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THE INDIAN

ANNUAL REGISTER

July-December 1937.

VOL. II

Printed by Abinash Chandra Sarkar at the
CLASSIC PRESS, 21, Patuatola Lane
and published by N. N. Mitra,
16/1, Komedan Bagan Lane, Calcutta.

Issued from 1919

THE INDIAN ANNUAL REGISTER

20th Year of Issue

An Annual Digest of Public Affairs of India

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

BEING ISSUED IN 2 SIX-MONTHLY VOLUMES.



Volume II] July-Dec. 1937 [Volume II

Editor:—Nripendra Nath Mitra.

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

PUBLISHED BY

THE ANNUAL REGISTER OFFICE

16-1. KOMEDAN BAGAN LANE CALCUTTA. P. O. PARK STREET.

THE INDIAN
ANNUAL REGISTER

JULY—DECEMBER 1937

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Chronicle of Events

AND

India in Home Polity

July—December 1937

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

JULY 1937

2nd. A Bill proposing a change in the law relating to the property rights of converts met with strong opposition in the Mysore Council.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, had three hours' discussion with Mahatma Gandhi at Sheogaon village on the constitutional deadlock and the Congress attitude towards the question of office acceptance.

A demand for immediate and unconditional release of detenus and political prisoners was made at a crowded public meeting held at Calcutta Albert Hall under the presidency of Mr Sarat Chandra Bose. Speaker after speaker condemned the "reactionary" statements of the Chief Minister regarding release of political prisoners and detenus and the meeting unanimously passed a resolution expressing its complete want of confidence in the Chief Minister and his Cabinet.

3rd. References in a book to the Prophet of Islam were alleged to be the provocation for a knife attack on a Punjab leader.

Mr. M. N. Roy addressed an open letter to Mahatma Gandhi regarding the present constitutional deadlock appealing to the Mahatma to advise the Working Committee to decide in favour of Congressmen accepting Office for the purpose of carrying out the Congress resolution passed at Faizpur.

4th. Death occurred of Sir Sorabji Pochkhanwala, Managing Director of the Central Bank of India after prolonged illness.

Discussions among leaders on the question of office acceptance continued at Wardha on the eve of the Congress Working Committee meeting.

5th. The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha for its most momentous session in recent years—to take a decision on the office issue and dispersed without coming to any decision.

The editor of *Advance* sentenced in Calcutta to six months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 on a charge of sedition.

7th. In the Punjab Assembly, the Premier replied to the charges made against the police, namely, that the department was steeped in corruption and bribery.

The news that the Congress Working Committee had passed a resolution allowing Congressmen to form ministries was received with satisfaction all over the country.

8th. The Burma Chamber of Commerce, commenting on the report of the Burma University Act Inquiry Committee, considered that the country's one university (Rangoon) was not enough for Burma.

9th. Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Finance Minister, Government of Bengal, at a Fishermen's Conference at Chandpur, advised fishermen to organize and conduct their industry on modern and scientific lines.

10th. "Acceptance of office does not mean by an iota acceptance of the Slave Constitution. It means fight against the coming of Federation by all means in our power, inside as well as outside the Legislatures. We have taken a new step involving new responsibilities and some risk. But if we are true to our objectives and are ever vigilant we shall overcome these risks and gain strength and power from this step also. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty".—This inspiring passage occurs in a lengthy statement issued by President Jawaharlal

Nehru on his return from Wardha exhorting the people of India to loyally abide by the Wardha decision.

"Conditions in the Presidency of Bombay are peculiar. We have perhaps as many parties as in any other province, but we have no single party having majority. Even the Congress, though the largest single party in the House, has not got a pledged majority of members elected on its ticket, but the question remains whether the non-Congress majority will be able to combine together under one banner forgetting all their petty differences anon and concentrating their minds on one thing and one thing alone, namely, to do their very best under the circumstances"—In these words Sir D B. Cooper, the Chief Minister of the Bombay Government, inaugurating the Constitutionists' Conference called upon non-Congress legislators to form a united front against the Congress Party.

12th. The need for a separate organisation for the Depressed Classes was stressed by Mr. Jagjivan Ram M. L. A. when he addressed the Bihar Depressed Classes Conference at Gopalganj.

"Pandit Pant accepted the U. P. Governor's invitation to form a Ministry and agreed to submit a list of names of Ministers on the 16th instant when. the new Government took charge."

14th. The Cabinet resigned in Orissa. The C. P. Congress Ministers assumed office to-day.

Important changes in the teaching cadre of Dacca University were referred to by the Vice-Chancellor in his address at the annual convocation of the university.

Congress Ministers in Madras and the C. P. took the oaths of office.

16th. M. A. Zaman, M. L A. and three other labour spokesmen were sentenced to four months' rigorous imprisonment each by a Serampore magistrate on a charge of rioting at a jute mill.

Writing in "Harijan' under the caption : "Congress Ministers," Mahatma Gandhi said : "This office acceptance is not intended to work the Act anyhow. In the prosecution by the Congress of its goal of Complete Independence, it is a serious attempt on the one hand to avoid a bloody revolution and on the other hand, to avoid mass Civil Disobedience on a scale hitherto unattempted" He observes that the Government of India Act is universally regarded as wholly unsatisfactory for achieving India's freedom. But it is possible to replace the rule of the sword by the rule of the majority. He declares that the Congress objective can easily be achieved lawfully using the Act in a manner not expected by them (the framers) and by refraining from using it in the way intended by them.

17th. Sjt. B. G. Kher, Leader of the Bombay Congress Party, agreed to form a Ministry, and submitted six out of the seven names. The Governor accepted the same and from Monday next onwards the governance of the Province came in the hands of tried Congressmen in so far as power lay in the hands of elected representatives.

Nearly 300 persons were reported to have been killed outright and many others seriously injured as a result of a serious derailment near Bihta station on the East India Railway at about 3 30 this morning. The disaster wherein 18 Down Lahore Express was involved was reported to have occurred at a place west of Bihta station.

18th. A strong attack on the present Ministry in Bengal for its failure to secure the immediate and unconditional release of detenus and political prisoners, was made by speakers at a crowded public meeting at the Calcutta Albert Hall under the presidency of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.

Government of U. P. passed orders releasing political prisoners convicted under sections 124 A, I. P. C. and 108 Cr. P. C. and withdrawing cases against those undergoing trials under them, lifting the ban on such associations which had been declared unlawful and returning press security deposits excepting such cases where communist literature was discovered.

22nd. Strong protests were recorded at a public meeting held at the Town Hall, Cuttack, against the recent objectionable utterances of Lord Baden Powell against the character of the Indian people. Mr. S. C. Bose, Bar-at-Law presided over the meeting which was attended by a large number of men.

23rd. Startling developments took place in the politics of the Muslim League in U. P. Three of its members in the U. P. Assembly in the course of a Press statement, denounced the activities of the League, seceded from the Party and joined the Congress Party after signing its pledge. Three other Independent Muslims also joined the Congress Party in the U. P. Assembly, thus bringing its strength to 141.

By the order of the Congress Ministry the Maharashtra leader, Mr. B. M. Bapat, was released from Hindalga Jail where he had been undergoing rigorous imprisonment since December 1931.

24th. Mr. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal stressed the important part which libraries could play in spreading education among the masses, when he presided at the All-Bengal Library Conference at Calcutta.

Altogether 187 terrorist prisoners in the Andamans went on hunger-strike from to-day About 250 terrorist convicts in the Andamans sometime ago sent a petition to the Government of India requesting that throughout the whole of British India, (1) all detenus, State prisoners and convicted political prisoners be released; (2) all repressive laws be repealed and all orders of internment be withdrawn; (3) all political prisoners at present in the Andamans be returned to India and no more sent to the Andamans; (4) all political convicts be treated as 'B' class prisoners.

25th. Mr M. A. Jinnah, President of the Moslem League, issued a statement urging the need of Hindu-Moslem unity.

In the "Harijan", Mahatma Gandhi explained the "fundamental difference between the old order and the new order" Whereas formerly the Ministers were amenable to the control of the Government, now they are under the control of the Congress. They are responsible to the Congress." He said that "the Ministers have a whip hand so long as they act within the four-corners of the Act" and that "enables them to consolidate the power of the Congress, that is the people" Gandhiji called the attention of every Congressmen to these facts and said. "For an effective use of this power people have to give hearty co-operation to the Congress and its ministers. If the latter do wrong or neglect duty, it is open to any person to complain to the Secretary of the A. I. C. C. and seek redress But no one may take the Law into his own hands."

29th Mr Kamath, I. C. S., Resident Sub-Divisional Officer of Narsingpur, resigned the Presidentship of the District Boy Scout Association as a protest against the remarks made against India's national character by Lord Baden-Powell, Chief Scout.

Strong disapproval of inflaming communal feelings and a stern warning that such activities will be dealt with promptly were contained in the first communique issued by the new Bombay Government.

30th. The death announced of the Moslem educationist, Sir Syed Ross Masood.

A large number of terrorist convicts in the Andamans went on hunger-strike following the rejection of their petition in which they made several demands.

"No other organisation except the Indian National Congress can speak on behalf of 8 crores Musalmans. The Indian National Congress has come to be the united anti-Imperialist front of Hindus, Muslims, and other important and non-important minorities of this country. And no amount of mud-throwing by Liberals and Muslim Leaguers and Mahasabhaites can snatch from it its great representative character."—Thus declared Sir Syed Wazir Hasan, ex-Chief Judge of Lucknow Chief Court, addressing a huge meeting of Bareilly citizens.

31st. The U. P. Premier announced measures for the relief of peasantry pending the results of a fuller investigation by a committee to be appointed shortly.

The C. P. Assembly through an adjournment motion discussed certain allegations regarding the recent election at Bilaspur.

"Prohibition will remain a far cry, if the Congress is to count the cost in a matter of the first class national importance. The loss of revenue is only apparent. I put this prohibition in the forefront because its result is immediate. Congressmen and, especially women, have bled for it. National prestige will rise in a manner it cannot by any single act that I can conceive, and the other five Provinces are highly likely to follow the Six. The Muslim non-Congress Prime Ministers are equally interested in seeing India sober than drunk." wrote Mahatma Gandhi in the "Harijan".

Resentment was expressed at a public meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall at the issue of orders under the Public Security Act on 106 jute mill workers of Gorhati, Hooghly, includidg 14 women and the placing of a ban under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. on Mr. A. M. A. Zaman, M. L. A. The meeting called upon the elected members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly to refuse the grants in respect to Labour asked for by the Finance Minister in the Bengal Budget.

AUGUST 1937

1st. Presiding at the annual meeting of the Marwari Association, Calcutta, Mr. Baijnath Bajoria, M. L. A. criticised the recent Indo-Japanese trade argument.

A resolution protesting against the Palestine proposals was passed at a meeting of Moslems in Calcutta.

"The fullest exploitation of cultivable waste, along with the establishment of cottage and other industries, small and big, will solve the economic problem of the country," said the Hon'ble Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Labour and Industries, while opening the All India Khadi and Swadeshi Exhibition held at Salem.

An appeal for mobilising public opinion against the present Ministry in Bengal was made by different speakers at a public meeting held at Beadon Square in observance of the Congress Ministry Day.

2nd. Mr. M. A. Jinnah replied to Mr. Rajendra Prasad's latest statement on the question of settlement of the communal isssue.

An adjournment motion designed to direct attention to a Press order prohibiting references to "Detenu Day" was defeated in the Bengal Council and talked out in the Assembly.

An adjournment motion to discuss the Palestine Report in the U. P. Assembly was disallowed.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the U. P. Premier, outlined the Congress Ministry's programme in the Assembly.

Uproarious scenes marked the interpellation hour in the Bengal Legislative Assembly when short notice questions tabled by the Congress Party regarding hunger-strike in the Andamans were answered.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore personally read a special message at the Calcutta Town Hall Meeting specially convened to express Calcutta citizens' sense of alarm and grave concern at the news of the hunger-strike by political prisoners in the Andamans.

Strong condemnation of the ban on newspapers to publish information about the Detenu Day was expressed in the Bengal Legislative Council.

3rd. The U. P. Congress Ministry's programme was discussed in the U. P. Assembly and its "defects" pointed out by a number of the Opposition.

4th. His Excellency the Viceroy granted an interview to Mahatma Gandhi at New Delhi.

The Congress motion for adjournment of the Bengal Legislative Assembly to discuss the Andamans hunger-strike was lost by 150 to 75 votes.

The Assam Ministry scored their first victory in the provincial Assembly by defeating an adjournment motion drawing attention to a hunger-strike in connexion with a lock-out in a match factory.

At a State Durbar in the Audience Hall of the City Palace at Alwar, the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana formally announced the selection and recognition of the succession of Thakur Tej Singh of Thana to the Alwar gadi.

Death occurred of the eminent scholar Dr. K. P. Jayaswal.

5th. The Assam Assembly held a full dress debate on the merits and demerits of the "line system" as applicable to immigrants.

6th. The Assam Assembly discussed the Assam Municipal (Amendment Bill) introduced by Mr. J. N. Barua.

A spirited appeal to industrialists to better the lot of labourers was made at a Calcutta meeting.

The Cawnpore mills strike took an ugly turn when several policemen were injured by stones thrown by rowdies and a police officer had to fire a shot in self-defence.

An adjournment motion moved in the Bengal Assembly to discuss the situation arising out of the hunger-strike by political prisoners in the Andamans, was talked out.

7th. Moslem students in Calcutta passed a resolution expressing confidence in the Bengal Cabinet.

Orders passed by the Bihar Ministry for the release of all political prisoners and removal of restrictions on the externees and internees, including those restrained under the criminal tribes act.

"While the six Provinces where Congressmen are in office are vying with one another in releasing political prisoners, withdrawing repressive measures and in various other ways embarking upon a popular policy, unhappy Bengal presents a most sorry and humiliating spectacle," said Sir P. C. Ray in a statement on the situation arising out of the hunger-strike of political prisoners in the Andamans.

Public resentment due to the refusal of the authorities to take action to remove the cause of hunger-strike of the Andamans political prisoners found expression in impassioned speeches delivered at different meetings held in Calcutta and suburbs. The speakers appealed to the audience to organise a country-wide agitation for supporting the cause of the hunger-strikers Resolutions were also adopted at the meetings expressing sympathy with the Andamans prisoners' cause and condemning the attitude of the Government.

8th. The U. P. Premier arrived in Cawnpore where, following the rejection by the Labour Union of the Employers' Associations offer, a fresh effort was being made to bring about a settlement in the mill strike.

The question of release of detenus was discussed at a meeting of the Bengal Krishak Proja Assembly and Council party meeting, the Premier attending.

Addressing a meeting of peasants in Gaya, Mr. Srikrishna Sinha, the Bihar Premier asked them not to weaken their cause by resorting to violence.

The Orissa Cabinet passed orders suspending the realization of taccavi loans on account of the floods.

A start was made in the matter of giving a fillip to Khadi and Swadeshi articles by the Government of Madras. Table cloths for the Ministers are to be of home-spun and hand-woven material. The Ministry indicated their desire that in all departments of the Government only Indian-made articles should be used, in so far as they are available.

9th. The Congress party suffered a heavy defeat in the Bengal Legislative Assembly when their resolution urging the immediate release of detenus was rejected by an overwhelming majority.

The Bengal Government's proposals for the release of detenus were outlined by Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin in the Legislative Assembly.

That the political prisoners in the Andamans had no faith in violence and terrorism—this declaration was made by Mr. Jagat Bose, who was recently released from the Andamans after serving out his sentence, on behalf of the prisoners in that far-off island at the big protest meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall in observance of the All Bengal Andaman Political Prisoners Day.

10th. 200 out 300 detenus in the Deoli Detention Camp went on hunger-strike following close upon the submission of an ultimatum to the Superintendent asking redress of the grievances of the Port Blair prisoners now on fast.

12th. In reply to a question in the Bengal Council the Home Minister stated that 36 terrorist convicts in Alipore jail had addressed a communication to the Premier in which they formulated certain demands.

14th. The Congress Working Committee discussed the general policy to be followed by the Congress Ministers.

Many persons were injured when the police made a severe lathi charge while dispersing a peaceful procession which was wending its way along Calcutta Strand Road to join the public meeting held at the Town Hall in observance of the All-India Andamans Prisoners' Day. There were many ladies in the procession, 23 of whom were placed under arrest and rushed in police vans to the police head-quarters at Lal-bazar whence they were released on personal recognisance bond at a late hour of the night.

