conclusions we are primarily in search of: we want instruction, understanding and enlightenment. The Conference provides an ideal means for ventilating expert opinion from all angles of vision; and the chief merits I see in such gatherings are the interchange of ideas, an increase in understanding and a growth of respect for the contrary view. At the same time for the Conference to keep on making an increased and live appeal to the lay public it is essential that current and topical problems of commerce and finance, of agriculture and industry, should figure prominently on our agenda. Without wishing to flatter you, I may say that the common man in the street, who is too busy with the struggle for a living, expects men in your position and with your learning to guide him to a correct understanding of the nature and effect of economic tendencies. Lucidity in argument and clear language are therefore, the first desideratum. I may go further and declare that your discussions will attract busy and active commercial men as well, if you will hammer out and test your theory at the anvil of practice. Applied economics is coming to occupy a greater place in the practical affairs of the business world. In this manner your efforts will redound to the growth of both knowledge and practice.

"The year that has just closed has provided the economists in India with rich material for study and analysis. Important problems of currency and banking, taxation and statistics, rural and co-operative economy, await rational deliberation and wise decisions. The year 1920 has been prolific in authoritative reports. Of great and abiding interest to economists are the four reports respectively, of the Economic Enquiry Committee, the External Capital Committee, the Taxation Enquiry Committee and the Currency Commission. These reports have all been before you for a period of over six months; and although it is unfortunate that the political elections have precluded a calm and unprejudiced discussion of the important proposals contained in these reports, yet to a circle so learned and scholarly as this Conference sufficient data and material have been offered to promote a lively and intelligent criticism.

"The Economic Enquiry Committee's Report tells us of great insufficiency of economic data statistics—the raw material of modern economic policy. Generalisations are very useful provided they are drawn from well-established facts. But we are usually inclined to expect facts to follow our pre-conceived theories. May we not look to the experienced knowledge of the Conference to condemn this tendency and to demand the maximum marshalling of facts in support of a detection? The recommendations of the Economic Enquiry Committee for a comprehensive and regular collection of economic statistics should, therefore, receive the warm support of the Conference. The Report of the Currency Commission also emphasises the imperative need for accurate and reliable data.

Banking Habit in India.

"The Report of the External Capital Committee is remarkable more for its implications than for the main recommendations. These relate to the growth and development of banking and investment habit in India, a most illuminating commentary on which was furnished by Sir Basil Blackett in a lecture delivered last year under the auspices of the Delhi University. I would invite you to bring to the study of this difficult problem your collective acumen and reasoning, and so help to evolve concrete proposals for accelerating the establishment of a sound banking practice in the country. In India traditions die hard. When the comparatively prosperous cultivator invests his savings in ornaments or in bullion, he does so under the promptings of a very conservative instinct. Taste for personal adornment is no doubt present in our women-folk but this desire to adorn combines with an instinctive fear of insecurity and disorder and leads to a locking up of fruitful savings. Perhaps the spread of general education and a campaign of progressive enlightenment is the only cure for this barren habit. It is for groups like those represented in this Conference to investigate the peculiarities of their respective districts and suggest appropriate practical methods for educating the villager to realise the huge waste involved in his dead investment. Another aspect of this habit is in my opinion, responsible for the chronic indebtedness of our agricultural classes. Savings invested in ornaments are looked upon as the very final resort in emergency and as far as can be helped womenfolk will not part with their jewellery under any pressure whatsoever. The result is that when an indifferent season comes, there is no reserve for the ryot to fall back upon owing to the reluctance of his womenfolk to part with ornaments and in order to carry over to the next season, he is forced to go to the village Bania for accommodation. The usual

consequences follow—a serious handicap on future crops, a piling up of debt and growth in usury. If the ryot knew and realised the futile waste in his present investments he would soon learn to appreciate the advantages of building up a reserve, liquid as well as fertile. Only through a steady growth of the banking habit, combined with the spread of the co-operative methods, can we look forward to a decrease of the indebtedness of our countryside which is such a blight on agricultural improvement. The problem is vast and serious enough to receive your valuable attention.

The Taxation Report.

"Taxation forms the most important part of modern administration and was possibly the first great problem tackled by the economists. Indeed Adam Smith, the first and the greatest of British Economists, devoted a large part of his work on "The Wealth of Nations" to a consideration of the question of taxation. In olden times tributes, tithes and tolls formed the chief source of revenue to the State which meant the King or the Feudal Baron. As democracy advanced and the powers of the kings receded, the representatives of the people sought to build up an equitable theory of taking money from the people. It is not a travesty of facts to attribute practically all the civil wars and revolutions in history to unjust and oppressive taxation. Finance members of representative Governments owe it to their constituents to explain their taxation methods by an equitable and just theory. In India full representative Government is not yet in being. But the recent Report of the Taxation Committee, conscious of the future trend of events, has sought to provide a systematic and equitable basis for taxation, the absence of which has been admitted by our present able Finance Member. The problem bristles with theoretical difficulties, but the practical aspects are even more complicated. Administration and practice call for a high degree of careful and dispassionate analysis. I do not feel competent to hazard any opinion on the theoretical justice or otherwise of a proposed tax. Business men only know the practical incidence of the burden. Direct taxes are easily understood and one knows what one is in for. But indirect taxation, like tariffs and inflation, are difficult to analyse properly in respect to the ultimate incidence. A manufacturer would plead for light imposts on industry; as a consumer one may urge the abolition of all import and excise duties; as a producer one may ask for the removal of trade barriers and for cheap freights. The finance minister is indifferent to the obvious contradictions in these demands, but intelligent and lucid argument is needed to persuade the taxpayers to admit the equity of any tax. In India to-day comparatively few are capable of offering enlightened criticism. The Taxation Committee's Report offers a valuable starting point and it is to be hoped that the administration will receive your full and hearty co-opera- in the construction of an equitable and reasonable system of taxation which will not bear hardly on the poor, nor be oppressive to industries, and so militate against economic development.

The Currency Commission.

"I come finally to the Report of the Currency Commission of which I had the honour to be a member. Acute controversy has raged round one of its minor recommendations which has been raised to the level of a grave political issue. I do not wish to join this controversy except to declare once

again that the main consideration which weighed also with the majority of the Commissioners in deciding about the ratio was the express need of the masses and the poor middle classes of India for stable conditions for cheap commodities, cheap freights and low taxation. As a business man I may be tempted to favour a policy of inflation which leads to a raising of the price level and means increased profits to me but I honestly believe that for a country so poor as India it is imperative for her national well-being that the poor classes should be able to buy a sufficiency of food and nutrition at the lowest possible cost. We need to strengthen them and raise their standard of living. I do not mean to imply that currency should be used deliberately as a lever to regulate prices or as a means to redistribute wealth, but what I do say is this: that once a difficult period of uncertainty, risk and instability has been gone through, to deliberately start another cycle of similar uncertainties, even as advocated by some responsible people to correct certain injustices suffered during the first period—I say that such a policy is not practical wisdom. The advocates of a lower exchange rate choose to ignore the vast, almost convulsive, consequences that will follow a policy of inflation. When it is said that by reducing the ratio to 1s. 4d. you raise the rupee prices of only such articles as are exported, ignorance is shown of the facts of the market. If wheat and rice go up in price by two annas in the rupee, all other foodstuffs like vegetables, fish, fruit, milk etc., will immediately jump in price for one very good reason that the seller of vegetables, fish etc., is also a purchaser of rice or wheat, and if his rupees refuse to buy him as much wheat or rice as before, he will at once raise the price of his produce to compensate himself for the reduced purchasing power of the rupee. To be a willing party to a policy of raising the price-level all round appears to me to be a deliberate sacrifice of the interests of the poor.

"But, as I have said, the Commission's recommendation about the level at which exchange should be established forms only a minor issue. You will pardon me if I take this opportunity to ask a learned gathering like this one not to ignore the more important and fundamental recommendations of the Currency Commission in a futile controversy over the ratio. The Report has been before you for five months and it is unfortunate that such proposals as the Gold Bullion Standard and the Reserve Bank have not received the attention they deserve. As one of the Commissioners I hesitate to make any remarks which would sound like special pleading, and would, therefore, simply commend you to take the Report on its merits. Treat it as one of practical constructive schemes proposed for the improvements of our currency system and judge it in the light of your comprehensive knowledge of local conditions and the application of sound theory to practical circumstances. The members of the Commission would consider their labours well rewarded if you will bring to bear upon their scheme your analytical powers and by a reasoned synthesis help in pushing forward the reforms so urgently needed in our currency system.

"We have all at one time or other dreamt of a self-determining India, but political self-determination can hardly precede economic self-determination in the modern age. It is for business men and academic scholars together to help in securing for their country that increase in economic freedom and power which will automatically endow India with the status of complete nationhood.

I thank you, Gentlemen, for the very patient hearing you have given me."

Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, proposing Mr. Tannan to the chair, reviewed his career and said that though he did not belong to Bombay he conquered Bombay. He was the first Indian to become a permanent Principal of a College in Bombay.

Sir D. P. Sarvadhikari, in seconding, said that he was not prepared to admit rivalry with Bombay as in University and academic matters there was no jealousy.

The Presidential Address.

Principal Tannan, taking the chair, thanked the Reception Committee for the excellent arrangements. He devoted almost the whole of his address to a lucid exposition of Indian currency and exchange with special reference to the Currency Commission's report and defended fixing of the ratio at 18 pence on the ground *inter alia* that when the Commission considered the ratio question, the exchange had remained at the higher level for about a year and they, therefore, felt inclined to recommend its stabilisation at that level by statute. He asserted that the ratio would hardly affect small producers and agricultural labourers, and whether or not agricultural debts were increased by the higher ratio depended upon ascertaining the fact whether those debts had been contracted during the last nine years or before. He declared that as pretty nearly the whole of the mortgage debts of the Punjab agriculturists amounting to 37 crores of rupees was less than ten years old, the burden of agriculturists' debts was in no way increased by the 18 pence ratio. However, it might be that a large majority of these mortgages replaced old mortgages and in that case no doubt the burden of debts would be increased by the higher exchange. Though the effect on Government finance of the higher ratio could not be regarded as a decisive factor in determining the rate, its importance could not be ignored as the lower ratio might necessitate either retrenchment in public expenditure or additional taxation. Another argument in favour of the higher ratio was that the price level had more or less got adjusted to it and a return to the lower ratio would entail certain hardship.

The Gold Standard.

Mr. Tannan agreed with the Commission in stressing upon the system of gold standard with gold currency. As regards the immediate or early introduction of gold currency, he opined that it was not feasible though he admitted that the amount of rupees likely to be offered for conversion into gold could not be large.

Proceeding, he asserted that the immediate realisation of India's sterling securities was neither feasible nor desirable. He believed there would be no great objection to postponement of the opening of gold mint if it is definitely assured that within a comparatively reasonable period (five to seven years) it would be possible to put the Indian currency system on a gold currency standard basis. What was immediately needed was stoppage of the coinage of rupees, building up of the gold reserve required, transfer of the favourable balance of accounts in the form of gold to this country, maintenance of the ratio between gold and rupee and gradual substitution of Government currency notes by new bank notes.

Importance of Credit Organisations.

After emphasising the importance attached to credit organisations, Mr. Tannan drew attention to the disadvantages of the absence of a proper banking system and emphasised the need for a Central Bank and more banking offices, as also for encouragement of banking habit and wider use of cheque currency. They wanted banks with large capital and long term deposits for financing industries and agricultural improvements. Turning to the training of Indian youths for banking business, he was glad his proposal for starting an Indian Institute of Bankers has already been accepted and it was expected to come into existence in the near future.

Concluding, the President regretted that the study of economics in India has been neglected and strongly emphasised the need for greater attention to the subject in Indian Universities.

Reading of Papers.

When the Conference reassembled in the afternoon, a number of papers were read by various delegates, most of whom devoted their attention to currency and exchange. Mr. B. R. Rao read a paper on the "Gold Bullion Standard," Mr. J. C. Sinha on "Currency in the early British days" and Mr. A. J. Saunders on "Currency."