Strong condemnation of the lathi charge made by the police on processionists was expressed at a huge public meeting of the citizens of Calcutta held at Sradhananda Park under the presidency of Sj Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the Bengal Assembly Congress party.

A resolution emphatically protesting against the callous and high-handed treatment of the political prisoners in the Andamans, who had to resort to hunger-strike and demanding the immediate repatriation of these prisoners to their respective provinces in India, was passed at a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay, held at the Congress House, with Mr. K. F. Nariman in the chair. In response to the appeal issued by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, many of the Bazars and markets in the city observed Hartal as a protest against Government's treatment of the Andamans political prisoners.

"I have every sympathy for your cause and I assure you that in your struggle for bettering your conditions by strikes and the like against the capitalistic interest, my police will take no side and will never interfere with the peaceful activities of the workers for they (the police) are not under the old bureaucratic Government, but they are under our control. The Indian National Congress has set before you a laudable ideal of truth and non-violence. So long as you maintain peace and order, my police will never interefere with you. As a Minister, responsible for law and order in my Province, I want you to understand that if there be any breach of peace and order my police will be forced to take action and thereby your own money will be wasted"—said the Hon'ble Mr. Biswanath Das, Chief Minister of Orissa, addressing the Khargpur Oriya Samaj, with reference to the conditions of Labour on B. N. Railway.

15th. Presiding at the annual Co-operative Conference in Calcutta, Dr. Pramathanath Bannerjee criticized the manner in which the co-operative movement in Bengal was being conducted.

About 60 villages in Gonda, U. P. were flooded by the waters of the Gogra and Sarju.

The Bengal Premier took the opportunity of a public reception in the Calcutta Town Hall to give a spirited reply to Congress propaganda against his Cabinet.

A joint meeting of Bombay Presidency Moslem League Parliamentary Board and the League members of the Bombay legislature decided on their policy of work in the legislature.

The Congress Working Committee concluded deliberations to-day with the Congress Premiers and acquainted them with the views of the Committee regarding the general policy to be followed in respect of the release of political prisoners, ban on political organisations, appointment of parliamentary secretaries, allowances or salaries to be paid to the legislators, start of prohibition in specific areas, relief to the agriculturists as a counterblast to excise duty on sugar, attitude towards labour and other cognate matters.

16th. A Congress adjournment motion in the Bengal Legislative Assembly in connexion with the fracas in Calcutta on Saturday was defeated.

A similar motion in the Bengal Legislative Council was lost without a division.

The Viceroy, in a letter to a member of the Central Legislative Assembly, explained why he could not submit to dictation by prisoners in the Andamans through resort to hunger-strike.

The Congress Working Committee sent a telegram to the prisoners in the Andamans asking them to give up the hunger-strike.

The question of Congress party in Bengal forming alliances with other groups in the legislature was discussed by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha.

A Calcutta Congress leader and nine others were prosecuted, and charges against 23 women were withdrawn, in connexion with the procession on "Anadmans Day" in Calcutta.

17th A Bill for the relief and prevention of floods was passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Presenting his first Budget in the Bombay Assembly, the Finance Minister (Mr. A. B Lathe) said that the Government were content to be cautious in the pursuit of their goal.

The Congress Working Committee concluded its Session to-day after passing two resolutions, one dealing with the question of salaries of Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries and members and their allowances, and the other, urging Congress Ministers in all Provinces to bring about complete prohibition within three years.

18th. The Bengal Premier issued a warning with regard to the holding of demonstrations in connexion with a students' convention in the Town Hall to-day.

"It is no crime to say that the Indians want to establish Government of the people and for the people It is the elementary right of every student to cherish this idea"—thus observed Mr. Sri Krishna Singh, Premier, replying to the address presented by the students of Patna at Wheeler Senate Hall.

19th. The Punjab Premier made an appeal to Pressmen to help in eradicating communal rancour from the province.

Deep concern felt by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore over the protracted hunger-strike by nearly 700 political prisoners in the Andamans and at other centres, found expression in a wire sent by him to Mahatma Gandhi urging the latter to do something for bringing about a speedy termination of the strike.

20th. The question of retrenchment of expenditure in the administration of the Government, was discussed on a cut motion in the Bengal Assembly.

Almost every group in the Bombay Assembly promised unqualified support to the Congress Ministry in their national welfare schemes during the discussion on the Budget.

21st. Replying to a short-notice question in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Khawja Sir Nazimuddin made a statement on the hunger-strike situation in the Andamans.

The Moslem objection to the crest of the Calcutta University was the subject of a question in the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Referring to the question of release of political prisoners M. Gandhi in an article in the Harijan said that the Congress rule did not mean licence to violence.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab pursuing his campaign against communalism, announced the policy that the Cabinet would adopt in the award of State patronage.

Inaugurating the Berar Literary Conference at Amraoti, the Hon. Dr. Khare, Premier of C. P. announced that his Government had determined to take every step to remove mass illiteracy.

"The best and the only effective way to wreck the existing constitution," wrote Mahatma Gandhi in the "Harijan" under the caption "The Implications," "is for the Congress to prove conclusively that it can rule without the aid of the military and with the least possible assistance of the police, who may well have some new friendly designation given to them." Expounding his idea further Mahatmaji thinks that the Congress should rule not through the police backed by the military, but through its moral authority based upon the greatest good-will of the people Its methods should be preventative and not punitive Then the Congress Ministers must see that the departments they control alse respond. Thus justice must become cheap and expeditious. Police should be friend of people and not their dread. Education should answer needs of the poor villager and not of the imperial exploiter.

23rd. The U. P. Government decided to remit the unexpired portion of the sentences of certain political prisoners and to release these men.

Several members of the Bengal Assembly Krishak-Proja Party issued a statement criticizing the action of Members of the Cabinet in connexion with the voting on land revenue demand.

The adjournment motion moved by Mr. Satyamurthi in the Central Assembly to censure the India Government on the Zanzibar question, was defeated by 66 votes to 52.

24th. The President of the Central Assembly solved a conundrum of the House when he decided that he would not in future read out verbatim the Viceroy's orders disallowing adjournment motions.

Mr. S. Satyamurti's adjournment motion concerning the new legislative rules was crrried by the Central Assembly without a division.

Replying to a short-notice question in the Bengal Assembly, tho Home Minister stated that two prisoners on hunger-strike in the Andamans were seriously ill.

25th. The adjournment motion in the Central Assembly to censure the Government for their "callous attitude" towards the Andamans hunger-strikers, was carried by 62 votes to 55.

The Assam Assembly was addressed by the Advocate-General (Sir A. K. Roy) on a point of order raised by the Premier challenging the House's verdict regarding cut motions.

26th. The grievances of the Moslem community against Calcutta University were voiced in the Bengal Assembly when the grant of Rs. 1,17,40,000 for education came up for discussion.

Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Premier, outlined in the Assembly his Government's plans for promoting primary education in rural areas of the province.

27th. The Bengal Premier, replying to a debate on the Education Budget in the Assembly, referred to the policy of grants-in-aid to Madrashas.

The need for providing better facilities for women's education was urged by three women members of the Bengal Assembly in the course of a discussion on the Education Budget.

"The policy of Government is prohibition—prohibition of the use, import, sale or possession of alcohol, including foreign liquor, country liquor and toddy, of opium and of drugs," declared Hon Dr. M. D D. Gilder, Minister for Excise and Public Health, on the floor of the Bombay Legislative Assembly enunciating the Bombay Government's Excise policy.

As a protest against what was characterised as the "callous and indifferent attitude of the Local Government" towards the situation arising out of the protracted hunger-strike by political prisoners in the Andamans and other centres, the entire Congress Party walked out for the rest of the day from the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

28th. "The Sugar industry to-day is perhaps the second largest industry in India." observed Sardar Kripal Singh in his presidential address at the annual meeting at Lucknow of the Indian Sugar Mills Association.

"I regard the Congress Working Committee's resolution on prohibition as the greatest act of the Committee," said Mahatma Gandhi in an article in the *Harijan* in which he made 12 suggestions for bringing about prohibition.

Mahatma Gandhi sent a personal message to the Andamans prisoners urging them to give up hunger-strike.

29th. With the exception of seven, the rest of the Andamans prisoners gave up their hunger-strike.

The Madras Government proposed to reorganize the primary education system and give it a vocational bias.

The anxiety for the hunger-strikers in the Andamans and other jails and detention camps in India, following the wild rumour of death of Sudhendu Dam and the condemnation of the Government's 'callous and indifferent' attitude towards the countrywide demand for the repatriation of the Andaman political prisoners, found expression in students' demonstrations, public meetings and the All-Bengal Youth Convention that was held at the Calcutta Albert Hall.

30th. The detenus lodged in the Deoli Camp Jail, numbering 166, who were on hunger-strike in sympathy with the Andamans prisoners gave up the strike. Consequent on the abandonment of the hunger-strike by the majority of Andamans prisoners, Hon'ble Mr. A. K Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister of Bengal, in the course of a statement in the Bengal Assembly assured the House that his Cabinet would now shortly convene a meeting of party leaders to discuss the question of repatriation.

Dr. J. M Das Gupta, Acting President, B P C. C, was found guilty of the offence of causing obstruction to public street and was fined Rs. 100 in default two months' rigorous imprisonment by a Calcutta Magistrate, who delivered a lengthy judgment in what was known as the "Andamans Day Procession Case."

SEPTEMBER 1937

1st. Unprecedented scenes were witnessed in Cuttack to-day, the Kisan Day, when more than 15,000 Kisans, dressed in tattered and shabby clothes, many of whom had come down on foot from distant villages, marched on a mammoth procession, about a mile and a half long, carrying the national flags and red flags inscribed with hammer and sickle and shouting slogans of "Down with Imperialism" etc. through the crowded streets of the capital.

3rd. Dr. Khan Sahib's motion of "no confidence" in the Council of Ministers was passed by 27 votes to 22. The 27 comprised of 19 Congress, four Democrats, two Independents and two others, who had recently resigned from the Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party. The 22 included the three Ministers. Every member of the House was present. The Ministry having resigned, H. E. the Governor invited Dr. Khan Sahib, to meet him on the next day.

4th. That office acceptance by Congressmen was in perfect keeping with the Congress policy maintained since 1920, with its corner stone as organised national non-violence, which meant that "we were out to convert the administrators of the British system and not to destroy them," appeared to be the key-note of Gandhiji's article in the "Harijan".

5th. In the Bihar Council, the Finance Minister, replying to a question, said that the Government had suggested the repatriation of Bihari prisoners in the Andamans.

Reference to an increase in Bihar's revenue as a result of the introduction of the Reforms was made by the province's Finance Minister.

"The tri-colour flag is no longer to be considered as an emblem of the Congress but will be acclaimed, loved and respected as the national flag belonging to all parties, declared Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Premier opening the third Madras District Political Conference at the Madras Congress House.

6th. The Railway Rates Advisory Committee met in Calcutta to hear the complaint of several shipping companies regarding the withdrawal by certain railways of the surcharge refund on coal for bunkering purposes.

10th. The C. P. Budget presented to the Assembly showed a surplus of Rs. 31,000.

11th. The Madras Council passed a resolution appointing a committee to inquire into the ryot's relations with lands and suggest legislations to make these relations easier.

12th. Speaking in Bombay, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru deplored the formation of communal and sectarian groups for political purposes.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, appealed for communal unity.

13th. Congress and members of the Nationalist Party were absent when the Viceroy addressed a joint meeting of the Central Legislature. The address referred to the plans for the organization and re mechanization of the Army and measures already taken and proposed to be taken regarding middle class unemployment, rural development improvement of cattle breeding and archaeological research.

16th. That Bihar zemindars will be prepared for non-violent Civil Disobedience, if necessary, to resist the enforcement of a tax on agricultural income and unfair laws against their interests was one of the resolutions passed at a conference of Bihar land-holders at Patna under the presidency of Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga. The resolution was moved by Raja Sir Raghunandan Prosad.

The remaining eight prisoners on hunger-strike in the Andamans gave up their fast.

18th. The C. P. Premier made a statement in the Provincial Assembly defining the correct attitude of Government servants towards party politics.

"There is no difference between the ideals of the Moslem League and those of the Congress or any other recognised political organisation in the country, the ideal being complete freedom for India. There could not be any self-respecting Indian who favoured foreign domination or did not desire complete freedom and a self-Government for his country", said Mr. M. A. Jinnah in replying to an address presented to him at a largely attended reception given in his honour at Simla.

20th. The proceedings of the Madras Legislative Assembly commenced with the singing of "Bande Mataram" by the Speaker, Mr. Sambamurthi, in the absence of the lady member, Mrs. Sankara Iyer who usually sung the song.

22nd. Amidst cheers the Orissa Assembly passed the Chief Minister's resolution summoning a Constituent Assembly for framing a constitution for a free India as modified by Mr. Latifur Rahman's amendment. Two voices only cried "no" when the resolution was put to vote.

24th. The Orissa Assembly decided the question of a site for the provincial capital. It favoured Cuttack-Chowdwar.

26th. The Congress claim to represent the Moslems was challenged at a Conference of the Calcutta Moslem League.

27th. Sir Sultan Ahmed moving a resolution in the Assembly for the ratification of the sugar convention referred to the benefits that would follow India's participation in the agreement.

An adjournment motion in the Central Assembly to discuss the Moslem objection in Madras to the singing of "Bande Mataram" in the provincial Assembly was ruled out by the President.

Under the new conditions the police will have to be the guardians of peace and democracy, said Mr. K. M. Munshi, Minister for law and Order, Bombay, addressing a police-conference at Poona.

29th. The President of the Central Assembly ruled out of order an amendment of the Insurance Bill regarding the provision by insurance companies of a provident fund for their employees.

To discuss the question of repatriation of Bengal terrorist prisoners in the Andamans a Conference of party leaders of both House of the Bengal Legislature was held in Calcutta.

The U. P Assembly decided that the Speaker "had the power to require or permit any member, who was not sufficiently acquainted with English, to address the the Assembly in Hindustani."

30th. The Madras Prohibition Bill was passed by both Houses of the Legislature.

By 110 to 27 votes the Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the Tenancy Act (Amendment) Bill.

OCTOBER 1937

1st. Both Houses of the Madras Legislature were prorogued—the Assembly after the Speaker had made an important statement concerning the singing of *Bande Mataram.*

2nd. The Speaker of the U. P. Assembly referred to his active membership of the party but assured of his complete impartiality while in the Chair.

The country offered its respectful congratulations and affectionate greetings to Mahatma Gandhi on this happy occasion of his 69th birthday and prayed that he might live long for the guidance of India and humanity.

4th. Sir James Grigg, Finance Member, Government of India, assured the Central Assembly that the Government would have control over the Reserve Bank in the matter of residuary functions and that it was proposed to regulate them by an agreement with the Bank.

5th. Professor Syed Hossain, addressing Moslem students in Calcutta referred to the rise and fall of Islam and called upon his audience to form the vanguard of a Moslem renaissance.

6th. The Central Assembly passed motion of adjournment to censure the Government for having appointed a man from England as India's Income-tax Commissioner.

7th. Addressing the students of Khurda, the Premier of Orissa said that he did not want students to join active politics.

11th. When the Shias met in Conference at Lucknow, the Moslem League organisation though subjected to criticism was supported as a vehicle for the expression of Moslem political action.

15th. Hindus and Moslems of Poona reached a compromise in regard to the Sonya Maruti Temple dispute.

Peshawar witnessed unprecedented scenes of enthusiasm on the arrival of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The station was thronged with a huge but disciplined crowd controlled by a number of Red Shirt volunteers. Thirtyone crackers were fired as the President emerged from his compartment bedecked with tricolours.

The Premiers of the Punjab and Bengal joined the Muslim League under the leadership of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah This was an achievement of great political significance, made by the League at its session at Lucknow Mr. Jinnah who presided at the Conference made a bitter attack on the Congress policy in the course of his presidential address which was, from top to bottom, soaked with communalism. He accused the Congress of creating "class bitterness and communal war". Mr Jinnah, before the commencement of the session, unfurled the flag of Islam in the front of the Conference pandal before a huge crowd. This was perhaps the first occasion when a religious flag was unfurled at a political function. The League Council took disciplinary action against Mr. Yakub Hussan, Minister of Madras, for his joining the Congress Ministry and removed his name from the membership of the League. A similar action by the Council was taken against Mr. Sharif, Minister of C. P. and Sir Wazir Hassan.

16th. In a speech at Poona Mr. K. M. Munshi, Home Minister to the Bombay Government stressed the organization aspect of physical education.

"The English people though they are traditionally supposed to cherish liberty for its own sake, allowed other peoples to be robbed of it without any scruple whatsoever simply because their greed for material satisfactions had been effectively appeased thereby. "Perhaps my English friends wont agree with me there, but when rivalry for colonial exploitation would become still more acute the British citizens will find necessary, to arm their Government at home with extraordinary powers to defend their possessions abroad. Then they will suddenly wake up to find that they have forfeited their own liberty and drifted into Fascist grip and then they will realise that liberty has a true foundation only in moral worth of individuals who compose the State."—Thus observed Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, President, All India Civil Liberties Union, in the course of his message to the London Conference on civil liberty in India.

17th. Mr. Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier, in his address to the Moslem League session at Lucknow referred to the solidarity of the Moslems in Bengal.

Mr. Satyamurti described the Lucknow session of the League as a "significant commentary on contemporary politics.

The All-India Moslem League passed a resolution changing its creed to "full independence."

Mammoth meetings attended by 20 to 25 thousand Kisans were held in more than 100 centres in Bengal in accordance with the circular of the Provincial Kisan Sabha. The Kisan Sabha resolution adopted at all these meetings after setting out Kisans' demands expressed the conviction that the only way of retaining the confidence of the Kisans and of keeping them under the political leadership of the Congress is to fulfil the demands of the Kisans as formulated by the Faizpur Congress unmindful of the opposition of the Zamindars. At some places some Congress M. L. A's. tried to oppose the demands formulated by the B.P. K.S. but they were hooted down right away, and the Kisan Sabha resolution was adopted with thundering acclamations.

Mahatma Gandhi issued the following statement on Andamans prisoners:—"Andamans prisoners may not be forgotten. To remind me that I have made promise to them that I would strain every nerve to secure their release, I have

received three letters from three provinces, telling me that treatment of prisoners who have been brought from the Andamans is worse than there, that there seems to be no prospect of their early release and that if no release was forthcoming they might have to fall back upon the only weapon open to them, that is hunger-strike. I hope that they will not resort to hunger-strike so long as they know that the public is not supine about their welfare. For myself I may assure them that I am not sleeping over the matter. And I urge the public and the press to keep a vigilant eye on this urgent matter. I would appeal to Provincial Governments which have received these prisoners to accord to them the treatment which the country expects them to give. Provincial Governments which are in such matters now responsible to the people may not disregard the popular wish. I expect that in this there is no difference between the Congress and other organisations."

18th. The All-India Moslem League passed a resolution opposing the introduction of Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935.

20th. There was considerable reaction in the country to the decisions taken at the session of the All-India Moslem League.

21st. Sir Chhotu Ram (Development Minister, Punjab), in a statement on the Unionist Party's future, regretted the suggestion that the agreement reached at Lucknow was a surrender to Mr Jinnah by the Punjab Premier.

The policy of the Bombay Government in regard to the separation of the judicial branch from the executive branch of the administration was explained by Mr. K. M. Munshi, Home Minister at Poona.

The 'secret" of "Congress Raj", as also the "secret" of how he would run the administration without the Excise revenue lost by prohibition, was explained by the Madras Premier at a Coimbatore meeting.

22nd. "An irresponsible utterance" was how the U. P Premier characterized the recent speech of the Bengal Premier at Lucknow in which the latter was reported to have spoken of "retaliation" against Bengal Hindus.

23rd Addressing the Bengal Moslem Conference at Berhampore, Mr. M. A. Jinnah said that what the Moslem League was fighting for was political power.

24th. Among the resolutions passed at the All-India Moslem Conference at Berhampore was one condemning the making of *Bande Mataram* the national anthem of India.

Utmost confusion prevailed at a public meeting held at Bangalore when Mr. K. F. Nariman, the Congress leader of Bombay, addressed Bangalore students. Mr. Nariman was served with an order prohibiting him to address any meeting but he defied the order and addressed the students A posse of police under four Inspectors arrived and Mr. Nariman was put under arrest. This was a signal to uproar and confusion in which stones and shoes were freely hurled. Some people and policemen were slightly injured. Consequently the police made a mild lathi charge.

25th. "We believe that all patriotic Indians should lend their greatest support to the most formidable common organisation that exists in India at the present moment—the Indian National Congress, which alone will lead us to our goal", observed the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, the premier nobleman of Bengal, in the course of a message to the people of Bengal.

Following yesterday's incidents over the arrest of Mr. K. F. Nariman and disturbances in the students' meeting at Bangalore a fresh scuffle ensued to-day between the police and the students in the Intermediate College compound at about 1-30 in the afternoon. The situation rose to such a pitch at a time that police opened fire as a result of which several persons received gunshot wounds. About 60 people were removed to hospital, of whom 15 were policemen and the rest were members of the public.

26th. A resolution demanding the retention of *Bande Mataram* as the national anthem of India, was passed at a Poona meeting in celebration of *Bande Mataram* day.

27. A Bill for the removal of the bar against women becoming municipal councillors was introduced in the Assam Legislative Council.

"The discovery of unlicensed arms and ammunition indicated that terrorism was by no means dead," stated the Bengal Government's resolution on the Calcutta Police administration report for 1936.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah's efforts at Patna to merge all Moslem parties in Bihar in the Moslem League, resulted in the Moslem and Ahrar parties joining the League.

There was an important meeting in Calcutta between Mr. Gandhi and the Bengal Premier, who was accompanied by three of his colleagues, when questions like the release of detenus and Andamans prisoners were discussed.

It was a rare and magnificent spectacle which Calcutta witnessed when more than 20,000 men and women listened in reverent silence to the leaders of all-India renown who gave a graphic description of the oppression which peasants in this land had undergone for centuries in mute resignation. The occasion was the great peasants' rally which was held at the Shraddhananda Park. The signs of the dawn of their economic and political consciousness was on the occasion manifest to the most indifferent observer.

28th. A conference held under the auspices of the Bengal Congress Socialist Party demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners and detenus and the repeal of all "repressive laws."

The negotiations between Mr. M. A. Jinnah and the Bihar Moslem Independent Party, which was the largest single Moslem group in the Bihar Legislature, broke down.

It was decided at a Calcutta meeting to establish a Hindu-Moslem Unity Association in order to dispel the present distrust and suspicion between the two communities.

The conference of Congress Premiers and speakers with Gandhiji and the members of the Congress Working Committee commenced at the residence of Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose to discuss various problems that confront the ministries in different Congress provinces, on which Gandhiji's guidance and advice were sought with a view to find a proper solution.

29th. Speeches protesting against the Congress "attitude and attempt to exterminate the Zamindari class," were made at the U. P. Zamindars' Conference.

The All-India Congress Working Committee's conference opened in Calcutta. A left wing effort to secure the adoption of a policy of direct action to prevent Federation was defeated.

30th. The need for separate treatment for political prisoners as distinct from ordinary criminals, was stressed by Mr. K. F. Nariman who presided at the Political Sufferers' Conference in Calcutta.

Midnapur and her tale of woes figured prominently at the All-India Congress Committee. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose who moved the resolution with regard to the ban on 110 Congress organisations in the district, in an impassioned speech drew a lurid picture of the state of affatrs before and after the present regime of repression in Midnapur.

31st. "Unite, organise and join hands with Congress", this was the gist of the message which the three distinguished fighters for India's freedom, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, delivered to the mammoth gathering which assembled at the Calcutta Deshbandhu Park, on the occasion of the Labour rally that took place there. It was a sight ever to be remembered. Never had, within living memory, Calcutta witnessed a spectacle. More than one lakh of men and women assembled there to listen to the President of the Indian National Congress and other leaders. From far off villages they came walking all the way to learn from their leaders the means of relief from the sufferings and humiliations under which they had been groaning for years.

NOVEMBER 1937

2nd. The Working Committee resolution on the Patel-Nariman controversy accepted the findings of the Gandhi-Bahadurji Inquiry Committee. In view of Mr. Nariman's acceptance of the report and subsequent recantation, the Committee ordered the publication of the Inquiry Committee's report and held Mr. Nariman unworthy of holding any position of trust and responsibility in the Congress organization.

3rd. A tribute to the many reforms inaugurated by the Maharaja of Travancore was paid by the Resident, Madras States, at a State banquet held at Trivandrum in honour of His Highness' 26th. birthday.

At a reception held in Bombay in his honour, Mr. M. A. Jinnah criticised the A I C.C. resolutions on "Bande Mataram" and minorities questions and urged upon the Congress to make an honourable settlement with the Muslims.

6th. "The Hindu Mahasabha has always said, and its offer is still open, that the communal problem, so far as representations in legislatures are concerned, can be honourably solved on the basis of joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities on their population basis and with power to them to contest additional seats," said Dr. B. S. Moonje in the course of a statement to the Press.

In the Bijnor Najibabad-Garhwal Muslim rural constituency bye-election, the Hon'ble Hafiz Mohamed Ibrahim (Congress), Minister for Irrigation, United Provinces, defeated Mr. Abdus Sami (Muslim) League by 7,271 against 2,202 votes. The Hon'ble Hafiz Mohamad Ibrahim was originally returned to the U. P. Legislative Assembly on Moslem League ticket, but later joined the Congress Party and was taken as a member of the Pant Cabinet. For joining the Congress, the Moslem League accused him of betraying the Moslem cause and going against the will of his constituency. It challenged him to resign his seat and seek re-election on Congress ticket. Hafiz Sahib accepted the challenge and won the fight.

7th. The Maharaja of Bikaner reiterated his belief in Federation and urged safeguards in the interest of the States, at a banquet given by him in honour of H. E. the Viceroy.

The main outlines of the Wardha Educational Scheme sponsored by Mahatma Gandhi were explained by the Madras Minister of Public Information at a Conference of the Madras International Fellowship. He announced that the country would be given an opportunity to examine the Wardha Educational Scheme.

9th. Matters affecting the status and welfare of women were discussed at the annual conference of the Calcutta constituency of the All-India Women's Conference.

Mahatma Gandhi had an interview for two hours with Sir John Anderson, and the topic of discussion mainly centred on relief to political prisoners and detenus.

At the Guruvayur Temple-Entry Conference, a resolution was passed advocating "satyagraha" at Guruvayur, if the Madras Government did not take action to throw open the temple to all Hindus within six months.

10th. The Government of Bombay returned about 750 acres of land in their possession to original owners victimised during the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Government also asked the owners of forfeited lands in Bardoli whether they will relinquish their possession on the payment of their original price.

11th. Anti-War Day and Armistice Day celebrations took place in various centres in India. At Allahabad, the Congress President presided over a public meeting.

13th. Mahatma Gandhi expressed his strong disapproval of the action of A. I. C. C. members in criticizing Congress Ministries and accepting a resolution regarding Mysore at the recent meeting of that body in Calcutta.

A resolution adopted at a conference under the chairmanship of the C. P. Minister for Education stated that "the key to the general uplift of the masses is primary education and it is our aim to make it universal."

20th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru disapproved the action of Allahabad students in resorting to a strike over a dispute regarding the Congress flag.

The Gandhi Seva Sangha appreciated the renunciation of faith in terrorism in Bengal, and deprecated the abuse of civil liberty and the undermining of the non-violent spirit in some parts of India.

21st. The Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu were among the speakers at a public meeting, held under the auspices of the Hindu-Moslem Unity Association, at the Albert Hall, Calcutta.

"If in spite of honest effort by Congressmen forces of disorder cannot be brought under control without the assistance of the police and the Military, in my opinion acceptance by the Congress of the burden of office loses all force and meaning and the sooner the Ministers are withdrawn, the better it would be for the Congress and its struggle to achieve complete independence", said Mahatma Gandhi in the course of an article in the "Harijan" on the labour situation in Ahmedabad, Sholapur and Cawnpore.

22nd. The A. I. C. C. office announced that the total number of primary Congress members enrolled this year was 31,34,249. This figure does not include members from Burma and the N. W. F Province, whose figures have not yet been received. The total number of membership last year was 5,36,131.

23rd. The death occurred of Sir J. C. Bose, the eminent Indian scientist. For half a century, Sir Jagadish's name was a household word not only all over India but his reputation as a scientist had spread all over the world.

25th. The Council of State passed the third reading of the Insurance Bill. The House was adjourned sine die.

26th. Criticism over the delay for the preparation of a new Indo-British trade agreement was expressed by the Indian Chamber of Commerce at their meeting.

27th The need for unity and fellowship in this country was emphasised by the Metropolitan of India when he adressed a gathering of Christians at Poona.

A Rs. 4 and half lakhs programme of rural development in Delhi Province was outlined by the Chief Commissioner when he opened the Delhi rural exhibition.

30th. A plea for the prevention of the *phookha* evil was made at the All-India Women's Cow Protection Conference held in Calcutta.

Pandit Nehru, addressing a meeting at Tezpur, emphasized the need for a wider outlook among Indians.

The question whether a mosque is governed by the law of limitation formed the main part of the argument in the Shahidganj mosque dispute case in the Lahore High Court.

DECEMBER 1937

4th. The death occurred of Nawab Sir Abdul Quiyum, the former Frontier Premier.

The significance of Indian culture *vis-a-vis* the present world situation, was emphasized by various speakers at the Indian Cultural Conference in Calcutta.

The Bengal Hindu Sabha passed a resolution asking the Premier of Bengal "to desist from issuing undignified diatribes against his political opponents."

"Policemen should be true exponents of the principle of non-violence," said the Premier of Bihar, presiding over the Patna District Political Conference.

A series of riots occurred at a cattle fair in U. P. in which Hindus attacked butchers, killing one, and raided a railway station.

8th. An appeal for the preservation of communal friendship in the Central Provinces was made by Dr. Khare, the Premier, in the Legislative Assembly.

"A grave crisis has arisen in the history of modern Bengal—a crisis of the most serious character. The very cause of education is threatened. We must rise to a man throughout the province and record our strong protest against the sinister attempt and the sinister motive behind it."—In these words Acharya Sir P. C. Roy exhorted the Bengalees to carry on an effective agitation against the proposed Bill for secondary education when at the Calcutta Albert Hall the educationists assembled in large numbers to register their protest against the proposed measure.

Mr. W. B. Brett, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar issued a confidential circular to Commissioners of Divisions to be communicated to all district officers. The circular 'inter alia' dealt with the constitutional position of Ministers so far as issue of orders to district officers was concerned. "Whose orders are binding on the officials? The circular said that no order to be taken as authenticated which directly emanated from Ministers or purporting to emanate from them." It also directed : "An order acted upon by the District Officers which is not signed by either a Secretary, Under-Secretary or Asst. Secretary to Government, will do so at their own risk."

9th. The need for preventing provincial isolation in connexion with the development of India's forest resources was stressed by the Viceroy in opening the Forest Conference.

Addressing a meeting of the U. P Congress Party, Pandit G. B. Pant, the Premier, justified the measures adopted to deal with the labour unrest at Cawnpore.

The introduction of pre-school education conducted or supported by the State for children of ages between three to seven and the enforcement of free and compulsory basic education through crafts to all boys and girls from ages of seven to fourteen (the concession for girls being that their guardians may withdraw them after their completion of the 12th year) were the main recommendations of Dr. Zakir Husain's Committee appointed by the Wardha Education Conference of October last.

11th. The danger of a party flushed with victory at the polls setting up an authoritarian State and interfering with educational democracy was pointed out by Mr. M. R. Jayakar at the Lucknow University Convocation.

Presiding over the Central Provinces and Berar Local Self-Government Conference, Mr. S. K Ray Chaudhury, Mayor of Calcutta, deplored the tendency in some quarters to regard local bodies as political platforms.

14th. The working committee of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee asked Congressmen to dissociate themselves from Kisan Sabha activities, while the Kisan Sabha Council demands the withdrawal of the ban on its activities in several districts.

16th. The progress of the C. P. Prohibition Bill in the Assembly was held up following the Speaker's upholding the Opposition objection to the Bill being taken into consideration immediately.