The Gold Bullion Standard.

Discussing the gold bullion standard, Mr. Rao declared that currency authorities' sole duty would be effectively to assimilate and regulate the consequences of gold export. India could obtain the gold required through trade channels. The automatic nature of the gold bullion standard system would be as effective as in the case of a pure gold standard with gold currency. The Indian currency system required great expansion of the total currency during the bad season for financing crop. The movement and contraction during the slack season of the gold bullion standard did not debar the country from the possibility of ultimate resumption of the gold currency.

Future of Paper Currency.

In his paper on the future of our paper currency Mr. Das Gupta said:— "Not the least of the defects of the present (paper currency) law is its unintelligibility except perhaps to university people who are omniscient for the sake of their pupils. Sir Basil Blackett has confessed that once he took up our Paper Currency Acts and after a day's labour with them gave up the task as hopeless. Paper currency had hitherto worked independently and often conflictingly with the totality of currency organisation.

Continuing, Mr. Das Gupta generally agreed with the Currency Commission's proposal regarding the Central Bank and paper currency and gold standard reserves. He sounded a note of warning as regards the elasticity of paper currency and said that though elasticity was desirable, there was also such a thing as over-elasticity.

History of Indian Currency.

Mr. J. C. Sinha in his treatise on "currency in the early British days" traced the history of Indian Currency from the Moghul period and its vicissitudes during the regime of the East India Company. He added: "The bark of Indian currency has sometimes sailed through calm waters, but has oftener than not been tossed in stormy seas. Captains have been many.

The most recent skipper is Mr. Hilton Young who was preceded by Messrs. Chamberlain and Babington Smith in the present century, Mansfield, Herschel and Fowler in the nineteenth and Herbert Harris in the eighteenth. The latest skipper, Mr. Hilton Young, has proposed to move the bark of Indian currency to gold by what he has called the gold bullion standard. This is another form of the gold exchange standard which failed us in the last storm of the war. The quest for a safe have begun so long ago is not yet ended."

Currency Reform.

Mr. A. J. Saunders in his paper on "Currency" declared that three steps were necessary in currency reforms: First, satisfactory national currencies, then winning the general approval of the industrial and commercial world, and finally evolution of a plan for a satisfactory international currency. Economists should be the first to recognise the great need of internationalising money as establishing a world's monetary system. A doctrine had recently appeared which was going to play a large part in the monetary reform in future. That doctrine was that the general level of prices which also included the value of money and at the same time the general state of trade and employment could be regulated by the work of central banks. He urged greater co-operation among leading central banks of the world for the purpose of regulating the world's demand and supply of gold. Another matter which called for united action was a system of international control of supply of raw materials and foodstuffs and the desirable practice of co-operative marketing. He also emphasised the importance of index numbers and how they should be used in regulating the value of money. All this led them in the direction towards which they were tending, that is, a satisfactory system of international currency.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Taxation on Agricultural Incomes.

Abolition of permanent settlement and taxation on agricultural incomes were criticised at great length at the sitting of the Conference on the next day the 4th January. Several subjects were dealt with and though the attendance was thinner than the previous day discussion was very lively and interesting in which a number of scholars participated.

Prof. J. P. Niyogi of the Calcutta University, speaking on taxation on agricultural incomes in Bengal said that the proposal to tax agricultural incomes in Bengal is often as novel and revolutionary in character when income-tax was first imposed on agricultural income in 1860.

Mr. James Wilson anticipated that the cry of violation of permanent settlement would be raised and he took care to make the position of Bengal Zamindars perfectly clear. He further observed that it was never thought of by the author of permanent settlement that Bengal Zamindars would be exempted from general taxes. Continuing, he said that if income-tax had been imposed in 1870 on agricultural income at the uniform rate of 5 pies in the rupee on the basis of a minimum taxable income of rupees two thousand a year, the yield would have been Rs. 12 lakhs. The distribution of agricultural income to-day, he concluded, was not materially different from what it was in 1870 as there were 840 Zamindars at the time; but they were told now that there were 650 Zamindars with a minimum income of Rs. 12,000 a year at present.

Khan Bahadur S. A. Latif, reading a paper on taxation on agricultural income in Bengal, said it was of first importance to ascertain and tap all possible sources of revenue. Money could possibly be found for giving effect to various nation-building schemes by reducing the cost of general administration and by imposing new taxes. He quoted detailed statistics to show the loss of revenue to the Government as a result of permanent settlement.

Concluding he said that under Cess Act, the minimum limit for each kind of cess is half an anna in the rupee. If this rate is increased by another ¼th anna there may possibly be good income to the State which may most usefully be utilised in connection with the spread of free primary education and he hoped that the intelligentsia of the country would not oppose this measure.

Mr. V. G. Ramkrishna Aiyar read a paper on capitation taxes.

Mr. C. D. Thompson, Reader in Economics in the Allahabad University, speaking on land value taxation for India, said that he proposed entire abolition of land revenue and substitution of a tax on selling value of land together with income-tax on large incomes from agriculture, He affirmed that there were two outstanding inequalities in Indian taxation. The first was that city land was not taxed except indirectly and highly while agricultural land was taxed heavily by land revenue. The second was that non-agricultural incomes were subject to progressive income-tax taking as much as one-third of the income in the case of largest incomes, while incomes from land were exempt from income-tax. A rich landlord, he emphasised, was taxed too lightly and the poor cultivator too heavily. He suggested that the first inequality could only be avoided by taxing city lands and agricultural lands on the same basis. If city lands were equally taxed, it should be possible to lower the rate on agricultural lands. If agricultural incomes were taxed along with other incomes, the small cultivators would all come below the limit of Rs. 2,000 and would be exempt and the second inequality would be done away with.

Taxation Enquiry Committee's Report.

Mr. S. V. Aiyar of the Dacca University criticised at length the report of the Taxation Enquiry Committee and said that as economists they could agree to scientific principles underlying taxation of inheritances such as imposition of death duties and estate duties, but the fundamental question was whether they were necessary. The whole question of equality of taxation depended on the correlated question of taxable capacity of different grades of community which has unfortunately not been tackled at all either by Government or by public from a scientific standpoint.

A discussion followed and a number of delegates participated. Prof. Findlay Shirras said that the Indian Taxation Enquiry Report was disappointing as a scientific document. He was much impressed by what the papers on taxation pointed out, the importance of agricultural incomes above a certain minimum. He emphasised that the absence of taxation on agricultural incomes in Bengal was the case in point specially in regard to funds for education and sanitation, but humorously concluded saying that when "politics enters the door, economics flies out of the window."

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in a forceful speech invited students of economics "in the name of democracy as well as growing Swaraj that is being established in India to devote greater attention to the question of educating the

public for a large number of direct taxes and for more taxation of every possible source of wealth."

The President, concluding, remarked that he was against indirect taxation as it was difficult to collect and urged for the abolition of *octroi* duties.

Indian Banking System.

The afternoon session of the Conference was devoted to the discussion of the Indian banking system. A paper was read on the organization of banking in India by Mr. B. T. Thakur. A lengthy discussion followed. Mr. Thakur said that the notable omission in Indian banking system was that of the Central Bank enjoying power of note issue. The Imperial Bank has been working so far something like the shadow of the Central Bank and those who had been actually engaged in commercial and banking activities of this country knew fully well how it fell far short of expectation. The chief defect he asserted from the national point of view of Indian banking was that it was dominated by non-Indians. Non-Indians who controlled banking and credit in this country could never really feel the economic pulsation nor could they have any broad national outlook.

Proceeding, Mr. Thakur said that Indian banking system to be complete should have banks owned and managed by the people of this country. There should first of all be a Central bank guiding money market in the national interest. Then they should have Commercial banks financing movements of goods, Exchange banks looking after foreign trade in India's interest, Agricultural banks supplying credit to agricultural community, Land Mortgage banks, Industrial banks, Savings banks and also private banks. Such banks should be protected by discriminating safeguards and watchfulness from powerful foreign organisation. This could only be done by special legislation and by Government administrative control.

Mr. Harish Chandra Sinha of the Calcutta University read a paper on indigenous banking in Bengal. It was through banking reform he suggested that currency reform might really be carried out. Another paper was read by Mr. S. K. Iyengar on rural banking organization.

Mr. Shirras leading a discussion said that the reserve bank brought to the Indian banking system unity of control of currency and credit. Even on the present restricted scale of banking here the absence of unified control over credit made the maintenance of monetary stability most difficult. The development of joint stock banking depended upon those institutions being able to turn in times of stress the maximum amount of their assests into cash and in support of those contentions he quoted from the recent issue of the *Economist*. He further said that to make joint stock banking really secure and thus to foster the growth of banking, a central banking system must now be brought into being. It was much easier to create a new Central Reserve Bank than to recreate the Imperial Bank. If it was to pioneer in branch banking it could not be subject to severe restriction of the Central Bank.

The President, concluding, suggested that a bank should be started by all the Indian banking concerns just on the lines of large foreign banks as an Indian Foreign Exchange Bank.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Labour Welfare and City Improvement.

The Indian Economic Conference concluded its sittings next day, the 5th January. Prof. Radhakamal Mookerjee, in the course of an interesting paper

on 'Labour Welfare and City Improvement', referred to the appalling infantile death rate and overcrowding industrial cities in India, and said that it was now realized more and more that the whole future of the country's industrial development was bound up with the question of improving the living and hygienic condition in the mill towns and industrial centres.

As a general rule, Prof. Mookerjee proceeded, 'Mill towns and industrial centres are still allowed to be built and to grow in India without reference to any plan or the possibilities of industrial development and expansion of population. Calcutta with her large number of single huts or *bustees* compacted together and Bombay with her immense back-to-back tenement houses represent two characteristic types of bad housing which are gradually spreading to every smaller industrial town in India. The colossal problems of sanitation, sewerage and transport in such big cities can be solved only by the adoption of western methods of town-planning, industrial housing and means of communication. For cities like these the system of zoning and development of industrial suburbs as well as cheap suburban transport have long been felt as essential to relieve the congestion, and progress in these directions will await education as well as the adaptation of rational habits to meet the demands of new development schemes in India. The village is often found split up into self-contained caste wards, each with its temple, its communal assembly and its municipality, as well as its own recreations and festivals. The traditions of handicraft and trade still support the tendencies of segregation and decentralization to a large extent. This characteristic national trait may be utilized in schemes of city development and extensions outside the present urban areas.'

Mr. Findlay Shirras said that in considering the labour problems the first thing that struck him was that the problem of distribution in the next two decades would be more important in this country than the problem of production. As regards the second point on the question of statistics of death rates in Bombay and other cities, they had to be very careful when dealing with those, because the population was not a typical one. For instance, in Bombay there were very few women as compared with men and women also went to their homes to have their first child. As regards the question of housing, the speaker said that in the Buckingham Mills in Madras and the Empress Mills in Nagpur, as also in certain mills in Bombay, a great deal was being done to provide proper housing accommodation for the labourers. Moreover, the Government of Bombay had built chawls, but the workers did not like to go to the chawls as the rents were fairly high and also because they did not like certain modified restrictions which they had to undergo. In his opinion what was necessary more than anything else to raise the standard of living of the workers was the provision of primary education.

The President, in concluding the proceedings, said that the real remedy lay in the raising of the standard of living of the workers. That could only be effected by increased production and proper distribution. If they could accomplish these two things, he had no doubt they would be able to do much to improve the conditions of the labouring classes.

FOURTH SESSION OF THE

Indian Industrial Congress

CALCUTTA—THE 31ST DECEMBER 1926.

The Fourth Session of the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress opened at Calcutta on the 31st December 1926 under the Presidentship of one of the foremost captains of Indian Industry, Sir Dinshaw Petit. This Session of the Congress was a landmark, for the Congress voted its own extinction to pave the way for an Indian counter-part of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. The Congress had been more or less a demonstrative and propagandist body and its proposed replacement by a federation with a proper constitution showed that the Congress had done its duty to mobilise Indian commercial opinion. Such an historic occasion naturally roused the utmost interest in both commercial and political circles and attracted a large number of delegates and distinguished visitors. The spacious Dalhousie Institute hall was packed and presented animated appearance.