17th. The Bihar Legislative Assembly passed to-day the Bihar Tenancy Amendment Bill which aimed at giving relief to tenants. During the two days' discussion the Bill had a smooth sailing as a result of an agreement arrived at between the Government and the Zamindars. Some of the important provisions of the Bill related to the partition of holding, the distribution of grant, the commutation of rent, penalty for illegal exactions by landlords, or agents of landlords, the execution of decrees for arrears of rent, restriction on the payment of certain kind of rent by agreement, etc.

19th. Mr. Jayprakash Narayan, a Socialist leader, issued a statement condemning the action of the Bihar Congress in putting a ban on the Kisan Sabha.

20th. The Madras Speaker called a conference to decide whether the singing of

Bande Mataram should be permitted to herald the commencement of each day's business in the Legislative Assembly.

21st. The position of the International Labour office in regard to India was explained by Mr. Harold Butler at the annual meeting of the Employers' Federation of India in Calcutta.

22nd. Immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and also the Andaman prisoners was voiced at a public meeting which was held at the Calcutta Albert Hall under the presidency of Sj. T. C. Goswami. Several speakers had addressed the meeting demanding the release of all political prisoners and also for the repeal of all repressive laws. The speakers also appealed to the Andaman prisoners to postpone their hunger-strike and assured that Bengal would again start a strong movement for their immediate and unconditional release.

25th. An indirect reference to the difficulties experienced in enforcing prohibition in Salem was made by the Madras Premier during the discussion of the Debt Relief Bill in the Madras Council.

26th. Addressing a public meeting in Calcutta Mr. Jinnah said that Moslems of India were ready to co-operate with their sister communities on terms of equality alone.

27th. An appeal for a common language for India was made by Mr. Rajendra Prasad at a literary conference at Patna.

An outspoken speech by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq was a feature of the opening session of the Moslem students' Federation in Calcutta.

Various problems relating to education were discussed on the opening day of the All-India Education Conference in Calcutta.

Presiding at the All-India Moslem Students' Conference in Calcutta, Mr. Humayun Kabir stated that the problem in India was not one of political freedom alone but also of economic and social freedom.

28th. Mahatma Gandhi's Wardha education scheme was discussed at the resumed sitting of the All-India Educational Conference in Calcutta

Dr. P. J. Thomas, Professor of Economics, Madras University, presiding over the Economic Conference in Hyderabad, dealt exhaustively with India's many economic problems.

29th. Reference to the economic and educational problems facing the Indian Christian community was made by Mr. S. C. Mookerji presiding at the All-India Christian Conference in Calcutta.

The need for the adoption of Basic English in India was urged by Mr. Adolph Meyers at the All-India Educational Conference in Calcutta.

Presiding at the National Liberal Federation, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad referred to the Communism menace in India.

30th. "We do not want any privileges," said Mr. V. D. Savarker presiding over the 19th. session of the Hindu Mahasabha in Ahmedabad.

INDIA IN HOME POLITY

INTRODUCTION

In the study on India's "Home Polity" which finds a place as an Introduction to volume I. 1937, (covering the period of January to June, 1937) of *The Indian Annual Register*, was discussed all the influences and developments that had led the Indian National Congress to decide to take part in the elections to the Assemblies and Councils proposed to be constituted under the Government of India Act of 1935. The results of the elections went a long way to prove and justify the claims of the Congress to speak as the defender of India's national self-respect, as the upholder of her rights and privileges. An attempt was also made to understand and explain the processes by which the representatives of the Congress, the majority of the members in the majority of the different Legislatures, were enabled to agree to accept office, to work the new constitution through their chosen Ministers. But this discussion anticipated the final decision of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee of the Indian National Congress. For, this particular decision was taken on the 7th. of July, 1937 a week after the period the events of which are recorded in the previous volume of the *Register*. Lord Linlithgow's broadcast was issued on the 21st. of June, 1937. It eased the tension of feeling between the British bureaucracy and the Indian National Congress It helped the Working Committee under Mahatma Gandhi's guidance to make the decision. And though this was arrived at in the first week of the period that forms the subject matter of the present volume of the *Register*, for drawing up a proper perspective of the whole of the situation, reference to it became necessary in the last volume.

Congress Accepts Office

In a study of the consequences of that decision of the Working Committee's as these evolved in course of the period (July—December, 1937) the resolution that embodied that decision need not be fully quoted. The relevant clause was this :

Combat new Act, prosecute Constructive programme

"The Committee feels, however, that the situation created as a result of the circumstances and events that have since occurred warrants the belief that it will not be easy for the Governors to use their Special Powers. The Committee has, moreover, considered the views of Congress members of the Legislatures and of Congressmen generally. The Committee has, therefore, come to the conclusion and resolved that Congressmen be permitted to accept office where they may be invited thereto, but it desires to make it clear that office has to be accepted and utilized for the purpose of working in accordance with the lines laid down in the Congress Election Manifesto and to further in every possible way the Congress policy of combating the new Act on the one hand, and of prosecuting the constructive programme on the other."

Congress & Governors knew where they stood

The first sentence of this long quotation made it clear that the discussions, explanations, and interpretations on the constitutional principles involved in the Congress demand for assurance and conditional acceptance of office had provided valuable education to both the parties to the controversy. The leaders of the Congress felt an assurance of their own strength which they lacked or felt they lacked in March, 1937. The spokesmen of the bureaucracy, faced with a breakdown of the constitution, hastened to cover it up. The world had been told that the "big stick" of the Willingdon regime had let a lot of conceit out of the Indian brain, that the 1935 constitution had settled the Indian problem for a generation or so, and that contentment reigned in India. The results of the elections pricked this bubble a little ; the refusal of the Congress to form ministries burst it altogether. It opened the eyes of the world to the fact that the Indian problem so far as it had reference to British Imperialism had not been solved at all. These demonstrations were not comfortable to the British conscience, did not save British "face" in world opinion, and was not consistent with the enlightened self-interest of Britain herself. About the educational value of three months' controversy the remarks of the *Manchester Guardian* is quite appreciative—the Indian public have now been so educated in the implications of the Governor's special powers that their Excellencies will no doubt be more chary in making use of their prerogatives than they would have been, had Congress taken office immediately after the elections. It may not now be known exactly where everybody stood, but everybody did know it a little better than before. The *Daily Telegraph*, an organ of Conservative British opinion of the right-centre, opined : "The Congress Ministers will discover the extent of their authority by experience and will discover also that the manner of its exercise will be determined by the electorate rather than by Governors."

Real Inspiration

This education apart, notice may be taken of the change in Congress attitude towards the new constitution. The cynically-minded may point the finger to the words "combating the new Act", instead of "wrecking" it which figured so vividly in the election speeches of Congress protagonists. But the real inspiration of this change, not in attitude but in emphasis, is to be traced to Mahatma Gandhi who is reported to have drafted the Working Committee resolution. To him was due the importance attached to the "constructive programme" and its prosecution as an instrument for the relief of the poor, for putting hope and courage into their hearts, and for rousing them to the shame and indignity of an unfree national life.

Class conscious activity

By the end of July, 1937, Ministries on behalf of and in the name of the Congress had undertaken the task of administration in six out of the eleven provinces in India. It was a difficult task that the Ministries undertook. Hopes had been raised that demanded satisfaction. An increasing number of people had become aware of what needs to be done to make life liveable in India and how it was to be done. Positive

Congress activities, the broadcasting of thoughts and programmes of reform and reconstruction, since the days of the Non-co-operation Movement, have disturbed the pathetic contentment of the masses. And a section of the *intelligentsia* have been contributing to the awakening of a class consciousness, of the sense of conflict between classes and interests said to be implicit in the very constitution of human society. Their philosophy of thought and conduct required a radical reconstruction of society, a "liquidation" of capitalist and bourgeoise interests, inspired by a new interpretation of human psychology and of human history. The sense of personal and private property was to be eradicated ; the conceit of individual ends as apart from social was to be suppressed. The inspiration of nationalist feelings and sentiments, the injustices and inequalities of human existence—both these were sources of energy because they were the expressions of strong needs, spiritual and material. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress, indicated these needs, and the duties they imposed upon the Congress Ministries if these were to be satisfied. He did not want the Congress to authorise the acceptance of Ministries by Congressmen on behalf of the Congress. He had fears that they would get enmeshed in "the illusion of power" that seemed to have come within their grasp. He represented the apprehensions of many who thought that reformism would replace the spirit of revolt and revolution that only could enable us to fulfil our national and human destiny. But even he was moved to declare that

"The formation of Congress Ministries in six provinces has brought a breath of fresh air in the turgid and authoritarian atmosphere of India New hopes have risen, new visions full of promise float before the eyes of the masses We breathe more freely for the moment at least."

This new air of hope could not fully dispel the sense of oppressive responsibility which the neglect and frustrations of centuries had created amongst the most optimist of Indian public men. "External authority" which for about two centuries had been working its will in this country through the British bureaucracy sought to create the mirage that the constitutional changes afford opportunity for the reform and reconstruction of India by Indian hands. The decision of the Congress to accept office was moved by the desire to test if there be any reality of power that the law declared had been placed in the hands of Indian Ministers, representatives of the mood and will of the Indian people. The vastness of India's problems, the need for radical changes in every department of Indian thought and life, the Indian politician averred, were not capable of solution by the limited powers granted by the Government of India Act :

Mirage of Constitutionalism

"But the responsibility is ours in the eyes of the people ; and if we cannot discharge these to their satisfaction, if hopes are unfulfilled and visions unrealised, the burden of disillusion will also be ours,.....We have to keep the right perspective always before us, the objectives for which the Congress stands, the independence of India and the ending of the poverty of the people. We have at the same time to labour for smaller ends which bring some immediate relief to the masses. We have to act simultaneously on this double front."

These words of the President of the Congress, one of the most

dynamic of Indian thinkers and public men, may be accepted as representative of the mind of the people in which hopes and fears occupied an almost equal space. The fears were apprehended to come from the upholders of British interests in this country which had been secured from all demands for readjustments by positive provisions in the so-called law of the land imposed by a legislature sitting at a distance of 7,000 miles, strong in "the might of the sword" to use Mahatmajee's words. But it is not of these fears that people felt much concerned. For, that was a conflict that was part of the very nature of Indo-British relations. And the experiences of half a century of this conflict have enabled the people to size up their opponents, and to renew an assurance in their own strength and recover the conviction of their ultimate victory. World forces have been fighting on the side of the Indian people, world developments have been disrupting the morale of the Imperialist power that held them in subjection. Capitalist Imperialism of which the British had been the pioneers in the modern world had run through a cycle of its life. Other competitors appearing in the field threatened to divide the world into separate spheres of influence or fields of exploitation. This competition afforded the opportunity to exploited and dependent nations to struggle to come by their own. So, in so far as the "external authority" that controls India was concerned, the people had lost dread of it. Even the stiffest of British bureaucrats does not care to conceal the feeling, to recognise the development that the things that matter in India—the poverty of the people, the dirt and disease in their life—for a removal of these the people must seek help not "as a boon to be sought, a concession to be wrested" from a third party who for about two centuries had been playing earthly Providence to them, but from those who will get into the seats of State authority on their votes and exercise State power as their representatives, drawing their power from the suffrages of the people. The last election to the provincial legislatures in India has helped the people to realise a little of the power and feel a little of the exhilaration that the exercise of the right of votes has created in them as the ultimate authority in India. The sense of this power is the master key to the evolution of the future of India.

Sense of power Strengthened

Of the hopes innumerable that float before the eyes of the masses of our people, the fulfilment of which they seek at the hands of the Congress Ministries, of the throbbing agony of India's masses the call for relief in whose eyes haunt the waking thoughts of India's leaders and the dreams of their sleeping hours, the very immensity of the task and the immediate necessity for healing measures—the "smaller ends" for which the Ministries have plunged into work as soon as they entered their unaccusstomed offices—there are no differences of opinion about the ends to be secured. The agrarian question and the question of industrial and agricultural labour—the approach to their solution bristle with differences with vested interests, the growth of two centuries of neglect. The eruption into India of British and Western habits of thought and technique of economic life disrupted India's balanced life. The foreign rulers in their conceit of superiority lacked

Natural disability of British rulers

the imagination or the knowledge or the understanding to realize the harm that both these would do to the simpler but in certain ways the more coherent social economy of the country. Perhaps, the truth was that they were themselves victims of a system of values which they themselves had failed to handle or control ; these which had broken up their own social polity, as the following words of John Morley portray :

"Even the passage of the Reform Act (1832) which to the youthful Gladstone, before his own emancipation, seemed to be "the work of the anti-Christ", left six-sevenths of male population without a vote Upon a society so constituted, a people so fettered, the Industrial Revolution had come like a thief in the night, and not the most devastating of wars or the bloodiest, could have been more catastrophic in its social effects or more perplexing in the problems of social readjustment which it created."

The Conceit of Imperialism

And upon a people so circumstanced was thrown the responsibility of ruling a country alien in thought and conduct, vast in dimension, complex in its social arrangements. Themselves thus disabled they could not do anything better, specially when they came to be smitten by a "divine confidence in themselves and their mission" as the civilizers of the world, a conviction which had made Imperialism inevitable. An interpreter of British History opines that this was no new malady. The corner-stone of Imperialism, said he, was laid many generations ago when Oliver Cromwell wrote—"We are a people with the stamp of God upon us—whose appearance and whose providences are not to be outmatched by any story." Thus we find in India a patch-work of high-sounding intentions and ineffective fulfilments, good by or in parts. This is the heritage to which the Congress Ministries have succeeded.

Civil Liberties—bureaucratic opposition

When they undertook this responsibility, the world's hopes and good wishes seemed to follow them. Heartened by these but sobered by the thought of the many things expected at their hands, they had to act on a "double front". They had to send relief to the masses ; they had to extend the liberties of the people. In effecting the former they would have to a certain part of the way the co-operation of the higher bureaucracy, the steel-frame of Mr. Lloyd George's imagery made of British officials ; in their second duty they could not expect and would not receive the same co-operation from that quarter. This opposition and sabotage they met on the threshhold of their career when the question of the re-assertion of civil liberty and the restoration of liberties—promises made in their election manifestoes—demanded redemption. The Congress along with all other progressive forces in the country, the Congress pre-eminently, had been laying increasing emphasis on civil liberty, on the right of free expression of opinion, of free association and combination, and of freedom of conscience and religion ; it had condemned the use of emergency powers which were more often their abuse : it had suffered from and condemned ordinances and special legislation. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru indicated the mind of India, and the direction in which it was moving and the end which it desired to reach with regard to this question :

"Civil Liberty is not merely for us an airy doctrine or a pious wish, but something which we consider essential for the orderly development and progress of a nation. It is the civilised approach to a problem, about which people differ, the non-violent way of dealing with it. To crush a contrary opinion forcibly and allow it no expression because we dislike it, is essentially as the same as cracking the skull of an opponent because we disapprove of him. It does not even possess the virtue of success The man with the cracked skull may collapse and die, but the suppressed opinion or idea has no such sudden end and it survives and prospers the more it is sought to be crushed with force."

Detenus, Internees & Political Prisoners

The principle and policy here embodied have been the bed-rock of the Congress organisation and of all the progressive activities in the country. With the assumption of office by Congress Ministers these gained importance, a special importance, because there could be no constitutional progress in a country whose life was suppressed by the burden of ordinances and "law-less laws". It was further felt, and history supported that feeling, that the country could not settle down to quiet, steady, constructive work if the thousands of political prisoners, detenus and internees were not released and set at liberty. There was a certain incipient feeling that the Congress did not act wisely in agreeing to accept office without a clear and definite understanding with regard to this problem of political prisoners and detenus and internees. These men and women belonged to the *intelligentsia*. They had revolted against the loss of the self-respect of their nation, and they had sinned in trying to regain and restore it. It would be blindness to regard these men and women as constituting a limited problem, because in number they represented a few millions of the more than three hundred fifty millions of the people of India ; it would be blindness to ignore the inspiration of their life and work—life and work that have given a new meaning to Indian History during the last fifty years and more. These men and women represented the spirit of resurgent self-respect and self-assertion of the Indian people ; they were the path-finders to the fuller, richer and freer life in this country. They constituted a core bearing witness to the richness of India's human wealth. They are the makers of the present and builders of the future. Of these men and women, Korolenko is represented in the *Reminiscences of My Youth* by Maxim Gorki as saying :

"They are the leaven in every popular unheaval, the foundation-stone in every new structure. Socrates, Giordano, Bruno, Gallileo, Robespiere, our own Decemberists... who are at this moment starving in exile, those who are tonight pouring over a book and preparing themselves for the struggle in the cause of justice, and above all, of course, for prison—are all the living force of life and its keen sensitive instrument".

It is because people felt something like this consciously and unconsciously, more unconsciously than consciously, that the demand rose insistent that the prisoners, detenus and internees should be set at liberty, that the exiled prisoners in the Andamans, the detenus at Deoli, Buxa and Hijli, and the thousand interned in innumerable Bengal villages should be given a chance to harness the idealism of their life, the superb strength of their unbribed intellect, the illumination of their minds generated in the experiences gained in pain and torture, in solitary cells and solitary places—all the qualities that contribute to the building up of better societies and better countries—should have chance in India to play their legitimate part in constructive nationalism. The

hunger-strike in the Andamans was undertaken in this eager expectation. And the British bureaucracy in whose hands still lay the key to the reconciliaton of feelings and to prison locks in detention camps, owing to a poverty of spirit, owing to mental reservations, to unnamed fears, did not come honourably out of a test where none but great minds could maintain the traditions of civilised humanity. The Police mind of British India could not be expected to shed its crudities and morbidities as soon as the "autonomy" Governments has been set up in the Provinces. Mahatma Gandhi who has been standing as a bridge of reconciliation between India and Britain sought to solve this particular problem on the plane of human considerations where faith in human nature should be allowed to decide State policy. The Government of Bengal, the home of the revolutionary movement, have not been able to accept the principle stressed by Mahatmaji ; they have, it is true, released more than 1,800 political prisoners, detenus and internees. But the detention of about 500 others, many of them kept behind prison bars without trial, goes to show that the Police mind still controls State policy in India, and that the Bengal Ministry as well as the others in other provinces, specially the former, are helpless, even when they have been put in charge of "Law and Order".

Man behind the Plough

The problem discussed in the paragraph above, looked at from certain points of view, cannot hope to reach any satisfactory solution until the question is finally decided—the question of the control of political power in India. That decision will require more years to arrive at. Meanwhile, other problems cry for solution ; these touch the life of the people—dirt, disease, untimely death which poverty has stabilised in India. Indo-British State policy has been held responsible for most of the contributory causes for the break-down of economic life in India. And so great is the decay and so hopeless does the situation appear that faces the country, that today all controversy is hushed in their presence. And Government and people in India have no time to waste in exchanges of angry words but must settle down to ease the situation, to stop the breaches so that time may be gained to take in hands radical cures of the maladies in the body politic. And, in this picture the man behind the plough and with the hoe stands out as the symbol of India's wretchedness, he whose life was described by Rudyard Kipling in a parody :

"His speech is of mortgaged bedding,
On his kine he borrows yet,
At his heart is his daughter's wedding,
In his eyes fore-knowledge of debt.
He eats and hath indigestion,
He toils and he may not stop ;
His life is a long-drawn question
Between a crop and a crop".

This man has forced the Indian National Congress to give up the

policy and programme of non-co-operation, and to undertake the responsibility of government under a hated Act and no less condemned racial supremacy. In speeches and discussions, in Government blue books and census reports, in writings in the Press and in proceedings of Assemblies and of Congress-Conferences—the tale of his sorrow and suffering is a perennial topic. All recognize that rural life in India is poor and stricken, physically and mentally. Census reports tell and record evidence of a progressive deterioration. We wrote in the last volume : "In the census of 1931 the numbers recorded of "earners" and "working dependents" were 15,38,85,890 ; the number of "non-working dependents" were returned as 19,66,43,667. In the census of 1911 are recorded the percentage of persons as "gainfully employed" as 47 ; in 1921 as 46 per cent ; in 1931 as 44 per cent. This is the testimony to wealth production progressively diminishing." With regard to health, the words of Major-General Megaw who retired from service as Director-General of Public Health with the Government of India are both a conclusive proof and a warning. There is difference of opinion, said he, as to whether conditions of life have improved or deteriorated during the last 50 years ; even conceding that some little improvement has taken place, "the existing state of things is so profoundly unsatisfactory that it demands investigation and redress."

Wealth & Health in India

This unsatisfactory state of things has made the Indian problem a biological one, say people with a scientific bias—concerned first of all with the animal existence of more than thirty-five crores of human beings, three hundred and fifty millions of men, women and children. Poverty and sickness, sickness of body and sickness of soul—these are the two problems that seek remedy at the hands of the people, of their representatives in the Assemblies and Councils, in local bodies, and in non-official organisations. The British Government who say that they own responsibility for India's good to the British people, and not to the Indian people, appear for all practical purposes to be retiring from fields which serve to secure health and wealth to the Indian people. After about two centuries of the exercise of despotic power when India seemed to lie in their hands as clay in the potter's hands, the present policy of the British Government cannot bear any other interpretation than that it was a confession of failure. Their railway lines, telegraph wires and posts, and all the other paraphernalia of modern life, these may have enabled them to exploit the raw materials of the country and the cheap labour of the people ; India's import and export trade may have swollen ; these may be claimed as evidence of the enrichment of the country. But to-day no other proof is necessary than a look around the country to prove that human life has not been enriched by modern science and modern knowledge which the British brought to the country, and for which they claim credit, and demand gratitude from the Indian people. A time there was when we conceded that the "peace of Britain" was a blessing ; that the enlightenment and illumination that they had introduced into the country had stirred the dead bones of the valley to life ; that the unity of British rule created the unity of feeling in the country which the world knows to-day as Indian Nationalism ; and

Britain's Failure

that British methods of administration and enlightenment have been seed-plots of the revolt and revolution that challenge the supremacy of Britain in India. Even conceding all these claims students and interpreters of history, Indian and foreign, there are who say that in the commerce between India and Britain, the latter has profited equally well, profited materially more than India. It may be difficult to-day to think of history in India taking another turn free from British control during the last two centuries But the belief that British rule was divinely ordained, and therefore indispensable, which ruled the life and conduct of the generation of Indian public men even as far down as thirty years ago, is discredited to-day. This revolutionary change in the thoughts and beliefs of Indian men and women has called for a new ideology and a new techinque of work. The Indian National Congress of 1885 and of 1938—these fifty-four years are historic witnesses of this vast transformation. And it is the duty of British statesmanship, more than that of the Indian, to make honourable terms with this change. The acceptance of office in the "autonomous" provincial governments of India affords an opportunity to effect this. The British bureaucrac can make the transition easy if it will but accept the logic of the situation. The situation demanded a battle on two fronts, as Pandit Jawaharlal has said. The British Government is interested in the political front ; it has disinterested itself in the other—the amelioration of the condition of the people which it is the concern of the provincial "autonomy" Governments to bring about.

Character of Peasants & Workers

So, as soon as the Congress members found themselves in charge of Ministries in six of the eleven Indian provinces—Bombay, Madras, United Provinces, Behar, Central Provinces & Berar, Orissa—they took up in hand schemes that had been promised in the Congress Election Manifesto. By the end of the year—in September, 1937—another province, the North-West Frontier Province, had a predominantly Congress Ministry which also fell into line in implementing the Congress programme. As agriculturists and industrial workers formed the majority of the population, their condition deserved to receive first place in all legislative activities. The Working Committee of the Congress at its meetings held on February 27, 28 and March 1, 1937, indicated the lines in which immediate relief should be given to agriculturists and industrial workers, and measures for permanent improvement in their condition of life be undertaken :

1. A substantial reduction in rent and revenue :
2. Fixity of tenure ,
3. Relief from the burden of rural debt and arrears of rent and revenue ,
4. Eight hours day for industrial workers, without reduction of pay. Living wage.

The Congress Agrarian Programme accepted and passed by the Faizpur Session of the Congress which was embodied in the Congress Manifesto laid down more elaborate directions, some of which may be set down here :

1. Uneconomic holdings should be exempted from rent or land tax ;
2. Agricultural income should be assessed to income tax like all other incomes, on a progressive scale, subject to a prescribed minimum ;

3. Canal and other irrigation rates should be substantially lowered ;
4. All feudal dues and levies and forced labour should be abolished, and demands other than rent should be made illegal ;
5. Fixity of tenure with heritable rights along with the rights to build houses and plant trees should be provided for all tenants ;
6. An effort should be made to introduce co-operative farming ;
7. Common pasture land should be provided, and the rights of the people in tanks, wells, ponds, forests and the like recognised, and no encroachment on these rights should be permitted ;
8. Arrears of rent should be recoverable in the same manner as civil debts and not by ejectment ;
9. There should be statutory provision for securing a living wage and suitable working conditions for agricultural labourers.

Peasants in 'pre-autonomy' regime

Years before the constitutional changes which have enabled Congress Ministries with their programmes of relief to rural people and reform of their life to function. Governments under the Montagu constitution had been forced to recognise these socio-economic maladies and prescribe remedies thereof. In the United Provinces five Debt Relief Acts were passed in 1934 ; the Punjab had a *Regulation of Accounts Act* (1934) ; the Central Provinces had a Debt Conciliation Act (1933) ; Bengal had the Money-lenders' Act (1933) and the Relief of Indebtedness Act (1935). Though the Punjab and the Central Province were pioneers in debt conciliation activities, every province in India during these years could show a record of work in this line. With regard to reduction in rent and revenue, the United Provinces Government had reduced its revenue demands by about 2 crores of rupees in 1932 in response to the wide-spread agrarian agitation in the province which had precipitated the second Civil Disobedience Movement. This concession enabled the Zamindars to reduce their rent claims by about 5 crores. In Madras the Marjoribanks Committee, named after the president, recommended a reduction of 75 lakhs rupees in Government revenue demands as well as Rs. 80 lakhs as debt relief which the *ad interim* Ministry, predecessor to the Congress Ministry headed by Sri Chakravorti Rajagopalachariar, accepted and sanctioned. Even Burma which for 50 years was a province of India, and separated only on April 1, 1937 and constituted into a separate Government, remitted about 60 lakhs to the cultivators on various accounts—revenue concessions, destruction of crop and destruction of crops by untimely rains. In the provinces where the Zamindars stood between the State and the ryots and collected the revenue on behalf of the former, the ryots have simyly refused to pay pleading inability owing to the slump in the price of agricultural products. These laws and the world slump have enabled the cultivator in India to come by certain rights and secure certain immunities which had taken centuries in other countries to have, and that through murder and bloodshed. Not that Zamindari provinces in India, specially Bengal, Behar, Orissa and parts of the United Provinces, have been wholly free from disturbances motived by agrarian discontent. The "Indigo" disturbances in Bengal in the sixties of the last century, the "tenant rising" in Pabna in the seventies, are evidences of these ; in Maharastra in Lord

Lytton's time there was an agriculturist rising advantage of which was taken by Phadke to start his rebellion. In every country the grievances of the peasantry have centred round the demands for what has been called the "Three F's",—Fair Rent, Fixity of Tenure, Free Sale of the tenants' interest in the holding. Agitations, peaceful or violent, had to be carried on before the rights indicated in the "Three F's" could be extorted or would be conceded. Indian peasants have not yet been able to wholly come by them In Zamindari areas "the principle of the dual ownership of the soil" shared between them by the landlord and the tenant is almost conceded or secured both by processes of law or by custom which has the force of law. The Bengal Tenancy Bill passed by the Bengal Legislature and waiting the sanction of the Governor-General or of the British Parliament is a mile-stone in the development of agraian legislation in India. When we remember that the Europe, the Liberal Brougham could denounce the demand for security of tenure as "confiscation", that Cavour, one of the liberators of Italy and the greatest Liberal of his time in Europe, declared—"tenant right was landlord wrong", and Lord Palmerston could speak of "communistic views disguised under the term "tenant rights", the controversies that resound in India to-day have historic words and phrases to appeal to.

History of the Irish Land Question

The history of Ireland where for more than three centuries alien landlords had a rebellious tenantry, the final and ultimate solution of the Irish land question was first recognised by a Frenchman, Gustave de Beaumont, who, writing in 1839, advocated compulsory land purchase, buying out the landlords. From that time to 1903, the struggle of the Irish tenant continued. In Sept. 1877, at a meeting held under the auspices of the *Clan-na-Gael*, the Irish-American revolutionary organisation, and attended by Michael Davitt, were passed resolutions amongst which was the following concerning Irish land :

"That as the land of Irish belongs to the people of Ireland, and the abolition of the foreign landlord system and the substitution of one by which the tiller of the soul will be fixed permanently upon it, and holding directly of the State, is the only true solution of the Irish land question which an Irish Republic can only effect."

The Land Act of 1881, arising out of the recommendations of the Bessborough Commission, established the "Three F's". A legal tribunal, the Land Commission or the Country Court Judge, sitting with experts, was to fix the "fair rent" to endure for 15 years ; during the "statutory period", the tenant could not be disturbed or evicted ; the tenant acquired the right of sale, but the landlord had the first right of purchase, at a price fixed by the court. Lord Ashbourne, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, gave his name to the first Land Purchase Act (1885). Gladstone's plan of settling the Irish question was Home Rule and Land Purchase which would buy out all the Irish landlords. The failure of his Home Rule Bill (1886) killed his Land Purchase Bill. Wyndham's great Land Act of 1903 passed by the Conservative Government under Arthur Balfour ended a long quarrel. The British Treasury provided a free grant to the landlord of 12 per cent on the purchase money. The tenant was required to pay £3-15s. per cent for

68 years, the British Government guaranteeing. It was this Land Annuity amounting to £100,000,000 due to Britain which De Valera refused to pay and which led to the economic war between the Free State and Britain that continued for two years, 1936 and 1937. The history of a fellow-sufferer from British Imperialism may have lessons for us in India. No body can yet say whether the Indian land question will pass through any identical process, culminating in an identical solution. But if non-violent and peaceful solution of the problem was to be sought for in India—and violent solutions can only cause greater economic and financial harm than the gains realised—some such development is inevitable.

World-wide Demand for New Education

Relief of economic distress, and reconstruction of economic activities on a new re-alignment of social and economic forces on a basis where every man, woman and child will have secured to him or her a more equalised opportunity for the training of his or her body and mind—this re-examination of all the old or existing values of life has been felt to be necessary in all the countries of the world. For about two centuries a "sort of behaviour" in thought and conduct, in men's intellectual and social life, in his economic activities, has established itself. This thought-behaviour is in certain respects the seed-plot of the unbalanced growth of individualism, the causes and consequences of which have been discussed in the recent volumes of the *Register*. This individualism has led to a wonderful flowering of human society. We in this country have learnt to value and accept "the whole trend of modern thought and endeavour as a large conscious effort of Nature in man to effect a general level of intellectual equipment, capacity and further possibility of universalising the opportunities which modern civilisation affords to the mental life (*Sri Aurobindo*). And having seen the possibilities of the enrichment of mental and material life, an increasing number of men and women in every country and every clime have become aware that they have a right to share in them, to be participators in the wealth as they are in the work of the production of this wealth, mental and material. This desire and ambition is at the back of the demand all over the world that a new education should be initiated which shall universalise the opportunities for wealth production, universalise the products thereof. In India, the British administrator who used to contemplate with self-satisfaction the work begun by Thomas Babington Macaulay has begun to doubt the very wisdom of that step taken a century back ; he is not happy with the human product of that step—the "discontented B. A." who has been demanding equality, to ride in the chariot of the sun. In his own country he has seen for almost a century signs of abounding wealth, of an expanding Empire bringing its tribute to London, of the leadership of Britain in trade and industry acknowledged by the world. In the opening years of this century, the Empire Fiscal Reform campaign of Joseph Chamberlain, father of the present Prime Minister of Britain, first awakened the country to the fact that all was not well, that British leadership was being challenged. The world war was an interlude when the very existence of the Empire seemed to hang on the balance. Victory in the war removed this fear and expanded the Empire; and the provision and

promise of German reparation held hopes that the financial loss of the war would be made up. But these hopes did not bear fruit. And, for about the last twenty years British society has been carrying a load of unemployed men, women and boys, all capable, all anxious and eager to work—20,00,000, with their 60,00,000, dependents. So, the British assurance in the excellence of its social polity, of its ideas, ideals and technique of education which produced the Empire-builder and the leader of the modern world—that assurance has cracked, if not broken to pieces. These doubts have invaded the mind of the Anglo-Indian administrator and educationist. Which joined to the doubts and dissatisfactions of men and women in India has prepared the ground and the atmosphere for a new start in Indian education.