The Welcome Address.

Mr. G. D. Birla, Chairman of the Reception Committee in welcoming the delegates said :—

"On behalf of the mercantile community of Calcutta, I have the greatest pleasure in offering you a hearty welcome. I welcome you to-day when the whole business atmosphere is surcharged with a gloomy feeling and characterised by an outlook of depression. As an after-effect of the great war the world prices are gradually falling and coming to their pre-war level.

"You may be aware that, during the war, while the world prices rose to the extent of 200 per cent, prices in India rose only to the extent of 100 percent due to appreciation of rupee in terms of sterling. As a result of her defective system of currency and exchange, India was deprived of large profit which should have legitimately accrued to her as a producing country and thus, while India did not get the full advantage of the rise in the world prices of commodities, she suffered more than any other country during the depression that set in after the war. You can see very well how to-day, in spite of four successive good crops that India has had, her purchasing power has been crippled and is at a very low ebb and what misfortune it is that, to add to our misery the Government wants to appreciate the rupee by 12½ per cent. It has been said by as great an authority as Mr. Kitchen that, because of the deficient production of gold, considerable fall is apprehended in world prices during the forthcoming year. Heaven forbid and if on the top of all this we have the added misfortune of having one or two bad crops, the cup of India's economic misery will become full to the brim.

"Gentlemen, I am not a pessimist. I do not wish to alarm you, but I want to put only bare facts before you. Because of the manipulation of exchange, we did not reap the full advantage of the world rise of prices

during the war. During the depression, we suffered most of all other countries. Successive good monsoons have kept us on our legs so far and now you have to consider whether India shall be able to stand a further blow of an appreciated rupee with a further fall in world prices and the possibility not unusual of a failure of crop. It is better that we took the time by the forelock and set about devising ways and means to fight the menace, which like the Democles' sword is hanging over your head.

A Plea for Unity.

"Personally I have got only one solution to offer and that is Unity among businessmen. If you want to live, just unite. Other nations also had some difficulties of similar nature which confront us to-day, and we know how they fought against them and overcame them. We do not require to go very far to seek example. You know how the jute industry of Calcutta has been able to fight against bad times during the last four years. You know how the sugar industry of the Manchester mills and the Rubber Industry of the world have fought and are still fighting against bad times and how they have succeeded. And what a pitiable contrast we find to these examples when we take into consideration the present condition of the Cotton Textile Industry which is controlled chiefly by the people who belong to our country? It is true that the Government has not shown that sense of responsibility and sympathy in dealing with the depressed condition of the cotton industry which we have a right to expect from it. It was only at the end of the last year that after an agitation of nearly 30 years we had an abolition of Excise Duties—a tax most unpatriotic in principle and unparalleled in the history of any other country—but you will agree that if it was abolished it was due to the concerted action which we took. Here again the utility and efficiency of united action was proved.

"We ought to take a lesson in this respect from the European community. You know that the number of the European merchants in this country is much smaller than ours and their combination, their unity has secured an influence for them which Indian merchants ought to aspire for. I remember a friend of mine, who was at that time the President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, remarking a few years back that it was not the Government of India but the Bengal Chamber of Commerce which ruled the country. I have to confess unfortunately I do not find much untruth in his remarks. In the recent utterance of Mr. Langford James in the presence of His Excellency the Viceroy there is a further proof of the contention. Too much association of Government and its members with the important functions of the Associated Chambers, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the European Association also goes to prove this suggestion.

"If we wish that in the interest of India the Indian community would have equal, if not more, influence on the administration of this country, I hope during the next session your conference will have achieved a status and a position by your unity in thoughts, words and deeds which will prove to the country as well as the Government that the Indian mercantile community could not be so easily ignored. It will, I hope, prove to the Government that it is equally essential and imperative for them, if not more, to attend the assembly of the Indian merchants and to be guided by their advice as it is to attend the European Chambers. Gentlemen, I say with all the emphasis at

my command that we are being studiously ignored to-day and this is a situation which is intolerable to us and which we should do all we can to seek deliverance from.

"Now gentlemen, on behalf of the Reception Committee, I again extend to you a cordial welcome to this fourth session of the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress. To me personally it is a great honour to have this opportunity of welcoming you, but I can by no means overlook the great responsibility which attaches to my position. To those of you who are attending the Congress from places far and near, the Indian Business Community of Calcutta are under special obligation. Our warmth of hospitality should be commensurate with the great pains and sacrifice at which you have attended the Congress. But, if the Reception Committee are unable to impress you with the sincerity of their welcome as deeply as they should, believe me, gentlemen, it is not because they lack intensity of feeling but because I happen to be their ineffective spokesman. If you find any defect or anything wanting in our arrangement and in our reception, I only hope that with the generosity which you are full of you will forgive me and not mind our shortcomings."

The Presidential Address.

Sir Dinshaw Petit then delivered the presidential address of which the following are the more important extracts:—

"A Committee was appointed to draft the constitution of an All-India Commercial body and this Committee has submitted to this session a carefully drawn out constitution and rules and regulations of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce which is the name suggested by the Committee for the All-India Commercial body. One of the principal resolutions which will come up for your acceptance relates to this Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and I hope that the Congress will give their unanimous approval to the resolution, heralding, as it does, a new Dawn for the Commercial and Industrial community of this country and carrying, as it does, in itself the potency of a genuine constructive work through the unity of all our Chambers of Commerce and Commercial Associations. India has not remained stationary and her onward march involves a host of complicated problems, the solution of which requires all the united strength of the Indian Commercial and Industrial community. Not only this but the dependent position of political and economic life in India makes it necessary for the Indian commercial and industrial organisations to stand shoulder to shoulder to fight against policies for exploiting this country and for retarding the development of its trade and industries. I congratulate the Indian Chamber of Commerce and the Bengal National Chamber of this City on their energy and zeal which have made it possible to have a Session of the Commercial Congress within one year of the last Session. If the resolution which is tabled before you meets with your approval, this Session will be the last to be known as the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress as the future sessions will be known as the annual meetings of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce. Let us hope that that new body will be a live and active organisation playing a great and conspicuous part in the history of trade and industries of this country.

The Exchange and Financial Policy of the Government.

"I referred just now to certain policies which were meant for the economic exploitation of this country and for retarding the progress of its trade and

industries. A glaring instance of this is afforded by the financial policy, which has drawn the attention of all our countrymen, at present pursued by the Government of India consequent upon the Report of the recent Royal Commission, some of the recommendations of which the Government of India seem to have made up their mind to put into effect in spite of the strong opposition of the Indian commercial community. People may not realise dangers which may lurk in particular policies of finance and it has therefore happened on several occasions in the past that even the most iniquitous pieces of legislation affecting the currency and exchange of this country have excited very little interest in the country and have been passed without much opposition. During the last six years, however, thanks to the ever vigorous vigilance of the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay, the financial conscience of the people has been aroused and the business community and even the lay public have begun to realise dangers that remain hidden in certain steps affecting the financial policy of the land. It is just because the financial conscience of the country has been aroused that we see a widespread and healthy agitation in the country against some of the recommendations of the Royal Currency Commission being foisted upon us. The worst of it is that the present policy of the Government and the recommendations of the Royal Commission are not an isolated incident but form, if I may say so, the logical evolution of the whole economic and financial policy which has been pursued by the Government of India since their establishment in this country. Whether you consider the acts of the East India Company which ruined the handloom industry of this country and reduced India from the position of an exporting country to be merely a bondslave of Lancashire importing more than rupees sixty crores of piecegoods or the steps which retarded the growth of the cotton textile industry or the steps which have cheated India of her legitimate Gold Standard and Gold Currency—all these are tarred with the same brush. All of them are marked by one common characteristic viz., a desire to benefit England at the expense of India.

"A good deal can be said on the recommendations of this Royal Commission, but I do not wish to weary you by repeating what you must have read in the papers or heard from the platform. A body of experienced and leading merchants has been formed under the name of the Indian Currency League and its intensive propaganda could not have failed to reach you. I therefore do not desire to make further remarks on this topic, which at present is all-absorbing and of the greatest importance. I cannot, however, pass on without expressing my great appreciation of the services of my esteemed friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas rendered as a member of the Royal Commission. Single-handed, he has stood out boldly for his studied views and opinion and by so doing he has won the hearts of his countrymen, though he may have forfeited his chances of being nominated to future commissions. The country will give its verdict on the recommendations of the Royal Commission through their chosen representatives when they are brought before the Legislative Assembly at the next session and His Excellency the Viceroy and will not be set aside should it be against such recommendations, by using his power of certification. I believe this will be the first occasion after His Excellency Lord Irwin has ascended to the high office of Viceroyalty of India that he will be called upon to take a decision of an immensely far-reaching character which would gain for the Government the confidence of the people of this country or further alienate the rulers from the ruled.

Industrial Development.

"The development of industries has often formed a favourite theme on many platforms and in the Press in this country. Unfortunately, the result is not great and a good deal of leeway still remains to be made before India can be considered a big industrial country. It is true she is recognised by the International Labour Conference as one of the eight leading industrial countries of the world, but her industries have not yet been developed in such a manner that she can be considered to be self-contained in the matter of her requirements. It was the war time ideal of the Government of India to make India a self-contained country and herculean efforts were made to get all the articles required for the military or civil use of the Government from indigenous resources. All this war time enthusiasm died away and the industrial situation remains practically what it was in pre-war times. If, at all, there has been some set-back consequent upon the reaction which has followed in the wake of the boom period when hundreds of new companies were started with a nominal capital of crores of rupees. It would not be an exaggeration to state that about 80 to 90 per cent of these new companies have proved still-born infants or have been forced to go into liquidation. All this holocaust has frightened away the usually shy Indian capital and new companies find it now extremely difficult to get adequate financial response. There was several causes for the catastrophic end to the boom period, one of the chief of them being lack of the necessary technical skill and training. It is not a little sad that despite strong demands of the public for technical education our young men should have still to go to foreign countries to acquire it and that there should not be even one Technological Institute in the whole land. We cannot rest content with merely saying that the Government have failed in their duty by not providing such an institute. If they have failed in their duty so have we, and I trust this question will now be seriously taken up and before long every facility will be provided for the Technical Education of our young men. It will not only be a help to our industries, but also will go a great way to relieve the middle-class unemployment of which we hear so much now-a-days. India is primarily an agricultural country and it should not be the ideal to convert her into a purely industrial country in the sense in which, for instance, England and Germany have become industrial countries. But we must at least be able to use our raw material for making the finished article instead of as at present the raw material going out of the country for the foreigner to convert it into, or utilise it in making, a finished article, which would bring him greater amount of money which should have been ours but for our backward industrial state. New industries cannot be started till our young men have the requisite technical knowledge which would be impossible in every instance to obtain in India and could only be obtained by practical work inside the factories. Our boys should, therefore, be sent out to different countries in Europe and to America and Japan to get the necessary training which would help them in starting new industries in India. Neither the Government nor the nation have taken up this question seriously.

The Agricultural Commission.

"We must always recognise the supreme importance of agriculture to this country. It is because of this that I appreciate the appointment by the Government of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. We hope their

investigations in this country will convince them that the agricultural population is living on the verge of starvation and that it is useless to preach them improved methods of cultivation, unless facilities financial and other have been provided by Government. It will be incumbent upon them to make suggestions that will lead to an improvement of the present income and the present financial position of the cultivator. The introduction of modern methods in agriculture will necessarily involve the use of uptodate implements which if once adopted by the agriculturist will be required always and to the tune of several lakhs and I trust that due steps will be taken to manufacture them in India with Indian labour and as far as possible with Indian material. One of the pressing problems before the Commission will be the utilisation in the best manner possible of the spare time of agriculturists and it may well be that the spinning wheel may be accorded a fitting recognition in the national economy. The problem of agricultural finance needs also pressing attention. Any consideration of this will involve the consideration of the effects of the currency and exchange policy of the Government of India on agriculture. The indebtedness of agriculturists is terribly heavy in this country and is put down at between Rs. 600 to 800 crores.