Failure of Indo-British Education

In successive volumes of the *Register* an attempt has been made to trace this evolution. The recognition of a break-down in India's social life has become vivid in recent years both among the rulers and the ruled. Unemployment, educated and uneducated, urban and rural, has become the sign and symbol of this break-down. Concern for this state of things came to be increasingly felt and expressed. The Universities' Conference held in 1934 recommended a remedy in these words :

"a practical solution of the unemployment problem could only be found in a radical re-construction of the present system of education in schools in such a way that a large number of pupils would be diverted at the completion of secondary education either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions."

In that book Lord Ronaldshay's (the Marquis of Zetland, the present Secretary of State for India)—*The Heart of Aryavarta*—the history of Indian discontent with British methods and ideals of education has been recorded with a desire to understand the situation. The back-ground of the Arya Samaj schools, colleges and the *Gurukula*, of Rabindra Nath Tagore's *Shanti Niketan* School and *Visvabharati*, of the National Council of Education started on the crest of the Swadeshi and anti-Partition enthusiasm, of the Hindu Academy of Daulatpur in the Bengal district of Khulna, has been indicated there. The picture would have been fuller and completer if the Aligarh Movement had been traced, if the Deccan Education Society with its apex in the Fergusson College had been referred to. All these institutions and activities have been expressions of Indian ideas and ideals on education and concrete measures taken to mould these anew. For seventy years and more India accepted the British standard of value. When India began claiming that she should have Swaraj, she also began to think of evolving the new type of men and women who must win it and uphold it, build it to a new pattern of human usefulness.

The Wardha Scheme Explained

The back-ground of the Wardha Scheme has been sketched in certain of these lines. In a number of talks Mahatmaji indicated these :

"I had long been impressed with the necessity for a new departure, for, I knew the failure modern education has been through the numerous students who came to see on my return from South Africa. So I started with the introduction of training in handicrafts in the *Ashram* school. In fact, an extra emphasis was placed on manual training, with the result that children soon got tried of the manual training and thought that they had been deprived of literary training.....But that set me

thinking, and I came to the conclusion that not vocation *cum* literary training, but literary training through vocational training was the thing. The vocational training would cease to be a drudgery and literary training would have a new content and new usefulness."

In these talks Mahatmaji further explained why he picked up spinning through the *takli* as the one handicraft to start the dual education with. *Takli* has subsisted through the ages; in the earliest of ages *takli* yarn used to make all the cloth of the country; the spinning wheel came later; *takli* put the cunning of the fingers to the best use. *Takli* would naturally lead to a talk on cotton; its history and geographical distribution in India; on the Indian cotton cloth manufacturing industry all but killed by the unjust competition of Lancashire, by the exploitation of the East India Company Then would follow the mechanics of the construction of the *takli*. Cotton cultivation, a study of soils would "launch us into a little agriculture." Elementary mathematics can be taught through the counting of yards of yarn, finding out the count of the yarn, making up the hanks, getting it ready for the weaver, counting the number of cross threads in the warp to be put in for particular textures of cloth. Thus is illustrated the practicability of literary training through a particular craft, here the *takli*. From the growing of cotton to the manufacture of the finished product—from cultivation of cotton, cotton picking, ginning, carding, spinning, sizing, weaving and finishing, washing and dyeing—all these processes would help to teach agriculture, mechanics, history, a little economics, a little chemistry, and elementary mathemetics—a sound enough foundation for higher education. The teacher who is to impart this education would require "a fund of assimilated knowledge" that is not common. The principal idea at the back of the Wardha Scheme is to impart the whole education of the body and the mind and the soul through the handicraft that is to be taught to the children. In doing this, lessons in agriculture, history, geography and arithmetic will be related to the particular craft chosen, here spinning.

Objections to it.

The most vocal of objections to the Wardha Scheme is directed against the hope of making the education self-supporting. This has been criticised as exploiting the children, making the labour of their tiny hands pay for the expenses of elementary education in the country. In these talks from which has been extracted all the information embodied in these lines Mahatmaji said that the test of the success of this experiment will not be its self-supporting character but developing and drawing out of the qualities that maketh the man. There is no reason to fear that any teacher would be tolerated who would make his school self-supporting "under any circumstance." The self-supporting part would be the logical corollary of the fact that the training will develop all the faculties of the pupil. If a boy worked at a handicraft in the way hoped for he will surely earn the expenses of his training, in addition to developing his mind and soul. Mahatmaji has also explained why and how he was led to place the scheme before the nation. The acceptance of office by the Congress prompted him to do so. And in his immediate neighbourhood, the *Vidya Mandir* Scheme has been drawn up by the Education Minister in the C. P. &

Berar Ministry, Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, with the Wardha idea as its inspiration.

Supported by Modern Pedagogy

The Wardha Scheme was drawn up by a Committee of which Prof. Zakir Hosein was the President. His experience as Head of the National Muslim University of Delhi, and his insight into the conditions of defeat and frustration amidst which his community has been living since the overthrow of Muslim rule in India has endowed him with wide vision. These qualities were valuable assets in the framing of the recommendations. These recommendations are supported by the experiences of modern pedagogy and the experiences of nations who have been driven to reconstruct their education in response to the demands of more strenuous times. The two educational experts whom the Government of India invited from Britain, Mr. A. Abbott, formerly Chief Inspector of Technical Schools, Board of Education, England, and Mr. S. H. Wood, Director of Intelligence, Board of Education, England, in their recommendations do not appear to have been able to say anything newer than what the Wardha Scheme says. Two or three of their remarks may be quoted here to indicate the direction of educational thought in certain of the Western Countries.

"The education of children in the Primary Schools should be based more upon the natural interests and activities of young children than upon book learning. Concentration on literacy as a narrow objective is unsound.

"Manual work, that is creative manual activities, of diverse kinds, should be part of the curriculum of every school."

"Vocational education is not a lower plane than literary education since the full purpose of education is to develop the whole powers of the mind, body and spirit so that they may be devoted to the welfare of the society."

Educational Reconstruction —No solution to Unemployment

On educational reconstruction as a solvent of unemployment, these experts could not hold out any great hope. On this aspect of the problem,—they said that ".....it would not affect unemployment considered as a quantitative problem to divert students from universities into other educational institutions regardless of whether the students from these other institutions were likely to be more successful in obtaining employment than are the B. A.'s and B. Sc.'s". Such a policy would but alter the educational qualifications of the unemployed without decreasing their number. "*It is important to make this clear and to avoid encouraging the delusion* that a quick solution of the problem of unemployment is to be found in a reconstruction of the educational system." Of the purpose of vocational education they say that it is an approach to the "road which leads the adolescent from the region of schools to the region of productive industry", and that this road should be "direct and safe." It was true that the more efficient the supply of trained workers the greater was there the possibility of industrial expansion ; but "to create a supply out of all proportion to the demand would not only result in a waste of money and effort, it would disappoint many of those who had been specially trained, and could, thus, not fail to add to the general unrest." Indian engineering and technical institutions have helped to swell the ranks of unwanted technicians, as the colleges did in

producing the hordes of "discontented B. A."; and the end of these hopes and activities is a "general unrest" which may be economic in the beginning but cannot but react violently on what are called "political" matters.

Special needs of Rural Areas

From the summary of the report available, it does not appear that with regard to meeting "the special requirements of rural areas", these two British experts have been able to offer more helpful suggestions. The trend of the educational system, and the needs of the present age, is towards drawing "many boys and girls from rural areas to towns" where they receive a purely literary education, and in that process lose all interest in rural life, lose all contact with the thoughts and habits of rural people, and for purposes of service to the countryside they by their new education are rendered unfit, body and mind.

Boys and girls of the middle class who flock the towns in search of modern education have in front of them a blind alley today; in front there is no road; a few years' "education" in towns has made a return to the homes of their fathers left behind, a difficult adaptation to make. Perhaps, failures and frustrations in towns will compel them to seek openings for life in rural tracts. If they go there with hearts dissatisfied they cannot hope to contribute their best to the making of a newer and better life in the villages. It is because there is this apprehension that Mahatma Gandhi has taken in hand the work of evolving conditions favourable to that mental preparation of the regenerators of India of the future, a part of which is embodied in the Wardha Scheme. Rabindra Nath Tagore in organising his *Shri-Niketan* was moved by the same aspiration. It has been a uphill work, a long-range work. All pioneering work is of this quality and character.

Educational Schemes—their Similarity

The foregoing notes go to show that thoughts on educational reconstruction in India have been with us these thirty years and more since the emergence of the Nationalist movement. A new State needed new men to run it with new minds. The Government had its own ideas in the matter which were naturally interpreted as inspired by the imperialist policy of exploiting the resources of the country. Since the days of Lord Curzon, the Government and the people have been definitely in opposing camps in this matter. The battle of ideas have rolled on, and not till the British hold on India's intellectual and cultural life seemed to relax and loosen did there appear any sign of nearer approach between the two contending parties. The similarity of ideas and methods of educational reconstruction in the country issuing from Simla—Delhi and Wardha—Shegaon, proof of which can be found in the quotations made above, has come at the end of a keen contest of decades. And, as the Government of India has very few responsibilities in the matter of education since the "autonomy" Governments were set up in the provinces, it would not be far-fetched to think that the direction and control of educational policy and programme in India will from on now be in the hands of the Ministers of Education, seven out of eleven of whom are guided by the Indian National Congress under the inspiring

lead of Mahatma Gandhi. This is the stage of development at which the country is now at present.

Educational programmes in the country as thought out by the "autonomy" Ministers are not likely to be voted revolutionary, though many an old idea and prepossession will have to be thrown out to replace the old with the new. But Mahatma Gandhi's Programme of Prohibition which the Madras Ministry were the first to undertake to give a trial to has a revolutionary quality that has attracted world-wide attention and interest. The failure of Prohibition in the United States of America, the leading country and the richest in modern civilisation, has made people sceptical of the wisdom of such a step, of its utility and necessity, of its success. Social thinkers, practical administrators, all appear to have come to the conclusion that drink and drug were a necessity of human nature in its present state of development. Humanity seeks happiness. But the scheme of things in which they find themselves is sorry and unhappy. With all the efforts in the world humanity cannot escape sorrow and suffering. Sigmund Freud in his *Civilisation and Discontents* has indicated this line of thought in an interpretation of the habit of the drunkard and other addicts to drugs and to the genesis of this habit, which seem to have been imposed by Nature herself:

Why People Drink?

"The services rendered by intoxicating substances in the struggle for happiness and in warding off misery rank so highly as a benefit that both individuals and races have given them an established position with their libido-economy It is not merely the immediate gain in pleasure which one owes to them, but also a measure of that independence of the outer world which is sorely craved Men know that with their help they can at any rate slip away from the oppression of reality and find a refuge in a world of their own where painful feelings do not enter."

This interpretation, if it be accepted as the last word in the matter, would lead to the acceptance of this evil as part of human society, unchanged and unchangeable. But as human history has shown that man has never allowed Nature to have her own way but has ever sought to guide and control her, and in so doing has built up his civilisation, so in this matter society must be master. Intoxicating substances lay waste "valuable energies which could have been used to improve the lot of humanity," to quote Freud again. And, as society can ill afford this waste, she has ever been on guard and has taken measures to modify and soften the oppression of reality. Every religious community has limited the use of wine and other intoxicants to special occasions and has sought to transform and purify these in their use and effects. This process is part of the control, regulation, idealisation and sublimation of human instincts which go to the making of balanced and equipoised character—character fit to fight the battle of life. The only point on which controversy may rage is the difference of opinion with regard to the various steps taken to provide happiness to men and women which will be thought sufficient to "drown their cares", to enable them to build a world of their own where Nature and man-made nature cannot have entrance. When the Madras Ministry decided to introduce Prohibition in the Salem district, Dr. Arundale, President of the Theosophical Society, represented the general view when he

Prohibition in India

said that provision must first be made for pleasures that can "drown their cares" before people can be expected to heartily respond to the call for giving up their old contrivances for seeking happiness and drowning their cares. The Madras Ministry with its shrewd Chief Minister, Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, could not have been unaware of these. And the District Magistrate of Salem, in submitting a report of three months' work has said that the success of the experiment was visible in the smiling faces of housewives and of the children, in the "better life" of the inhabitants, in their quiet homes. Other provinces under Congress Ministries where the same experiment has been taken in hand have the same experiences to relate.

Financial Objections

But the strongest criticism of this experiment in Prohibition has come from the side of economists, and from financial considerations. They contend that the extinction of the excise revenue in India realised on the liquor trade and other intoxicants which reached the high figure of Rs. 14,89,10,375 in 1932-'33 would make the task of finance members in the provinces impossible and hopeless. This loss cannot be made good by any manner of financial readjustment. The administrative expenses of the excise departments in the different provinces in the same year totalled Rs. 1,82,20,132. The cost of enforcing prohibition has been worked at four times this sum. So, the total sum involved in the Prohibition campaign, if it were to be extended to the whole of India and made successful, in loss to revenue and direct additional expenditure would reach the huge figure of Rs. 20 crores. And human nature being what it is, which refuses to long submit to control and guidance, would rebel against Prohibition. Added to which this huge financial burden would impose a strain on the financial resources of the country that cannot be hoped to stand it for long. To this the reply has come from the reformers which can be expressed as follows. For this, reference to Salem experience is necessary. The excise revenue realised from the district was about Rs. 26 lakhs. The administrative expenses of the department could not be less than Rs. 2 lakhs. Prohibition would lose the Rs. 26 lakhs ; the expenses of the supervisory and preventive services would mean another Rs. 8 lakhs at the most. Granted all this, the reformers yet contend that Prohibition would keep in the pockets of the people more than a crore of rupees. This money, this saving, will affect the standard of life of the people, will better it, leading to better houses, better food, better amenities of life—clothes and shoes. More money will thus be distributed, a certain amount of which in the shape of excise duties on goods used will flow into the treasury. It may be said that these are hopes that will take years and decades to test their strength and their truth. But men live by and on hopes. Prohibition may be an experiment. It may require education in a newer economics which will deal with living men and women rather than with statistics and figures. The mental and moral effort required for such a re-education is a process of strenthening of the nerves of our understanding, of the fibres of our being. It is a strain, no doubt. But no society that hopes to extend the bounds of knowledges, to spread the joys of life and the opportunities for their enjoyment among the widest commonalty, can avoid

this strain. It is in this spirit that all the nation-building activities, that have been initiated in the various provinces since the "autonomy" Governments were set up, must be worked and the sacrifices demanded for their success made. British administrators in India by the very limitations of their origin have not be able to undertake any radical reform that touched the core of the life of the people ; they have feared to do so. The neglect of two centuries throws a special responsibility on the present rulers of the country. While fulfilling this they must be prepared to face the opposition of vested interests, old ideas and prepossessions. But ultimately they will win ; their "Indian-ness" will stand by them and help them win.

Forces of Disunity

The watcher of the Indian sky, the student of Indian affairs, is heartened in his task by signs of renewed hopes seeking fulfilment in activities that will rebuild India into a Modern State. But when he is confronted by the intensification of communal feelings, the rising temper of communal separatism, the abnormal growth of communal fears, and the strident demands of communal ambitions, it is difficult for him to maintain optimism with regard to future developments. In successive volumes of the *Register*, the writer has tried to understand and explain the history of Muslim separatism and "Scheduled" class resentment. The latter which is both social and economic seems to have decided to utilise the present opportunities for self-organisation and self-assertion opened out by the constitutional changes implemented by the Poona Pact. The former entrenched in memories of overlordship in this country finds it difficult, even with the advantages secured in the "Communal Award", to settle down to constructive work that will evolve a modern mind in the Muslim community, that would secularise social and political life in India as Kemal Ataturk has been able to do in Turkey. This failure of Muslim leadership is a factor that must continue to act as a drag in the march of India towards the freedom and democracy that are the marks and notes of modern States. The events that have happened during the last six months of the year (1937), have helped to accentuate this failure ; the Lucknow session of the All-India Muslim League has not been able to throw any ray of hope on the situation where social and economic break-down ought to have suggested other approaches to the solution of the Indian problem than beating the big drum of communal conceits and communal ambitions. In circumstances like these the path of wisdom may lie in passiveness, in banking on the hopeless hope that things must grow worse before they can grow better.