" Co-operative Credit Societies which involve a finance of Rs. 50 crores have been rendering some help in the way of financing agriculture, but much more is needed in the shape of Agricultural Banks and a great number of co-operative societies if the vast problem of agricultural finance is to be properly tackled. Till then, I fear, the complaint that towns and cities are developing at the expense of villages from which men and money are drained away will remain justified to a large extent.

The Transport Problem.

"Coming to the transportation problems, the first thing that attracts the attention is the heavy freight charges and passenger rates which have increased so much as compared with pre-war rates. The movement in all the countries has been recently in the direction of reduction, but in this country such reductions, if any, are so far most disappointing and I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that the present railway rates and fares are a most serious burden on trade and industry in this country which is now under a serious and increasing depression for several years. The Finance Member puts it down as one of the blessings of his eighteen pence rupee that the railway rates and freights will be reduced. No such reduction is visible as yet despite the fact that the eighteen pence ratio has been in operation for about two years. These freights and rates act as a strong deterrent against the progress of trade, industries and agriculture and early steps must be taken to give relief in this direction to the public. It is sometimes argued that the rates and fares in this country are cheaper than those prevalent in some of the Western countries. For purposes of comparison, however, the poverty of this country must be taken into account. Rates and fares which may be considered low for a rich country like England or the United States of America cannot be compared with those of an extremely poor country like ours. In connection with the railway freights, you all know that the Railway Rates Advisory Committee is now in existence since the last six months. This body was created under the recommendation of the Acworth Committee and on the pressing demands of our commercial community. Unfortunately, the constitution of the Advisory Committee

is not what was recommended by the Acworth Committee or asked by the commercial community. This should not deter us, however, from making as much use as possible of this Advisory Committee. It rests with you Gentlemen, as representatives of the different Chambers of Commerce and Commercial Associations, to place the questions affecting rates before the Advisory Committee for necessary action.

"The other aspect of the question is that more attention should be paid to developing the agricultural districts and providing light railways for them rather than devote immense amounts of money merely to what are called "trunk lines" which are of military importance and which cater more to the foreign import and export trade rather than to the internal trade of the country. In this connection the part being played by the automobile industry in the development of agricultural districts deserves special mention. This development of the automobile traffic is of recent growth only but I shall not be considered to exaggerate if I see a very large future for this traffic in this country of vast distances and with huge tracts still left untouched by the railways. The automobile traffic has been at several places competing with the railways even in the advanced Western countries and there is no reason why it should not have an equally good field here, specially as there are several large areas that the railway system has not penetrated as yet. I admit that every motor car or truck imported means so much money gone out of the country, but the remedy for this does not lie in the continuance of our old-time cart traffic but in the development of motor-car making industry in this country".

After criticising the policy of the Government in not accepting the recommendations of the Mercantile Marine Committee and after welcoming the announcement that a training ship would work at Karachi, the President continued,

Taxation Question.

"There will be some resolutions before you, Gentlemen, dealing with the question of taxation. I would like to repeat, what Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, as a member of the Retrenchment Deputation said before Lord Reading, that the maximum taxable capacity of the people of India had been long passed. The main burden of taxation falls upon the trade and industries of the country, and there is always a tendency to mark them down as the best fitted to bear any burdens that may be imposed upon them. They may be a good milch-cow but there is a limit even to the capacity of a milch-cow to give milk and there is the well known proverb of "killing the goose that lay golden eggs." It must be remembered that besides Imperial taxation there is now taxation imposed by the Provincial Governments as also the different rates and cesses imposed by local bodies like municipalities, Port Trusts, etc. I am glad to note that a large number of elected members of at least one Council *viz* : the Bombay Legislative Council are taking steps to form a party to oppose any proposals for further taxation. The lead which is thus given by Bombay may well be taken up by members of the other Provincial Legislatures as also of the Legislative Assembly. We must all combine in asking for a halt to any further proposals of taxation. If the revenue is not sufficient to meet the expenditure, there must be cuts in the latter and not any increase in taxation.

Labour Legislation.

"You all heard a good deal about labour legislation during the last few months when the Cotton Textile Tariff Board met to collect evidence. India is one of the few countries which have loyally carried out the recommendations and resolutions passed by the International Labour Conference of Geneva. Here too, however, as in the case of taxation, there is a limit to the capacity of this country to adopt such legislation. I am not opposed to labour legislation. For the matter of that, the Bombay Millowners' Association too, are not opposed to labour legislation as is seen by the fact that they have approved of and observed in practice the different legislative enactments passed by the Government of India affecting the position of labour. What I want to say, however, is that not all the recommendations with regard to labour passed by the International Labour Conference can be suitable to this country. Our social and economic conditions, not to mention political, are different in many respects from similar conditions of the West, and it would be impeding the growth of industrialism in this country for it to be asked to adopt all the latest labour legislative measures that may be adopted by more advanced countries which are well established in their industries.

"In connection with this question of the International Labour Conference and the other International Conferences, the Indian public has got a good deal of grievance against the Government. These International Conferences are a feature of post-war conditions in the world and every country which is a member of the League of Nations or the International Labour Conference makes it a point to be represented by its own nationals. It is only India, so far as I know, which is asked to rest satisfied with non national representatives at such Conferences. The Honourable Sir Pheroze C. Sethna drew attention to this state of things in the Council of State and there was a good deal of agitation by several of our Indian Chambers of Commerce during the current year with regard to the appointment of a representative of Employers to the International Labour Conference. Time has come when the Government of India must be asked to lay down in so many words that India 'shall be' represented at all these International Conferences and Congresses only by Indians, recommended by the Legislative Assembly. It is a question involving our self-respect and it should not be treated lightly.

"Gentlemen, I have done. It is essential for a healthy growth of trade and industries that both the Government and the people should be keenly alive to the necessities of the situation and do their best for removing any impediments which may be standing in the way of such a development. I have pointed out several directions wherein the Government may fulfil their part of the duty. May I say that our part of the duty consists in developing a spirit of corporate and public life and a spirit of working hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder without any difference with regard to Provinces, or caste or creed? It is because I think that Chambers of Commerce and Commercial Associations are helpful and instrumental in bringing about such a spirit that I welcome the proposal for the establishment of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

"With these words, Gentlemen, I have now to request you to proceed with your deliberations".

After the Presidential Address has been read all the delegates of the Congress constituted themselves into a Subjects Committee which met in the afternoon and disposed of several resolutions to be put in the open Congress next day.

Proceedings and Resolutions.

2ND DAY—THE 1ST JANUARY 1927.

The Industrial and Commercial Congress reassembled at noon on this day with an agenda containing 32 resolutions as passed by the Subjects Committee. Most important of these related to currency and exchange and was the subject of interesting discussions. The resolutions recommended the adoption of 1s. 4d. ratio, condemned the gold bullion standard as a retrograde step and urged gold standard with a gold currency, and the location of reserves in India, protested against deflation, was alarmed at the probability of sale of silver from the Currency Reserve, opined that the sale of Council Bills and purchase of sterling in India should not exceed home charges budgeted for the year, and lastly urged the retention of normal legal obligation to convert currency notes into the metallic equivalent subject to suspension of obligation with the Assembly's approval in case of emergency such as abnormal rise in silver price. The Subjects Committee was also able to dispose of the day before the entire business and accordingly helped the Congress to conclude its labours earlier than was apprehended when notices of 148 resolutions were received from various constituent bodies.

1.—Development of Indian Banking.

Sir Dinshaw Petit said that the currency resolution would be discussed later. Two resolutions put from the chair were adopted, namely (1) for the immediate appointment of a Commission consisting of a majority of Indians with an Indian as Chairman to investigate the present position of Indian banking generally to suggest measures for further development and (2) that the stamp duty on cheques and bills of exchange be altogether abolished as recommended by the Currency Commission in paragraph 116 of the report.

2.—Draft Constitution of Federation of Chambers.

Sir Purushottamdas moved: "The Congress approves of the constitution and draft rules and bye-laws of proposed Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and resolves that a Provincial Committee be appointed with the President of the Congress as President and the following gentlemen as members to look after the affairs of the Federation till a new Committee is elected under the rules and regulations of the Federation: Mr. G. D. Birla, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya, Mr. Jamal Mahomed, Lala Harkishen Lal, Adamji Haji Dawood, Messrs. Jamshed Mehta, Vikramjit Singh, Shri Ram, W. C. Banerjee, B. F. Madon, Kasur Bhai and Mr. D. P. Khaitan, and Rai Bahadur A. C. Banerjee, treasurers".

The resolution was passed.

3.—The Currency Resolution.

Mr. G. D. Birla next moved the currency resolution :—

(a) "This Congress has read with great alarm and regret that portion of the report of the Royal Commission on Currency and Finance recommending the 18d. gold ratio (5-47 grains of gold) in defiance of practically unanimous Indian opinion in the country and records its firm conviction that the proposed 18d. ratio, will, if adopted, be to the serious detriment of agriculture and industry and will increase the burden of the agriculturist and drive him deeper into debt. This Congress further urges upon the Government that in the proposed legislation for Reform of Currency system, the exchange value of the rupee should be fixed at 7-53 grains gold.

(b) "This Congress reiterates the opinion of the third session of the Congress held in Delhi in February 1926 that the present system of currency is harmful to the interests of this country and the present gold resources of the country being in the opinion of this country sufficient for the immediate introduction of an effective gold standard and gold currency the present system should be replaced by a gold standard and gold currency at the earliest practicable date. This Congress is further of opinion that the gold bullion standard recommended by the Royal Currency Commission and embodied in the Currency Bill introduced in the Assembly in last August is merely the gold exchange standard in another name and is a retrograde step from the policy recommended by the Fowler Committee and accepted by Her Majesty's Government.

(c) "This Congress is of opinion that all reserves should be located entirely in India, that all future accretion to reserve should be in the form of gold and that existing securities in reserves may be realised as recommended by the Currency Commission.

(d) "This Congress lodges its emphatic protest against the policy of continued deflation for maintaining the exchange value of the rupee at 18d. as it endangers the establishment of an effective gold standard.

(e) "This Congress views with alarm the probability of sale of silver from the Currency Reserve and deprecate any policy which may necessitate such sale. This Congress draws the attention of the Government to the serious decline in price of silver during the last three months based on an apprehension of such sale by the Government of India and records its confirmed opinion that as investments of masses in ornaments, etc., are to a large extent in silver any further decline in the price of that metal will so reduce their resources as to seriously affect their power.

(f) "This Congress is of opinion that Council Bills and purchases of sterling in India either by the Government or by currency authorities should not, in any year, exceed the amount of home charges budgetted for that year in order not to impede free inflow of gold into India and thus insure building up of gold resources of the currency system.

(g) "This Congress disapproves of the recommendation of Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance which suggests the abolition of the Government to convert on demand currency notes of the Government of India into their metallic equivalent. This Congress, moreover, recognises that under certain contingencies and, therefore, suggests that retaining normal legal obligation, provision may be made by law against an extraordinary emergency when with the sanction of a specific resolution of the Assembly

passed in that behalf the legal obligation may be suspended for the time being to tide over an emergency such as an abnormal rise in price of silver."

In moving the above resolutions Mr. Birla reviewed the recent history showing how 40 to 50 crores were lost in trying to stabilise the exchange at 2s. The exchange came to 1s. 4d. but the Government forced it up to 1s. 6d. and wanted to stabilize it at that figure. Sir Basil Blackett's strongest points were that the ratio was *de facto* and that prices had adjusted. As for the *de facto* rate, the Government could, with its resources, force the exchange up to 2s. and say it was the *de facto* rate. Similarly, whatever the rate of exchange, exports to and imports from foreign countries adjusted in themselves easily, but Sir Basil Blackett had given no answer to the question whether prices of commodities in this country had adjusted themselves internally, whether the interest paid to the sahukar and railway rates, for instance, had adjusted themselves to new conditions. He charged the Government with imposing by foul means taxation to the extent of 12½ per cent. He condemned the gold bullion standard if it was to be a permanent institution but would not be so much opposed to it if the ultimate ideal was a gold standard with gold currency.

Mr. B. F. MADAN in seconding the resolution said :

There is a most important reason why we insist on a gold currency. The gold coins cannot appreciate or depreciate in value in terms of gold. A sovereign is 113 grains of fine gold and it cannot be worth more than 113 grains or less than 113 grains. Therefore, if we had gold coins in circulation, the man in the street would know what his own currency was and would not be so easily misled as he has been in the past ten years as to the true nature of the manipulations that the Government has been carrying on. We condemn the gold bullion standard, recommended by the Currency Commission. This is because it is not only no advance on the pre-war position but is actually a step backwards. In pre-war days, we had silver rupee in general circulation but sovereign also was legal tender and millions of sovereigns did actually go into circulation. Under the gold bullion standard, there is to be no gold coin in circulation. You are, of course, told that you will be allowed to get gold in exchange for currency provided you can take not less than 400 oz., say 1,000 tolas at a time, how many of us even in this room can avail ourselves of this facility. It is merely a mirage and if we agree to it we shall never have a gold currency, never be in a position to make our own receipts and payments in gold and five or ten years hence we shall be told that we have been able to do without a good currency and there was, therefore, no need for one for another 50 years. This will mean that the currency system of this country will be at the mercy of manipulation for all time, because the average man will find it difficult to appreciate then as he has found it difficult to appreciate to-day that there was any manipulation going on We are told that the Currency Commission most carefully considered the question of a gold currency but found it impossible to inaugurate it to-day. They do say so. But that is because they went on a wrong assumption that the rupees now in circulation had to be called in and gold coin put into circulation in their place. Then they talked of the immense amount of gold that would have to be provided for such an operation and told us that neither America nor England could give it, etc. They need not have made any such assumptions. Our case to-day is very similar to that of the United States in 1898 when it wanted to go on to the gold standard. That

country also then had a vast amount of silver money in circulation. That country also did not then command sufficient gold to convert all that silver money or any large part of it into gold and what it did then could very well be done by us to-day. In fact Mr. Benjamin, the Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of new York said so.

Alluding to the ratio, Mr. Madan said : This device of ratio was resorted to enable us to link the rupee to gold when after the report of the Fowler Committee, this country decided to finally abandon the silver standard and go to the gold standard. Then also we had the same problem. It was considered impossible to withdraw the silver rupees and substitute gold coins. So the device was adopted of leaving the rupee as it was, but providing by law that it should be equal to 7-53 grains of gold. Therefore ever since the Fowler report we were on a gold standard with the rupee as a fixed fraction, the fifteenth part of our gold coin. For various reasons it was considered unnecessary to introduce a new gold coin of our own and true sovereign was adopted as gold that should circulate in this country as it did in England. Ever since then whenever we spoke of having to pay or receive say Rs. 1,500 it really meant having to pay or receive 100 sovereigns and this was the basis of all contracts. The Government now want to make the 18d. gold. This really means that for every Rs. 1,500 of land tax they want to collect from us £112½ instead of the £100 that would otherwise be due to them. This is bad enough but what is far worse is that they compel everyone who has to make any payments to pay 12½ per cent. more in gold to his creditor or find 12½ per cent more in its equivalent in commodity. The section of the population that is most largely concerned is our agricultural population whose indebtedness may be roughly put down at about 800 crores. The burden of this debt is increased by 100 crores, namely the cultivator will have to find a further 100 crores worth of commodity to repay this debt whenever he is in a position to do so. If he is paying say 1 per cent. per month for interest, the total interest burden is about 96 crores and the change to 18d. means that our agricultural population must find year by year a further 12 crores worth of commodity to pay this charge alone. Sir Basil Blackett has been good enough in some of his recent utterances to point out that when we talk of 16d. or 18d. we really mean that rupee should stand for 7-53 grains or for 8-47 grains. He cannot but agree that the principal and interest due by the cultivator will now be equal to so many more grains of gold. The argument is, however, put forward that prices of commodities having risen, the cultivator is now so well off that he can afford to pay these increased charges. Those who argue like this do not appreciate that it upsets the very foundation of all contracts. Prices of commodities are really the remuneration that the cultivator gets for his labour. If it is right to ask him to pay more because he earns more, it would surely be right to apply the argument all round. Thus, if a man has contracted a debt of Rs. 2,000 when drawing only Rs. 200 a month, it was equal to the value of 10 months' labour. Suppose he is now earning Rs. 300 a month. Would it be right to say that there was nothing wrong in asking him to pay Rs. 3,000 against that debt of Rs. 2,000 because it still meant only 10 months' salary. Put thus, I am sure you will all agree that the thing is absurd and that there was no meaning in making contracts if they had to be varied when the circumstances of the debtor changed. But let us take the argument a bit further. Suppose this man had

contracted a debt of Rs. 3,000 when he was earning Rs. 3,000 a month, but owing to trade depression he is now getting only Rs. 200 a month. Can he justifiably ask his creditor to reduce the debt from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 2,000. The very thing is absurd. But if they argue as they do that the cultivator should pay more because he is earning more to-day, these people in ordinary fairness should also agree that he should pay less when he earns less. In other words if prices go down 33 per cent. *i.e.*, back to the power level, the cultivator should also be put in a position to pay less to the same extent to the sowcar. Is such a state of things feasible, even thinkable? Are we to manipulate currency up and down every few years to readjust debts in this way? I don't think this is seriously meant by those who are putting such arguments forward. It is only done to-day to beguile us into quietly accepting the present manipulation. There are some people who refuse to agree that there is any loss to the cultivator and go at a tangent into talk of commodity prices, etc. The plain issue is this: Government says it makes a profit of about 4½ crores in exchange. What we may ask these critics is from whose pocket comes all this? Does it drop from the Heaven? Then there are others who say rightly or wrongly 18d. is there for 2 years. Why disturb it? Many of these people are Englishmen. I would ask them, is a wrong not a wrong if it has prevailed for 2 years? If the doctrine is sound, then Germany was in Belgium for 5 years. Why did Britain and the Allies make such tremendous sacrifices in order to drive Germany out.

Another point that we make is about deflation. I believe that what with sterling securities and Indian securities there has been a total deflation of some 27 to 28 crores since 1st April 1926. In his evidence before the Currency Commission, Sir Basil Blackett said that 25 crores would be an outside figure and a member of the Commission, I believe, Sir Narcot Warren, said that it could not be more than 10 crores. Well, to-day after a good monsoon, the Government has been compelled to deflate more than what Sir Basil Blackett himself thought the maximum and this shows what immense sacrifices of our reserves have already had to be made to maintain the 18d. ratio. What shall we do if we have one or two bad years in succession? The worst of it is that it depletes our gold resources and actually puts the establishment of the gold standard in danger. It is, therefore, necessary to protest most emphatically against this action of the Government.

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa (Karachi), supporting the resolution, said that public opinion should be thoroughly created in this country in order to strengthen the hands of Indian members in legislatures and thereby compel the Government not to put their bill into operation.

An Amendment Ruled out of Order.

The President announced that there was notice of an amendment by Mr. Jadu Nath Roy (of Bengal National Chamber) that there was no reason to oppose the Currency Commission's recommendation for 1s. 6d. ratio.

The President pointed out that he had no desire in the least to stifle opposition but the amendment, being a negative one, was out of order. At the same time the President allowed Mr. J. N. Roy to explain his views against the resolution and even vote against it.

Mr. J. N. Roy, thereupon, opposed the resolution. He warned them that even Germany and France with their big resources could not prevent

the fall of the mark and the franc. Why, he asked, lower the purchasing power of the rupee? As Sir Sivaswami Aiyar had shown, the agriculturist was not only a producer but was also a consumer and that in most cases, they were consumers more than producers. 1sh. 4d. would thus adversely affect the agriculturist. He was opposed to artificial help to industries. The policy of protection was there for that purpose.

Mr. Amirchand of Delhi speaking on behalf of importers, appealed to the Congress to keep in view that whatever the rate of exchange, importers stood for stability and they were already committed for months on 1s. 6d. basis. If the ratio was suddenly changed into 1s. 4d. importers would lose as heavily as in 1921. He pleaded that the Government's policy should be given another trial for a year and they should see whether the Government maintain sufficient gold resources. If the Government failed again, then would time come for some remedy.

Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas regretted that Mr. Jadu Nath Roy had not given many reasons for the attitude of opposition to the resolution. He could not understand the reason underlying his support of 1s. 6d. ratio. He wondered if Mr. Roy spoke in his personal capacity or on behalf of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. J. N. Roy: I was speaking in my personal capacity.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas: "I am glad to hear that. Indeed I would have been surprised if it was otherwise, for we have here opinions of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce oral as well as written given before the Currency Commission and there is clear evidence that they did not oppose 1st. 4d. nor supported 1s. 6d. ratio. The President of the Commission put the definite question to the representative of the Bengal National Chamber before the Commission as follows: "To what rate of exchange in your opinion the country has adjusted itself?" The answer was 1s. 4d. The next question by Mr. Hilton Young was "and it follows that no adjustment has taken place to 18d. ratio?" The witness replied 'Yes.' Thus if there had been no adjustment of 18d. ratio on the 4th January last year, Sir Purshottamdas wondered whether within a year complete adjustment had taken place to warrant the position of Mr. Jadu Nath Roy.

Regarding Mr. Amirchand's opposition, Sir Purshottamdas fully sympathised with the importers but it was clear that the latter part of his speech was in favour of 1s. 4d. ratio and against 1s. 6d. ratio. It was quite true that the importers in this country had an impression that they would be hit by the lower ratio. He asked Mr. Amirchand whether his Association (the Delhi Importer's Association) had considered the question as to how after four good monsoons, India was not able to afford or purchase imported articles despite all the efforts and resourcefulness of middlemen. The Delhi Association should join in settling this exchange question instead of speculating and taking risks of exchange in the chance of saving 1/8 or 1/16 pence. To the importers also it was far better that this question of ratio was decided soon rather than be hanging on uncertainties. But the decision must be in the interests of the whole of India and not in the interests on one class or community. As Sir Basil Blackett himself pointed out in his speech in the Assembly, the ratio must be fixed at whatever figure not in the interests of the consumer or the taxpayer considered in isolation but of India as a whole.

Proceeding Sir Purshottamdas referred to the speech of the Finance Member made at Cawnpore and alluded to that portion of it which related to exchange fluctuation and pointed out with the help of statistics that except for a period of 20 months, the rupee ruled about one and four gold and certainly under one and six gold. The one and four gold ruled from 1899 to 1924 when the Government deliberately rigged it up higher. What then was the good of the Finance Member trying to keep back from the public that the figures were for sterling and not for gold? The discussion was all along for gold and not for sterling. If it had been any other person, he (speaker) would have accused him of deliberately misleading the country but as the person was the Finance Member of the Government, he would reserve his remarks for a different occasion. (Loud laughter and cheers). Then again, Sir Basil Blackett had sought to make out that there was no difference to cultivators whether the exchange was fixed at one and four or one and six ratio. He did not think that Sir Basil took the authority of small men but there was the authority of Right Hon. Hilton Young. Mr. Hilton Young was the Editor-in-Chief of "The Financial News" and Mr. Hamilton addressed a letter to that paper on the 27th August pointing out that the Bill introduced in the Assembly was unfair to the producer because it added to the burden of the cultivator. The suggestion was that if one and six ratio was placed on the statute book then the Government should give a proportionate decrease in land revenue collection as soon as the Bill was passed. The note by the editor was: "Assuming that the present Currency Bill be adopted, the assessments as they fall in must be revised under 1s. 4d. basis land tax." Thus it was clear that the argument that agriculturists were not affected was clearly wrong.