Problem of Linguistic Provinces

But it is not communalism alone that divides the country. The present boundaries of Indian provinces contain many elements of discord, historic and linguistic, that would acceberate feelings in the near future unhelpful to Indian Unity. The existing provinces of India have very few historic precedents to recommend them, not many sentimentalities to bind the often discordant units of their population. They have grown as the exigencies of an expanding alien rule demanded and dictated. They have left in the hands of Indian statesmanship many complexities to

straighten out, many ambitions to harmonise and reconcile. And Indian statesmanship through the Indian National Congress has accepted as one of the solutions of the problem, the setting up of linguistic provinces, the re-drawing of the map of India—of British India at present —by lines that will try to put in people speaking the same language within appropriate boundaries, so that one language—one people may be the foundation stone of the India of the future. But this solution will have to work through many conflicts, by snapphing many ties of recent growth, by cutting across many new relations, by liquidating many vested interests. These conflicts may, will perhaps, disintegrate the common thoughts and common endeavours that the Indian National Congress represents and stands for. But we must agree to pass through the crucible of this conflict up-held by the larger hope that the millenial quest of India for political unity cannot be deflected by lesser ambitions, communal or sectional.

But these hopes must be strengthened by knowledge of the conflicts that must ensue, of the interests that appear to be antagonistic to-day.

Assam & Bengal

People speaking different languages have been put under one administration, or a language-people, if one may coin such a word, has been distributed among two or three administrations. The Bengalee and the Oriya, the Mahratta, the Telegu and the Kanarese people are examples of this policy or practice. To understand the significance of the present and future complexities implicit in these maladjustments, an objective study of the constitution of the different provinces becomes necessary. We may start with Assam. It was constituted into a separate province in 1874 when Lord Northbrook was Governor-General of India. The Bengalee-speaking areas of Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara were taken out of Bengal, one after another, to enable the new province to maintain itself financially, the revenues of Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara helping to nurse it into strength and development. Since then the province has been economically opened up by tea-gardens, railways and the exploitation of the under-ground wealth of the country, such as coal and petrol. Modern education has spread and ambitions have been generated. One of these is that the Assamese-speaking people, about 20 lakhs in a population of about 93 lakhs, should be allowed to dominate the life of the people, the culture and civilisation expressed through Assamese should be the dominant factor in future developments. But, as long as the Bengalee-speaking people are there in the province who are about 36 lakhs, this ambition cannot be realised. So, the 30 lakhs of Bengalees in Sylhet and Cachar should go out of the province, leaving the field free. The 6 lakhs of Bengalees in the Brahmaputra Valley must consent to lose their identity in the Assamese-speaking people. There are other difficulties in the way. Of the 49 lakhs in the Brahmaputra Valley, only 20 lakhs are Assamese-speaking ; the rest are about 9 lakhs Hindi-speaking, 2 or 3 lakhs Oriya, Telegu and of other language areas, men who came to Assam as labourers in the tea gardens and have stayed there making here their homes ; these 12 lakhs have proved socially unassimilable with the Assamese-speaking people. The rest—about 18 lakhs—are what are known as "hill tribes". This makes the Brahmaputra Valley or Assam proper a mosaic of races and language-people

among whom the Assamese-speaking being more educated in the modern ways of life very naturally entertained the ambition that they should be the natural leaders of this tract of the country.

But there are complexities also in the Bengalee side of the fence. Assam is undeveloped, and offers opportunities for expansion of life, of ambitions—so Assam should form a part of Greater Bengal. This ambition is worldly wise. The Muslims who are the majority community in Sylhet appear not to know their own minds. They dream that with their fecundity implicit in their social institution of polygamy they can hope to attain a majority position in the whole province. This is a development which the Assamese-speaking people—the majority of them Hindus—cannot contemplate without apprehension. This opposition works a change in the Muslim mind of Sylhet which flirts with the idea of a return to Bengal, where Muslims are 55 per cent of the population. But this return is only possible if it coincides or accompanies the return of the Bengalee-speaking population at present included in Behar, who happen to be—about 23 lakhs—the majority of them Hindus. But the return of about 32 lakhs of Bengalee-speaking people from Assam and about 23 lakhs from Behar would disturb the communal proportion of the population of Bengal, as the majority of these people, returned to the bosom of their mother society, will be Hindus. This disturbance Muslims in Bengal do not like; therefore they do not favour or encourage any such return movement. The Muslims in Assam, as we have pointed out, are of divided minds. And, it is owing to these factors that the reconstitution of the province of Bengal on a linguistic basis is halted on the way.

Behar-Chota-Nagpur Movement

The province of Behar also stands in the way. The areas inhabited by Bengalees in Behar are rich in minerals—iron, coal and mica predominantly. Vast industries have grown in these areas. If these are transferred to Bengal, Behar can have no future. The Chota-Nagpur Division inhabited by aboriginal tribes is included in Behar. But there is no cultural, racial, or historic traditions that bind these people to the Hindi-speaking people of Behar. And the beginning of a movement has already raised its head claiming that Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas should be reconstituted into a separate province to be named Jharkhanda reminiscent of days when this area was a free and independent State. If this aspiration of an ancient race is realised, Behar must be reconstituted with the Benares Division transferred from the United Provinces. Leaders of Behar proper do not look favourably on the Chota Nagpur agitation. And to support their attitude they express their concern for Chota Nagpur by saying that this area is a "deficit area", and that even the rudimentary administrative arrangements in it are maintained by contribution from the Provincial Exchequer to the tune of more than Rs. 25 lakhs per annum. But fear of deficit budgets has seldom been able to curb the enthusiasm for national or racial individuality and a separate and distinct territorial home of its own wherein its distinct culture can blossom under a favourable sky. The latest instance in India of this linguistic nationalism defiant of considerations of balanced budgets is the province of Utkal

which has been carved out of the Oriya-speaking areas which British policy or impolicy had put in three provinces—Madras, Behar and Central Provinces. This separate Utkal has been in modern times the dream of Madhusudhan Das, Gopabandhu Das, Maharaja Ram Chandra Bhonj Deo of Mayurbhanj, to name only a few of the dreamers of this dream, who lived, none of them, to see the realisation of this hope of theirs. The Oriyas claim that there are still unredeemed Oriya tracts in Bengal, Behar, Central Provinces and Madras for which they will put in claims as and when favourable occasions offer.

Linguistic Province Idea

But the linguistic area or areas that have made the question of the re-drawing of the map on linguistic lines a part of Indian politics, a plank in the programme of the Indian National Congress, have been the Telugu and Kannada-speaking areas. For twenty-five years and more they have been knocking at the doors of Indian opinion and of the British bureaucracy to admit this principle of national reconstruction, physical and cultural, into their counsels and accept its validity. Indian opinion did not require much wooing, except that among the Muslims whose ideas on this matter are inchoate, opportunist and ante-diluvian. The British bureaucracy have never done anything better in the matter than damning it with faint praise. They have never understood principles or troubled their brains with things that did not disturb or threaten their particular interests. Their opportunism in this respect has been queer. While they have not opposed the formation of the Oriya and the Sind Provinces, they have done nothing to advance the cause of Andhra and Karnataka Provinces. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the Simon Commission Report spoke of Boundary Commissions that should undertake the work and responsibility of drawing up new boundaries for new provinces. The Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee set up to consider the "White Paper", referred to the matter in these words :

"Of all the proposals in the White Paper, Provincial Autonomy has received the greatest measure of support on every side. The economic, geograghic and racial differences between the provinces on the one hand and the sense of provincial individuality on the other, have greatly impressed us."

Andhra Province

But the recognition of this "sense of provincial individuality" has not moved the British bureaucracy to organise the Andhra and Karnataka provinces as it did in the matter of Sindh and Orissa. But this indifference, constitutional or calculated, of the British bureaucracy has not damped the enthusiasm of the people. And since "autonomy" Governments were set up in the provinces, specially since Ministers on behalf of the Congress began to function in seven out of the eleven provinces, they have begun to give themselves no rest nor allowed the Ministries any rest. The thirteen or fourteen Telegu-speaking districts in the Madras Presidency have after a few adjustments of differences agreed to put their full weight in wresting a separate province for themselves which in the Congress Constitution has been recognised as Andhra Desa. These differences referred to the fears of the Rayalaseema, the inland districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah, and Chittoor, and of their resentment

at past neglect of their feelings and interests by their kinsmen of the northern Circars. The proposed Andhra Province will have a population of more than one crore seventy lakhs (seventeen millions) and an expected revenue of rupees six crores (sixty millons). More than seventy lakhs of Andhras happen to be included in the Nizam State. The constitution of a separate Andhra Province cannot but have a disturbing effect on the life and conduct of these people leading to disturbance in the Nizam State, to its disruption. This apprehension may be one of the many reasons why the British bureaucracy do not look kindly on the Andhra Province Idea.

Karnataka Province

The Karnataka Province movement has a more difficult task to handle. Madras, Bombay, Coorg, Mysore and Hyderabad State—these are the provinces and States into which the Kannadigas, or Kannada-speaking people, are dispersed. They are the majority in the four districts of Bombay—Belgaum, Dharwar, North Karwar and Bijapur ; in Madras are the Bellary district, a part of the Anantapur district, part of South Kanara, Nilgiri district, five Talukas of Salem district. Kollegal in the Coimbatore district. The whole of the Mysore State is Kannada-speaking, and there are twenty-five lakhs of them in the Nizam State. The Karnataka Province, at present thought of, included the areas in Bombay, Coorg and Madras. It will have a population of seventy lakhs (seven millions) and a revenue of rupees two and half crores (twenty-five millions).

Kerala Province

The Malayalam-speaking people have their own hopes and ambitions of a greater Kerala. The State of Travancore and Cochin are included in this culture area which is known to the people as "Penmalayam"—"Women's Malayalam"—where the matriarchal system makes women the head and fountain of all power, all beneficience. It is here that the woman is found to be the head of the State, the head of the family and of social life. This experience has a distinct contribution to make to the evolution of the composite thought-life and activities of the country. In this area one may sense an unspoken but none the less real competition between two States—Travancore and Cochin—with regard to the eventual leadership of Kerala's development into a separate province, the house of a distinct culture.

Maharashtra

The Mahratta-speaking people are dispersed in two provinces and innumerable States. The Nizam State has forty lakhs of them, the Gwalior, the Holkar and the Baroda States have almost one and half as many. So that it may be said that more Mahrattas live in the States than in the provinces. When, and if ever, Gujerat is constituted into a separate province the Bombay Presidency will be a pale shadow of its present self in size and in population. And it will be difficult then to withstand the forces of feeling and interests that will draw the Mahratta tracts of the Central Province and Berar into the culture-area that has its centre and rallying-point at Poona, the historic capital of the Maharashtra.

The map-making will be incomplete if the Pakistan idea that appeared to public view on the crest of a brain-wave of Sir Mahommed Iqbal's be not given a proper place in it. It was in a speech delivered at Allahabad as President of the All-India Muslim Conference that Pakistan as a new centre of Muslim life and culture was first sketched. The name Pakistan is derived from the names of the five areas known now as Punjab, N. W. Frontier Province (also called Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan—Punjab, Afghan Province, Kashmir contribute their initials, Sind its second letter and Baluchistan its last four letters. In Madame Helide Edib's *Inside India* the foundation of the Pakistan movement has been put down at 1933, the founder being Mr. Rahmat Ali belonging to the Punjab, who obtaining his M. A. and L. L. B. degrees with honours from the Universities of Cambridge and Dublin, attained success in the practice of law. The "formative influences of his early youth led him to mix nationhood with religion." His contact with Hindus, however, led him to the belief that the "Muslem can expect no quarter from the Hindus, and must, therefore, either organise themselves to meet the coming danger of Hindu domination, or go down for ever." And the territory that can house this endeavour is Pakistan.

Pakistan Idea

"The Muslems have lived there as a nation for over twelve hundred years, and possess a history, a civilization and a culture of their own. The area is separated from India proper (Hindustan) by the Jamuna; and *it is not a part of India* Although twelve hundred years ago there were Hindus, and a Hindu Empire, since 712, for over a thousand years, they (the Hindus) have been a minority community there".

The total population of Pakistan is 42 millions, of which 32 millions are Muslems whose racial origins are from Central Asia, and their type of civilisation, the social type, is totally different from that of Hindustan. This "colonial empire", Hindustan, has been lost to the Muslems; they are a minority community there, as the Hindus are in Pakistan. This is a fact that has got to be accepted, and for the future peace of this portion of the globe, the acceptance of this reality should be the guiding principle of policy. Hindu Nationalism which is the hand-maid of Hindu Capitalism does not accept this reality of the present day, and builds its policy on the facts of the past which have no validity to-day, and on dreams of reviving the past. In this attitude Hindu Nationalism has forgotten the policy of "live and let live", and has been creating complications that halt even its own fight for self-government for Hindustan. The recognition of Pakistan as part of the *Millet*, the Religion-Nation Idea, which is Islam's contribution to the theory of world politics, of State organisation will straighten out the Hindu-Muslem tangle. As in Pakistan the rights and privileges of the twelve million Hindus will be guaranteed and protected so in Hindustan the rights and privileges of forty-five million Muslems should be guaranteed and protected. On this understanding of mutual toleration shall have to be built the political and social life of this region of Asia. When Madame Helide Edib suggested a solution in the "One Indian Nationhood" Idea, Mr. Rahmat Ali repudiated it: "We are not Indians; we are Pakistanis.....To

Ideas behind the Movement

unite India was one thing, to usurp Pakistan is another" ; and he emphasised the basic difference between Pakistanis and Hindustanis in these words :

" Geographical division and ethnical distinction apart, please don't forget the 'Himalayas' of human heart and soul. Our religion, culture, history, tradition, literature, economic system, laws of inheritance, succession, and marriage are fundamentally different from those of Hindus They extend to the minute details of our lives."

To the question—How this Pakistan idea will affect the position of the forty-five million Muslems of Hindustan proper, the founder of the movement gave the reply that guarantees referred to above, of reciprocity, should be accepted as enough. And the Muslems in Hindustan should be sustained by the ideal that the Pakistan of the future is in the highest interests of the *Millet* which was as much theirs as of the Muslems in Pakistan ; "for us it is a national citadel, for them it will ever be a moral anchor". Grave and grievous dangers "threatened the Millet on the bi-lingual sub-continent", and Pakistan is its shied and bulwark.

We have in these pages dealt with this question in some detail, for, it is important as "the last political trend of thought or plan for the solution of the Hindu-Muslem problem", as Madame Helide Edib characterizes it. It may be quiescent to-day ; the idea may be lying in the sub-conscious soul of a few dreamers. But it has a very respectable pedigree, a longer history. The late Moulana Mahommed Ali suggested some such arrangement when he said that over the region up to Saharanpur in the east the way and idea of life represented by Islam should dominate. It is not only Hindu opposition that stands in the way of Pakistan. Indian Muslems, whom Madame Helide Edib questioned in regard to the Pakistan National Movement, seemed to suggest that its adherents were at present confined to Punjab and among Muslem students who go abroad. Further, "with Abdul-Gaffar Khan in the North-West Frontier Provinces, no opposing political idea would be considered seriously by the Frontier folk", on whose behalf this idea has been put forward and who would be the centre-piece and the corner-stone of this structure. So, it comes to this that the stream of ideas and activities that have for their source and fountain-head, that have for their inspiration the "One Indian Nationhood" Idea will be the spiritual background of the battle of ideas that will decide the future of the composite Nationalism of India. In this process of the re-shaping of the map of India, language and creed will be playing a more dominant part. They will be introducing conflicts and complexities into Indian life. This development will test the vitality and wisdom of Indian statesmanship. In every process of growth, these conflicts and complexities are factors unavoidable and natural.

What of the future ?