Proceeding Sir Purshottamdas referred to the fact that certain papers which were sometime ago opposed to one and four ratio were now expressing themselves that the Finance Member made a mistake in not setting the ratio when in September 1924, things were favourable for stabilising the ratio at one and four and they all know how one and six ratio had worked. The total deflation since first April last had been thirty-one crores and yet there were people in India who got up and said that the rupee must be stabilized at one and six. The two factors which must guide them in settling this ratio problem were attainability and maintainability and judged by both, the one and four was the only ratio and not the ratio which had been maintained artificially by adopting unjustifiable methods, methods which lacked the sanction of the Indian people. The European element of the population had been significantly silent in public over one and four ratio and very few had the courage of conviction to openly support that ratio although in private talks they would express themselves in agreement with Indian opinion. Sir Basil had told India, that unless one and six ratio was accepted, there woul l be no other currency reform. It was for the legislature to give an adequate reply to this challenge. The effort of the Finance Member to fix the ratio at one and six was a concerted attempt to take India to two shillings ratio. He saw danger ahead in this attempt and urged Indians to thwart the Government in their efforts. They must also tell the Government that they knew the problem well and proposed to look after themselves.

The currency resolution was then put and passed by an overwhelming majority, only three dissenting.

4.—The Insurance Legislation.

Mr. R. H. Gandhi of the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce moved : "This Congress is of opinion that legislation is urgently needed for proper regulation of life, fire, marine and other insurance companies in India with a view to safeguarding the interest of policy-holders and the general public." Mr. Gandhi was supported by Mr. Khaitan They emphasised that foreign insurance companies operating in India did not invest premiums in this country. Their properties were not in India and policy-holders had no means of recovering the loss if a company closed. This free permission given to foreign insurance companies was proving more disastrous. Conditions were imposed which made it impossible for Indian companies to do business, for instance, in respect of jute trade. Such state of affairs could be permitted under British rule only. Both in the interest of policy-holders and indigenous enterprise, the present policy must be condemned.

The resolution was passed.

5.—Income-Tax and Business Losses.

Rai Bahadur Badrinath Goenka of the Marwari Association, Calcutta, moved and Mr. Amulyadhone Addy of the Bengal National Chamber supported the following resolution, which the mover said asked for elementary justice, which was passed : "This Congress wishes to impress on the Government the equity of making provision for business losses, when counting income-tax and strongly recommends that it should be made permissible for assessees to carry forward losses for an adopted period of three years, a principle which is endorsed by the Taxation Enquiry Committee in paragraph 230 of their report."

6—.Export Duty on Hides and Skins.

Mr. Mahomed Ismail of the South India Hides and Skins' Association, Madras, moved : "This Congress strongly urges the Government not only to maintain the present export duty on skins and hides but also to restore it to the original figure of 15 per cent."

Mr. Ismail pointed out that this was the most important industry of Madras Presidency and that the Fiscal Commission had recommended its reduction, without the higher duty having had a fair trial.

Mr. C. Gopala Menon thought that the tanning industry was passing through great crisis. He was alarmed at the suggestion made by Sir Basil in Burma that he would abolish the duty at an early date. This would mean that tanners in this country would face the same situation as the Bombay mills were facing at the hands of Japan in respect of cotton goods made from cotton exported from India.

7.—The Abolition of Cotton Excise Duty.

Sir Dinshaw Petit put from the chair the following resolution which was passed : "This Congress marks its appreciation of the abolition by the Government of India of the unfair cotton excise duty removing a longstanding grievance of this country and trusts the Government will adopt suitable measures to enable this most important industry to maintain its ground against unfair foreign competition.

8.—Enquiry into the Question of Coal Trade.

Rai Bahadur A. C. Banerji moved: "Having regard to the observations in the minority report of the Tariff Board by Mr. Ginwalla that the examination of the question of export of coal in still incomplete, and that it can no longer be undertaken as a piece-meal business and also that of the majority report to the effect that duty alone is not sufficient to bring about development of coal trade of the country (which gave them ground to reject the claims of the trade to duty on foreign competitors), this Congress urges on the Government of India to refer the question again to the Tariff Board this time with an enlarged scope of enquiry comprising within it the question of a countervailing duty on South African coal, duty on all imported coals and oil fuels competing in the coal market of the country."

In moving the resolution Mr. Banerji said that Mr. Ginwalla put such critical questions and cross questions that they thought he (Mr. Ginwalla) was opposed to it but his minority report showed that Mr. Ginwalla was only anxious to get at the botton of things.

Mr. N. Parekh seconded and the resolution was adopted.

Mr. H. D. Jasani of the Bombay Shroff Association and Indian Merchants' Chamber also supported the above resolution before it was passed. They pointed out that the demand was supported by the European community as the Income-tax Department, Mr. Jasani said, was becoming severer every day and was squeezing out as much as possible.

9.—Enquiry into Multifarious heads of Taxation.

Rai Bahadur A. C. Banerjee of the Indian Mining Federation moved that in view of multifarious taxation on different heads such as road, water cess, health cess, etc., which are overburdening collieries in Jharia and Raneeganj fields, this Congress urges on the Government to make a sifting enquiry into the matter with a view to find means to lighten existing burden and fixing it at a lower percentage. Mr. Banerjee said they had already been addressed by the Government and had been told by them that they would favour amalgamation of various boards which levied cesses but in order that reduction might be brought about in respect of total cess charge, they wanted a Committee of Enquiry.

Mr. W. C. Banerjee of the Bengal National Chamber counted the various taxes which the coal industry was paying over and above those by other industries. In addition there were other paid political blackmailers who threatened to take away money from them. The resolution intended to rouse Government from its usual lethargy. The resolution was put and carried.

10.—Protection to Match Industry.

Captain W. Petavel of the Match Manufacturers' Association moved: "(a) This Congress is of opinion that the Indian Match Industry fulfils all the conditions laid down in paragraph 97 of the Indian Fiscal Commission and therefore deserves to be protected.

"(b) This Congress, therefore, urges that the present rates of import duty on matches, splints and veneers be maintained and facilities be provided to make suitable indigenous woods easily available and that transport facilities be afforded to the industry.

"(c) That this Congress recommends to the Government of India that in order to enable the Indian Match Industry to overcome its technical difficulties

and to be developed, legislation be undertaken by them to the effect that all trusts of foreign capitalists establishing factories in India should pay excise on their produce products, the amount of such excise being fixed at a figure calculated to prevent such trusts from strangling the Indian Match Industry with a view ultimately to monopoling the market and

"(d) That it be also enacted that the inclusion of a few Indian capitalists in such a trust should not be considered a plea for its exemption from the operation of the above rule, such mixed trusts being entitled only to a reduction in the amount of excise in proportion to Indian capital thus employed."

In moving the resolution Capt. Petavel said that uneconomic agricultural holdings would no longer be a night-mare for rural India if India could develop industries as had been done in Belgium where agricultural holdings were even smaller than in India, and the match industry held out prospect of adoption all over India as material for its production was available all over the country.

Mr. R. H. Gandhi warned that Swiss and American trusts were world-wide and that these trusts threatened their industries. Not only the Government but the public must be fully roused to a realization of the danger.

Mr. Hussein Bhai Lalji said that though the Government had appointed Directors of Industries and other administrative staff, they had never tried to find out what industries were possible. Here was the match industry which held out prospect of considerable forest revenue. If the match industry prospered, this industry would give employment to no less than four lakhs of people.

Mr. P. M. N. Mehta of the Glass Bangle Merchants' Association, Bombay, urged doubling of duty to protect Indian industry. They could be self-contained in the matter of matches.

The resolution was put and passed.

11.—Reduction of Railway Freights.

Mr. Anandji Haridas of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, moved and Mr. Addy supported the resolution urging the Government to provide every facility for transport by rail of raw materials to manufacturing centres and of finished products to ports of shipment as is done in all industrial countries and to reduce railway fares and freights to promote this end. The resolution was passed.

M. U. S. Chowdhury of the Indian Produce Association, Calcutta and Mr. D. P. Khaitan next spoke on the resolution pressing for reintroduction of rights and facilities which were withdrawn by the East Indian Railway authorities in connection with produce trade at Howrah in March, 1922. Mr. Khaitan said that the Government did not care a fig for Indian vested interests but was fully mindful of European vested interests as was shown by their proposal to compensate a company under the Howrah bridge scheme.

The resolution was adopted.

12.—Coal Freight over long distance Traffic.

Mr. Amritlal Ojha of the Indian Mining Federation moved and Mr. Thakar supported the resolution which the Congress passed declaring that ten per cent reduction in coal freights over long distance traffic falls short of minimum requirements and urging reduction of at least twenty-five per cent of coal freight all over India. The resolution also protested at the callous attitude of the Railway Board in this respect and also urged that

reduction of fifty per cent be effected in freight on soft coke to enable consumers suffering from want of fuels to use soft coke for domestic purposes.

13.—Railway Advisory Committee.

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa and Mr. C, Gopala Menon characterised the Railway Advisory Committee as farcical in proposing and supporting the resolution urging wider representation to Indian mercantile community on railway advisory committees. The resolution was passed.

14—24.—OTHER RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. Sidhwa moved and Mr. C. A. Buch of the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber, Karachi, seconded the next resolution which was passed which urged survey of the Karachi-Bombay Railways and also to connect Karachi and Cawnpore directly. Mr. Buch said he was not sure whether the fact that European merchants of Karachi also wanted this latter connection did not show some underhand move against Indian interest.

A resolution recommending reconstruction of the Rates Advisory Committee and its replacement by a rates tribunal on English lines was moved by Mr. Rangaswami of the Indian Chamber, Calcutta, and supported by Mr. Gopala Menon of the South India Chamber of Commerce and was next adopted.

Sir Dinshaw Petit next put from the chair six resolutions which were adopted without discussion. These recommended (1) reintroduction of the system of reweighment of coal consignment at destination to remedy pilferage, (2) early reduction of third class passenger fares about which comparative indifference had been shown by railway authorities, (3) adoption of active policy of encouraging water transport through provision of facilities for working of coasting vessels and shipping and landing of traffic for coast at major and minor ports in India, grant of concession in port dues and landing and shipping charges and institution of enquiry into inland water communications with special reference to unfair railway competition as unanimously recommended by the Acworth Committee, (4) that with a view to give protection to steel industry all State Railways and Government departments should purchase Indian iron and steel to meet their requirements and that all company managed railways, municipalities, district boards and other public bodies should do the same even at preferential prices as compared with the price of imported material, and (5) that the Assembly's resolution regarding stores purchase be put into effect and tenders be invited in India in Indian currency and be opened in the presence of tenderers and that stores purchase rules be amended as recommended by the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay. The resolution also complained of the frequent cases of higher tenders being accepted by the London Stores Department on the plea of urgency, resulting in waste of public money and urges the Government to impress on all indenting officers the necessity of preparing and despatching indents as early as possible before stores are actually required in India to enable purchases to be made as economically as possible.

The sixth resolution urged Government to speedily Indianise all commercial departments specially port trusts, development and improvement trusts, Imperial Bank, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Irrigation and Income-tax.

The final resolution disposed of on this day was that moved by Mr. Buch and supported by Mr. Sidhwa strongly recommending that the constitution of port trusts be so Indianised, that a majority of the members therein should consist of Indians elected by commercial and other important bodies concerned.

The Congress then rose for the day disposing of 24 out of 32 resolutions.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Attendance was thin when the Congress met for the third time on the 2nd January in the noon to conclude the business of the session.

25.—Mercantile Marine Committee Report.

Commencing the proceedings Mr. S. N. Haji, M.L.A. moved :—

(a) "This Congress, while fully deprecating the glaring omission in the report of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee even to consider the position of shipping in overseas or international trade and being keenly aware of its other limitations, recognises its sympathetic tone towards the development of national shipping and generally welcomes its main recommendations.—(1) establishment of a training ship for the purpose of national training; (2) to preserve coasting trade of India to vessels owned and controlled by Indians and (3) to start and develop ship-building industry in this country by liberal help from the State.

(b) "This Congress has noted with anxiety the change from extreme apathy to direct hostility in the attitude of the Government of India towards the development of Indian shipping and shipping industries as was indicated in a speech which the Hon'ble Sir Charles Innes delivered in the Legislative Assembly last March, and once again records its emphatic protest against the inexplicable delay on the part of the Government of India in considering fully the report of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee submitted to them nearly three years ago and yet expresses the hope that the Government of India will even now realise their duty towards this national key industry and take effective steps to start its development by carrying out all the recommendations of the Committee at a very early date.

(c) "The Congress, while welcoming the decision of the Government of India on the recommendation of the training ship in Indian waters, strongly endorses the note of warning recently sounded in this connection by the chairman of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company that unless the Government of India make it obligatory by statute as recommended by the Mercantile Marine Committee in their report on ships plying on the coast to recruit at least 50 per cent of their officers from those who obtain the necessary certificate of competency after undergoing training on the training ship, the scheme is bound to fail.

(d) "The Congress welcomes the growing interest of the people in the development of Indian shipping and notes with pleasure the increasing number of Indian steamers and development of comparatively small ports on the western coast of India and while feeling grateful to Indian members of the Legislative Assembly for strenuous efforts to introduce bills for the reservation of coasting trade of India to Indian shipping and abolition of the system of deferred rebates, unhesitatingly accords to these measures their strongest support.

(e) "This Congress strongly objects to deferred rebates system and calls upon the Government to take immediate steps to abolish same without further delay."

In moving the resolutions Mr. Haji said that the history of all mercantile shipping countries showed that the State had helped their establishment. In India no such help had been rendered by the State. The British India Company and the P. and O. Company were determined as was shown by Lord Inchcape's recent speech to thwart any other concern whether British or Indian to come into the field. Not only were they successful in this but the British India Company succeeded in dictating to the Government of India its own terms raising by 50 per cent the contract rates for carrying mails. National shipping could be promoted by reservation of coastal traffic only and when national shipping developed, these could supplement transport in the country and would cater to the best interest of the Indian trader. They knew how at present Indian business suffered because shipping, banking and insurance were controlled by foreign concerns. These difficulties were particularly felt in Calcutta. He calculated that roughly 50 to 60 crores of rupees were involved in this question. A good proportion of this should come to Indian Companies. The Government of India did not help them to-day with the result that this fifty to sixty crores mostly went to Great Britain. They must persist in agitating for the assertion of Indian right.

Mr. Adamji Haji Dawood of the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce seconded the resolution.

Seth Maoji Govindji, in a spirited speech, said though the Mercantile Committee had reported three years ago the Government, afraid of British vested interests, sat sphinx-like. The Congress must fight hard to win their point.

A voice: There is power of certification.

Seth Govindji: "Yes, but there is bigger word, justice. I say if India had her own army, her own navy and her own Mercantile Marine, England would not have had to appeal to its American cousins to save it from Germany. A strong India will make the Empire strongest force in the world. It is not too late even now to let jealously give place to goodwill. Our demands are very modest. We want just the right that the handful of people of Australia and other Dominions possess. The government can find four crores of rupees to sink in railway collieries but had no money for shipping. Let us stand by this resolution, hit at it and hit hard and work at it till we succeed."

Professor B. K. Sarkar of the Bengal National Chamber said that the greatest patriot, Sgr. Mussolini, had adopted a premium and subsidy policy to develop Italian mercantile marine. Sgr. Mussolini had given up custom revenue to the extent of seven crores by abolishing customs duty on articles employed for the construction of ships.

Mr. Gopal Menon next spoke after which the resolution was passed.

26.—Representation at Imperial and International Conferences.

Sir Lalubhai Samaldas moved:—"This Congress is emphatically of opinion that India should be represented at all International and Imperial Conferences by Indians only and strongly condemns the policy of appointing non-Indians to be her representative at any such conferences and urges that

the nomination of such representatives be elected by the Legislative Assembly and the nomination of representatives to International Labour Conference, Imperial Economic Conference and the like conferences should be from a panel of representatives elected by the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and further urges that the High Commissioner for India should be placed in the same position as the High Commissioners of different self-governing colonies with regard to representing their respective Governments at International and Imperial Conferences".

In moving the resolution Sir Lalubhai said that the resolution put forward a modest demand and would not have been necessary if the government of the country had been self-governing. The promise given by Sir Mahomed Shafi on behalf of the Government of India, had not been made good. Officials of the League of Nations whom he met recognised that India was in a difficult position. India could provide most competent leaders of the Indian delegation. Mahatma Gandhi could ably represent India at any world body which had before it an ideal of peace and goodwill. As for administrators, had not India produced men like Lord Sinha?

Mr. S. N. Haji, while admitting that in theory the Government of India as constituted to-day had to be represented by one belonging to the Executive Government, said that even in spite of this restriction proper selection could be made. Their grievance was greater in respect of International Labour organization and they must expose the machinations by which the Government of India prostituted the Treaty of Versailles in the interest of non-Indian organizations. A country could be represented by its nationals only and he hoped that they would not agree to the suggestion that the Indian Chambers and the European Chambers should alternately select employers' representative.

The resolution was put and carried.

27.—Acquisition of Tea-Lands in Bengal by Indians.

Mr. J. C. Ghose of the Indian Tea Planter's Association moved that in view of the difficulty of securing undeveloped tea-growing land in the province of Bengal, this Congress urges that earliest steps should be taken by the local Government to withdraw the existing restrictions on acquisition of tea lands by Indians in the Doors of Bengal. Mr. Ghosh said that the capital invested in tea business was more than that in cotton or jute. But of 42 crores of capital put in this business less than two crores belonged to Indians. The resolution was supported by Mr. N. Sen and was passed.

28—31.—OTHER RESOLUTIONS.

Four resolutions were next put from the chair and were passed. They were:

(1) "This Congress strongly protests against the statements made by Sir Louis Kershaw, delegate of the Government of India before the Credentials Committee of the ninth session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva that Bengal and Bombay Chambers of Commerce (European) are the most representative organizations of employers in India and are strongly of opinion that Indians alone shall be sent to such International gatherings to represent the interests of India, an opinion which has been fully supported by the findings of the Credentials Committee of such representative body

as the ninth session of the International Labour Conference to the effect that representations of a country at the general conference should be a national one.

(2) "This Congress recommends to the Government of India that Mr. G. D. Birla of Messrs. Birla Brothers of Calcutta and President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, be nominated as the Indian employer's delegate to the 10th session of the International Labour Conference as recommended by the All-India Chambers of Commerce and commercial associations.

(3) " This Congress draws the attention of the Government of India to the frequent and prolonged interruptions in Indo-Burma telegraphic traffic which cause hardship and inconvenience to the public in general and commercial community in particular and urges that early steps be taken to provide some suitable system of telegraphic communication between India and Burma which would be immune from such interruptions.

(4) " This Congress deplores the lack of practical training in commerce and industry in the present system of education and invites the attention of the Indian universities to the urgent need of it with a view to the development of business training in India.

Next Session Invited to Madras.

After all the thirty-one resolutions on the agenda had been passed without any alteration, Mr. Gopal Menon invited the first session of the new Federation to Madras.

Vote of Thanks to the Chair.

A vote of thanks to the chair was proposed by Mr. Khaitan. He paid an eloquent tribute to Sir Dinhaw Petit's fitness to lead the Indian mercantile community. The establishment of the Federation had disproved the suggestion of those who said that the Indian commercial bodies could not unite on one platform.

Mr. W. C. Bannerji said that Sir Dinshaw had wealth, honour and power and hoped that Sir Dinshaw would not fight shy of fighting the bureaucratic government.

Mr. G. D. Birla associated himself with the resolution. He recalled that it was four years ago than he suggested to Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah and others that they should have an Indian Associated Chamber. Then the idea did not make headway. It was in last August at Simla that Pandit Malaviya and Lala Harkishen Lal called a meeting which proved successful. When he passed the Royal Exchange Building built by the Bengal National Chamber he felt that the Indian community should have bigger exchange. Their Secretariat should be as big as that of the Bengal Government so that they might not be at the mercy of the Government figures. This would be a good investment. They had already collected some funds but that was only the beginning.

Sir Dinshaw Petit's Concluding Speech.

Sir Dinshaw Petit, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, took pride in that he presided over a session which gave birth to a body which would be more important than any commercial body that had come into existence in India till now. The provisional committee had a great task before it, but he hoped that with its help and particularly with the help of Sir Purshottomdas, the Vice-President and Mr. J. C. Mehta, they would be able to make the

new duties a success. "While we are looking to our political needs, let us also look to our industrial and commercial needs. Our ideal is Self-Government within the Empire and the goal is a laudable one. But side by side with political work, we should keep industrial and commercial position in view so that we should occupy such position that we should be second to none of the different parts of this Empire. Commercial and social advancement must go side by side with political. There are some who run down the European civilisation as tinsel civilisation but surely there are some features among European nations which we should well adopt. We are behind them by generations. When they are able to build motors, we cannot manufacture even parts of a bicycle. When they can build big steamers we are not able to turn out even a small steam launch. All this difference between them and us comes home to me when I travel in Europe. I feel how backward we are. Let us, therefore, unite. Let us work shoulder to shoulder and let us advance both commercially and industrially as well as politically. Then only we can command the respect of the other parts of the world. Then only we could assert ourselves as one of the foremost countries of this world. (Loud applause). Though this Congress ends to-day, I hope our united efforts will bring into being an association which will respond to all our hopes and fulfil our expectations."

The Congress was then dissolved and the delegates were entertained to a garden party by the Indian Produce Association, Calcutta.

Development of Industries in Bengal.

The Match Industry.

"After very careful researches and experimentation by the Industrial Chemist"—says the Annual Administrative Report of the Department of Industries, Bengal for the year 1925, "formulae for several very good composition for match heads have been worked out, while experiments on damp-proofing of matches are being conducted. At the instance of the Bande Mataram Match Factory experiments were undertaken under the control of the Chemist in the bleaching of Gengwa wood as a result of which the most economic bleaching powder and the process of treatment were evolved. The Industrial Engineer has resumed experiments for devising improved appliances for the benefit of workers in the bell-metal industry. He has succeeded in devising an improved hackling machine for the development of sunn-hemp rope making on cottage industry lines. Two other useful machines which promise success have also been improved by the Industrial Engineer, viz., one for spinning jute yarn as a cottage industry and the other for bending and marking of umbrellas. The long-standing question of cutting conch-shells more rapidly and under better conditions than by the primitive method now in use has approched nearer solution by the development of a simple and satisfactory machine devised by the Industrial Engineer.

Tanning Industry.

"In the Calcutta Research Tannery very useful investigations were conducted not only into the methods of producing the more important varieties of commercial leather from the available raw materials under the local climatic conditions, but also into some

of the chemical problems in connection with the tanning processes. The cow hides of different parts of the province were being surveyed along with the investigations on the manufacture of ox hides.

Textile Researches.

"Textile researches of a very useful character were made at the Serampore Weaving Institute. Experiments were made with success in the weaving of coarse jute and coir fabrics and in the spinning of jute, coir, sun-hemp, waste silk and wool as well as in the extraction of cocoanut fibres. Government note with interest that experiments regarding the possibilities of using the fibres of waterhyacinth stalks by spinning and weaving them into strings and matting were conducted at the institute, and considered that the investigation should continue with a view to finding out all further industrial possibilities of this noxious weed.

Research Tannery.

"The Calcutta Research Tannery has maintained its good record of useful work. It is gratifying to note that two of the apprentices of the tannery who have finished their training have started the business of leather-case making on their own account and one of them now employs as many as 18 workmen. The Governor in Council has now finally decided that the Calcutta Research Tannery should be retained as a permanent institution under the designation of Bengal Tanning Institute thus rejecting the recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee that the trade should pay for the tannery after the expiry of three years from the 1st May 1922.

Weaving Institute.

"This is another Institution of whose activities the Industries Department can well be proud. There is an insistent demand in the country for weaving instructions, and the Central Institution at Serampore with the district and peripatetic school as well as the demonstration parties attached thereto are going a great way in meeting this demand. But the Governor in Council is of opinion that much more yet remains to be done not only by way of increasing the number of district and peripatetic schools, but also by increasing the number of demonstration parties. Sanction was accorded during the year to the proposal for the establishment of a district weaving school at Suri experimentally for one year with the co-operation of the District Board. One demonstration party has also been added to the staff of the institute. Administrative approval was accorded to the establishment of 12 additional peripatetic schools during the year under report and the establishment of two more has been administratively approved since the close of the year. The starting of these peripatetic schools now awaits the provision of funds.

Assistance To Industries.

"At the present stage of industrial development of the country, local industry must necessarily depend on technical assistance and advice, and the Governor in Council notices with pleasure that the Industries Department promtly responded to the call of industrialists seeking such help from the various parts of the province as detailed in paragraphs 71-89 and 97-104 of the report. The department also did all that is practicable to secure special concessions on behalf of such of the industries as applied for them. It has also been alive to the fact that one of the essential factors for industrial development in this country is the organisation of markets for the finished products, and all that is practicable has been done to secure facilities in marketing for those who have applied for the same.

Technical Education.

"Considerable headway has been made during the year under review in the direction of technical education not only by providing to the establishment of new technical institutions and by increasing the allotment for grants-in-aid, but also by making provision for the award of two technical scholarships. The long-standing scheme formulated during the first ministry for the establishment of a Silk-weaving and Dyeing Institute at Berhampore was sanctioned during the year. Want of hired accomodation, however stand in the way of giving effect to this useful scheme within the year. Arrangement has since been made for housing the institute in one of the vacant buildings of the Berhampore Lunatic Asylum. The Governor in Council is anxious that this school which opens under great prospect for the revival of the silk industry in this Presidency should be started as early as posible.

"Besides the weaving school at Suri steps have also been taken for the opening of a survey class in the Burdwan Technical School in co-operation with the District Board.

"A Principal for the Calcutta Technical School was recruited during the year to make preliminary arrangements so that the school might be opened with effect from the beginning of 1926. Owing to some technical legal difficulties, it has not yet been found possible to make over the land and buildings formally to the governing body as contemplated in the scheme.

"During the year under review the recommendation of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee to deprovincialise the existing technical schools at Rangpur, Bogra, Barisal and Pabna was negatived and it was decided to retain them as models for non-Government technical institutions in the Province. The question of improving the condition of these schools is now under consideration. While accepting the principle underlying the recommendation of the Committee that technical education should generously be stimulated by the system of grants-in-aid, Government recognise the necessity for the establishment of more technical schools in the province to suit local conditions with the co-operation of the local bodies where it is available.

"Of the two States technical scholars deputed for the study of glass manufactures and refractories, one joined the Sheffield University and the other the Pittsburgh University. Extension of the scholarship awarded to Mr. Ali Karim for the study of manufacture and refining of vegetable and fish oils was also sanctioned for a further period of one year.

State aid to Industries.

"The Governor in Council has now finally decided on the necessity of legislation for state aid to Industries. Steps are being taken to draft the Bill so that it may be presented to the Legislative Council as early as possible. Many other provinces in India have already enacted local legislation on the subject. The proposed legislation when passed by the Council will remove some of the more serious difficulties which now stand in the way of industrial development of the Presidency—specially on the lines of cottage and small industries".

Protection to Steel Industry

The Industrial Commission reported thus in 1918: "The list of industries which, though their products are essential alike in peace and war, are lacking in this country, is lengthy and almost ominous. Until they are brought into existence on an adequate scale, Indian Capitalists will, in times of peace, be deprived of a number of profitable enterprises whilst in the event of a war which renders sea transport impossible, India's all-important existing industries will be exposed to the risk of stoppage, her consumers to great hardship, and her armed forces to the gravest possible danger" (Paragraph 82). The Commission pointed out that the basis of modern organised industries in those countries where they made their first appearance, was the manufacture of cast and wrought-iron but that there was no flourishing iron and steel industry of India and this great deficiency had affected the general situation. The Commission however was precluded from an examination of the relation of fiscal policy to industrial development. It was on the 7th October, 1921, that the Government of India issued a Resolution appointing a Fiscal Commission to examine the tariff policy of the Government of India and to made recommendations.

The Fiscal Commission declared that the measures recommended by the Industrial Commission would not by themselves produce any marked impetus to industrial enterprise. The Commission recommended in the best interests of India the adoption of a policy of protection to be applied with discrimination. But protection involves some loss to the country adopting it and the most important loss is the burden of increased prices that protective duties impose on the people. These losses will, however, be temporary, if the policy of protection is applied with discrimination, and the Fiscal Commission was satisfied that the temporary loss involved will be more than made good by the ultimate gain. The Commission eventually recommended the appointment of a permanent Tariff Board consisting of men of ability, of integrity and of impartiality, to make detailed enquiries into the claims for protection referred to it. The appointment of a Tariff Board, it was held, would minimise dangers of political corruption and mitigate risks of encouraging inefficient methods. The Board would watch the effect of protective duties or other measures of assistance on industries. The Commission referred specifically to the steel industry and remarked: "We think that the question of extending protection to the manufacture of steel should be one of the first subjects for enquiry by the Tariff Board."

The Tariff Board was appointed by a Resolution of the Government of India dated 10th July, 1923, with an official, Mr. G. Rainey, C.S.I., C.I.E., as President, and two Indians, namely, Prof. V. G. Kale and Mr. P. P. Ginwalla as members. The Board considered the claims of the Steel Industry for protection and came unanimously to the conclusion: "At the present level of world prices steel manufacture in India is carried on at a loss. Unless protection is given there is no hope that it will develop for

many years to come, and there is serious danger that it may cease altogether." The danger to the steel industry arose out of the importation of foreign steel from Belgium, France and Germany at abnormally low prices."

The operation of the proposals of the Board was limited to a period of three years, both because of the uncertainty as to the future course of world prices and the probability of a decided drop in the cost of production. The duties recommended by the Board were intended approximately to bridge the difference between the prices at which steel was likely to enter India without duty and the price at which the Indian manufacturer could sell steel at a reasonable profit. Thus the price at which steel bars were expected to come into India was Rs. 140 per ton; the price at which according to the calculations of the Board the Indian manufacturer would be able to sell steel bars with reasonable profit was Rs. 180 and the duty imposed on such bars by the Steel Protection Bill was Rs. 40 per ton. The duty varied, of course, with different qualities of steel goods. The Board came to the conclusion that there was room for economy in the Tata Iron and Steel Works and hoped that the company would pay special attention to it.

The Steel Protection Bill embodying most of the suggestions of the Tariff Board, was passed in June, 1924.

But in the meantime the steel industry went through great fluctuations of prices. The price of imported steel fell further and the Tariff Board was asked in October, 1924, to consider an application from Tata's for further protection. The Board examined the prices at which steel was being imported and those which the Tata Iron and Steel Company had been able to obtain for its products and came definitely to the conclusion that the Steel Protection Act had failed to achieve its purpose. The Board consequently recommended heavy increases in the duties on Steel.

The Government did not think that this further Protection should take the form of the very heavy additional duties proposed by the Tariff Board. The Government, therefore, proposed that protection in the shape of duties should be supplemented by bounties. On the 26th January, 1925, Sir Charles Innes moved the following resolution in the Assembly: This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that a bounty should be paid on steel manufactured in India between the 1st October, 1924 and the 30th September, 1925, subject to the following conditions :—(1) The bounty should be paid only to firms or companies manufacturing mainly from pig-iron made in India from Indian ores steel ingots of definite quality; (2) The bounty should be paid on steel ingots manufactured by such firms and at the rate of Rs. 20 a ton on 70 per cent. of the total weight of the ingots manufactured in each month; (3) The total amount of the bounty payable in the 12 months ending the 30th September, 1925, should not exceed Rs. 50 lakhs." The motion was carried.

On the 15th September, 1925, Sir Charles Innes moved a resolution asking the Assembly to agree to grant a maximum of a sixty lakhs bounty to the Steel Industry up to the 31st March, 1927. This was done again after the Tariff Board had gone into the question of continuing protection to the steel industry. The Board re-iterated the policy of levying additional duties on imported steel. The Government confessed that the Tariff Board was logical in its view but that it failed to take note of several considerations which could not be ignored. The Government emphasised the fact that bounties were much more generous forms of assistance than an increase in duties.

The Steel Protection Act expired in march, 1927, and the Tariff Board, with Mr. Ginwala as President and Messrs. Mathai and A. E. Mathias as members, subsequently conducted an enquiry into the condition of the industry. The Board's recommendations briefly are: (1) Protection has substantially improved the position of the steel industry; (2) The prices of imported steel have fallen substantially and unless protection is continued, it will not be possible to manufacture and sell Indian steel in competition with the imported product. (3) The protection already granted should be continued in a modified form for seven years till March, 1934. The Board condemned again the system of bounties preferred by Government. But the most important part of the Report is that which deals with the form the renewed protection to steel will take. The Board reduces the rate of duty and believes that by the end of seven years the industry should be able to meet British competition without the assistance of any protective or revenue duty, if continental prices remain at their present level.

The Board suggested the imposition of a basic duty on all steel imported from whatever country while an additional duty is recommended on steel of non-British origin. This is the scheme of preference which has roused so much opposition. The Bill embodying the main recommendations contained in the report of the Tariff Board was referred to a Select Committee of the members of the Assembly. The majority of the members of the Committee have endorsed the policy of differential duties in certain classes of steel with a lower rate on steel of British manufacture and a higher rate on steel of non-British manufacture. The Committee has modified the Bill by empowering the Governor-General-in-Council to increase, but not to reduce, duty chargeable on articles of British manufacture, if changes in the prices are such as are likely to render ineffective the protection given to the Indian steel industry. The Committee has further provided for an enquiry earlier than April 1933, if circumstances are ever such as to render an earlier inquiry imperative.

It is apparent to all students of public affairs that the present controversy centres round the proposal of differentiation between steel of British manufacture and steel of non-British manufacture. It is generally acknowledged that the steel industry has a claim to renewed protection. The reduction in duties has not been criticised adversely, the demand for the abolition of bounties has not been subjected to informed scrutiny. It shows very clearly the temper of the country. Imperial preference has been the object of Indian suspicion for decades and the moment this proposal of preferential duties has been resuscitated a storm of indignation has burst over it. It cannot be denied that this hostility is prompted by political motives alone.

The position has been further obscured by the line of reasoning adopted by those who advocate the new Steel Protection Bill. Mr. Jinnah was hopelessly wrong when he defined preference as the imposition of unfairly lower duties on British steel so as to reduce British prices in India. These fantastic explanations can only confuse the issue and rouse suspicion. "Preference means that goods from one or more favoured countries pay duty at a rate lower than the general rate. Whether the preferential rate is a real reduction in duty or whether the general rate has been arrived at by making an addition to what is considered the minimum duty, which thus becomes the preferential rate is, in considering the economic effect, immaterial."

No one denies that British steel is of a quality and standard which are not found generally in continental steel. Even the Tata Works cannot, strictly speaking, suffer from any preferential treatment to a quality of steel which is not produced in India. But the argument which appears to be irresistible is that this preference will indirectly encourage continental steel to come in at a lower rate. The real issue is whether this preference will affect the Indian industry. There is first of all provision in the Bill authorising the Government to raise the rates on British steel if necessary.

We have in addition to this the considered opinion of the Tariff Board that continental steel is affected by a multiplicity of circumstances which cannot be foreseen. The basic duty has consequently to be fixed with reference to the price of standard British steel. It is unfortunate that the political atmosphere is so surcharged with feelings of suspicion as to make an unprejudiced examination of such a subject of profound importance practically impossible *

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* *Contributed by Prof. B. K. Bhattacharya.*