The rise and growth of this linguistic and credal nationalism appear to be threatening the unity of India. The setting up of "autonomy" Governments in the Provinces may appear to be working towards the same end. The framers of the Government of India Bill were not unaware of this danger. The Joint Parliamentary Committee Report referred thus to this aspect of the matter in Para 26 :

We have spoken of unity as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India; but, in transferring so many of the powers of government to the Provinces and in encouraging them to develop a vigorous and independent political life of their own, we have been running the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying that unity".

Federation of "disparate units"

This risk was sought to be avoided by setting up of the Federation, a scheme for which forms part of Government of India Act of 1936. Under British rule India for all practical purposes may be said to have been a unitary State. The existence of Indian States, some bigger in area than Britain, the home of the Supreme Government, does not affect the character of the State in India. As in the case of British-Indian Provinces so in that of the Indian States, none of them are "even autonomous"; the British-Indian Provinces exercise authority which the British Government has conferred on them; the Indian States exercise authority in virtue of treaties and *sanads* recognised or renewed by the Paramount Power. So, the Federation that is proposed to be set up in India has no historical precedent to appeal or refer to. Federation as commonly understood has resulted from an agreement between independent or, at least, autonomous governments surrendering a defined part of their sovereignty or autonomy to a new central organism. In India there was no independent or autonomous Governments to surrender any part of their own sovereignty or autonomy to set up the Federal State or Authority. For reasons of policy which have yet to be explained the British Government have decided to set up "autonomous" Provinces, and combine them into a Federation. This attempt has roused all the ambitions of Indian States. It has roused the ambitions of cultural and linguistic units in British India hoping to come by their long-lost opportunity of individual development and expansion. The States, it is said, desire to regain certain of their privileges usurped by or lost to the Paramount Power. Without their co-operation no Federation of the kind wanted by the Government was possible. And it is thought that the States have been exploiting their bargaining advantage to their own profit which is regarded as antagonistic to the emergence of a democratic State in India. In the proposed Federal Legislature the States have been given representation far in excess of the importance of the interests they represented. In the proposed Federal Council of State, the upper House so-called, British India—its provinces—will have 156 members, the Indian States will have 104 members. In the Federal Assembly, the so-called lower House, British India will have 250 members and Indian States 125. This latter represention will be manned by nominees of the rulers and not by members elected by the people of the States. This State representation will, it is apprehended, be at the beck and call of the Executive Government, the Governor-General, to whom has been reserved many of the powers of the State without the control of which representative Government becomes a mockery and snare. A time there was when the presence of "Indian India", as the States were called, might have been regarded as a step towards the Indianisation of the administration, the nucleus of Swaraj in India. It was this hope that induced

the Liberal leaders, present at the first Round Table Conference (1930) to accept with enthusiasm the proposal of Federal India when representatives of the Princely Order initiated the proposal. But since then there has been a change in the spirit of those dreams. "Indian India" and British India, the former mediaeval and irresponsible in thought and in the exercise of the authority of the State, the latter modern and struggling to enthrone responsibility in the seal of power of the State, both are afraid and apprehensive. The British authorities have been striving with all their might to persuade the Indian Princes to come into the picture of the Federation wherein they could play the dominant part as a conservative and stabilising force. Any political or constitutional advance in India has been made dependent on the approval of the Indian States, severally and collectively. But they are apprehensive that the very forces that have bent the mighty British Government to relax its hold on certain of the minor powers of Government, may play havoc in their States, with their honour and with their interests. The vocal political feeling and conviction of India represented in the Indian National Congress, the All-India Muslem League, the Trade Union Congress, the National Liberal Federation are against this "Federation composed of disparate Units", to quote the words of Lord Linlithgow in course of a speech addressed to the Simla Session (1937) of the Central Legislature. The Hindu Mahasabha is the only all-India organisation that favours the Federation. The unwillingness of the Indian Princes is causing uneasiness to the British Government. The opposition of British India and of the people of the Indian States does not appear to cause as much concern to them. "Representatives" of the Viceroy have been touring the States and holding discussions with the Princes and their Ministers. But the position at the end of the year (1937) continued to be as obscure as it ever was.

Bound up intimately with the question of transfer of political power from British to Indian hands was the defence problem of India. It has been a standing reproach directed against Indian public men and publicists who talked of Swaraj for their country that they seemed to be unaware of the heavy responsibility that rested on rulers of peoples in the matter of ensuring that peace should reign in the country and that the frontiers of their countries should be immune from the attacks of foreign nations. The reply to this criticism has been that the British authorities have of set purpose and policy discouraged military habits of life and thought in the country, that being foreign to the country they had avoided training the people in the arts of defence, that afraid of the subject people they have never trusted them with weapons of modern warfare. That this counter-charge was more than justified was found in the Arms Act regulations which made it almost impossible for modern-educated men in the country to get a license for a gun. The system of education had also encouraged a clerk's mentality in the country and not a soldier's or an administrator's. British methods of administration and enlightenment had helped the growth of a class that desired the end of Britain's self-imposed trusteeship of India. And as this class grew first in Bengal and in Maharasthra, the Bengalee Babu

Indian Defence—Theory of "Martial Races."

and the Chitpavan Brahmin came to be regarded as the potential enemy of British rule. the centre of disaffection and revolt. As English education spread and every province could show a similar growth of this pestilential class, the instinct of self-preservation of the British ruling class drove them to seek for recruits to their Indian army away from the settled districts to the hills and dales of the border lands of India. The events of 1857-'58 which British historians call the "Sepoy Mutiny" taught the British rulers a new policy of army recruitment. The Bengal Army had started the fight; Oudh was "the very nurse and resting place of the Bengal Army, the last remaining bulwark of Sepoy pride", and soon the fire had spread to Delhi to the west, and to Behar to the east. And when the fire of this revolt and rebellion was quenched, the British rulers invented the theory of the "martial races" who were to be found in the hill tribes, and among the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Pathans in the north-west frontier areas of India, among the Gurkhas. In Lord Roberts autobiography—*Forty-one in India*—will be found an exposition of this theory and of the practical steps that were taken to give it shape. A recent book on India's defence written under official auspices has put the theory thus: "Moreover, the fighting qualities of Indians depend upon race and tradition in a degree completely unknown in Briain and the Dominions, where a non-fighting man is practically unknown". The writer has not cared to enquire how many years or generations does it take to build up a "tradition" of fighting qualities, and whether the British rulers of India had not command of these years and generations to evoke those qualities.

Thus the controversy has waxed and waned. But with the passing of the years, with the experiences of the last world War and apprehensions of a greater one, neither Britain nor India can afford to lose themselves in the "recriminatory examination" of the acts of omission and commission, the results of which confront them today. "With the development of the new political structure in India, the Defence of India must to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people, and not of the British Government alone," to quote the words used in the report of the Defence Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference (1930). International developments since the last world War, the failure of the Peace Treaties to make the world safe for democracy, the rise of Herr Hitler in Germany, of Senor Mussolini in Italy as the organ-voice of dissatisfied nations and "have not" Powers have made the "continuity of British protection" of India a doubtful factor in India's scheme of defence. Japan has started her long-dreamt-of march towards the mainland of Asia, dreaming of rivalling the empire-glory in the east of another island of the west. Britain herself is being called "the weary Titan" who may not be able to carry the burden of the defence of the Empire much longer. Strategists say that the development of aerial warfare has made the defence of Britain herself a difficult proposition, and it may be that her naval supremacy will be challenged in European waters and in the Asiatic oceans and seas. It is argued, therefore, that India can no longer depend on Britain to defend her borders against aggressors whether from the land or from the sea.

Defence of India—"Concern of Indian people"

While British public men and publicists thus warn us and call upon us to set our own house in order, they also recognise that their own country must learn to do without the help of India which helped the Allied Powers to hold up the German hordes in the first few months of the last world war. In the heat of controversy the memories of those days may be unduly stressed on one side and as heatedly repudiated by the other. But for a decade since the world war British publicists and historians made handsome mention of the contribution of India towards the success of the Allied Cause. It is difficult to resist quoting one of them to-day when those memories have naturally faded away.

India's Share in Allied Success

".....What India did in the war is a matter of splendid history. None will forget the men of the Indian contingent in France who brought irreplaceable aid to our inadequate forces in 1914 and who helped to stem the German rush by dying in hundreds where they stood In Africa it was the army of India which bore more than half the brunt of our conflict with the flower of Germany's colonial troops ; in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, Palestine and the Dardanelles it played its part ; in fact India accomplished perhaps more than any other Dominion. Each one of the million and quarter men she sent to the war would have been hard indeed to replace from elsewhere , and we may well ask ourselves what would have happened had there been no India, or had she been forced, as she might be next time, to devote the efforts of every men and gun in the army to the close defence of her own soil. In her material resources and products too India was of solid value to us throughout the years of the war ;... "

Historical forces, personal and impersonal, imperialistic greed and idealistic impulses, have made India "a vital member" of the British Empire, recognise all historians. But this recognition has not been able to move or modify British policy with regard to the defence of India, with regard to enlisting India's self-respect, and organising India's men-power and India's inexhaustible natural resources for the defence of India, of British interests, and of the rights and liberties of world democracy. In twenty-years Soviet Russia has organized the most powerful of the air forces in the world, while India with a population double that of Soviet Russia and as poor and as unorganized in 1917 has been thought competent to maintain an Air Force of 8½ Squadrons only, of 102 aeroplanes, with an annual budget provision of Rs. 2 crores. And India with a coast-line of over 4000 miles is to be protected by a Navy of 5 sloops, 1 survey ship, 1 depot ship, 1 patrol vessel as well as a target towing trawler and a number of small vessels, tugs etc., employed in harbour service ; the Indian Navy maintains a Dockyard at Bombay to deal with all work in connection with the repair, maintenance and refit of vessels. The nett annual expenditure of the Indian Navy was about Rs. 68 lakhs. The British expenditure found by the British Finance Minister for the British Navy was Rs. 144 crores. Here again the temptation to "recriminatory examination" of the causes of British failure to equip India with a sufficient Naval force has to be resisted.

A Parody of Indian Defence

But a "Big Navy" programme may not be within the bounds of practical politics in India today. But water craft has another influence,

a more dominant influence on the economic life of the people. And the British Government in not encouraging the development of this craft had been guided by a policy of discrimination which is part of her unnatural relation with India. The internal, coastal and external trade of a country in the modern world, is dependent to no small extent on steamers and ships. State policy in India since it came under the control of the East India Company has for this one hundred and seventy-five years been guided by considerations other than Indian. India's economic history of British period is a record which no decent man or group of men can recall without shame. The records of British Parliament are full of laws that were positively discriminatory against a country which formed a part of the Empire. The expanse of a century and more may make these indistinct. But British shipping interests even now pursue that policy and practice. A British witness, Sir Alfred Watson, sometime editor of a Calcutta Anglo-Indian daily, giving evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee that considered the Government of India Bill, thus spoke of their activities :

Old History & New

"I recognise that Indian company after company which endeavoured to develop the coastal service has been financially shattered by the heavy combination of the British nterests."

Against this policy Indian public men and publicists have been protesting since the days when Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadeo Govinda Ranade, William Digby and Romesh Chandra Datta lived and worked. The Mercantile Marine Committee set up by the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1923 recorded the bitter experiences of Indian capitalists who had attempted to carve out a share of the trade in their home waters. During the last 35 or 40 years, more than 20 Indian Shipping Companies whose aggregate capital reached more than Rs. 20 crores were compelled to close down owing to the unfair competition of British and other non-Indian shipping interests. It is the inalienable right of every country to keep the coastal traffic and the river traffic to their own nationals—this is a principle that has been recognised even in 1932 by the representative of 23 maritime nations who assembled at Geneva. In 1929 Lord Irwin speaking to the annual Conference of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, the custodian of European trade, commercial and manufacturing interests in India, expressed his sympathy with the desire that :

"India should have its mercantile marine and that the ships of that mercantile marine should be officered and manned by Indians."

But Viceregal sympathy and declartions of successive Commerce Members on behalf of the Government of India have not been able to advance Indian participation in the coastal trade of the country. Mr. Sarabhai Hajee's Indian Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill (1926) which was smothered even after the Select Committee had submitted its report is a mile-stone in India's struggle for economic Swaraj. Untaught by that failure a Bengalee member of the Assembly, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi who is generally a supporter of the British bureaucracy, has introduced in the Simla Session (1937) of the Indian Legislature a Bill for the "Control of the Coastal Traffic of India."

It has been referred to a Select Committee. During the discussion many interesting things came out. A nominated non-official member, Dr. F. X. DeSouza, brought out the immensity of the interests involved in the coastal and oversea trade of India. The tonnage engaged in the former is said to be as high as five million tons ; the freight charge is reckoned to be Rs. 10 crores Indian tonnage engaged in this trade is 20 per cent only of the whole. The oversea trade engages twelve million tons, and the freight is Rs. 50 crores ; India has no share in either of it. The financial and economic loss suffered by India owing to exclusion from this industry as a field for the use of Indian capital and as an avenue of educated employment—the majority of deck workers, known as *lascars*, are Indian—is not difficult to estimate.

Growth of British Mercantile Marine

British historians have repeatedly referred to the fact that the mercantile marine of their country was the seed-plot of the British Navy which has enabled Britons for four centuries to proudly declaim that Britain ruled the waves. That proud privilege may not be beyond challenge today. But the apologists of British financial and economic policy with regard to India forget their own history when they say that British shipping interests have been built by individual or group efforts unaided by the State. The Regulation Acts of Queen Elizabeth and Protector Cromwell refute these arguments. In Dr. William Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* are recorded instances of the vigilance of the rulers of England when the foundations of Britain's greatness were being laid. The State saw to it that ships were built in England and that they remained under English control. A "Proclamation against the selling of Shippes" issued in 1559 quoted :

"The Queenes Maiestie understanding out of sundry partes of her Realme, and specially of such as be nigh to her sea Costes, what great scarcitie of tymber there is, meet for the building of Shippes, either for Her Own Maiesties Naive or for the Marchants for her Realm, hath by the advice of her Counsell thought meet . to command that no manner person borne within her obeysance shall sell or by any manner meanes, directly or indirectly alienate any manner shippe or Vessell or what burthen soever .., being meete to saile up on the seas, to any manner of person either borne or resident out of her Highnesse dominions as the same will answere at their uttermost peril."

Training of Sailors —"Fish Days"

But ships were of little avail unless there were sailors to man them and the rulers went about training them in this peculiar manner. The sea-fisheries, we are told, formed "an admirable school" for the boys for a sea-faring life. As there was little opening for increasing the sale of English fish in foreign countries, the observance of "fish days" was prescribed to encourage increased consumption in England herself not "as a religious discipline but from political motives". A Statute was passed in 1549, directing that "people were to eat fish on Friday, Saturday, the Ember days, Vigils and Lent". And ten years later a proclamation in favour of this "political Lent" was issued. The "fish days" were not allowed to be empty forms ; men and women were set in pillory or in stocks for having flesh or meat in their house or taking it. In 1563, a law was passed for the "increase of fish and navy days" by

adding Wednesday as well to the other days; this measure contained a clause which exempted fishermen and mariners from serving as soldiers. We in the 19th century were taught to believe that *laissez faire* was a law of nature in the relation between the State and the people subject to it, that Britain's leadership in world trade and industry was a demonstration of the triumph of individual initiative. History, however, tells a different tale. And the philosophy and economics of the Manchester School were worn thin by the time which saw the end of the Victorian Age, the opening years of this century, a period not exceeding sixty years. East of the Suez British rulers and administrators may still pay lip homage to these. In Britain almost every economic activity is helped by State subsidy or rendered safe from alien interference by the intervention of the State.

Training of Indian Officers

It is the appreciation of these changes in economic thought and practice, and in financial policy in all countries in the world that has come to be known as "Economic Nationalism" which has been inspiring the Indian people. It is in fulfilment of such a purpose that a member of the Assembly, Sir Muhammad Yakub, moved a resolution in September last calling upon the Government "to introduce at an early date legislative measures in order to compel the British Navigation Companies to take qualified Indian cadets of ...T. S. (Training Ship) *Dufferin* as officers in their ships." This Training Ship was set up in 1927 to train officers of the Indian Mercantile Marine to be, officers of the Indian Navy to be. The Government of India, or individual members of the Government, even the Governor-General and Commerce Members, have been found to express sympathy and promise support to schemes that would lay the foundation of the Indian Mercantile Marine and Indian Navy. But the British shipping interests have been unsympathetic, if not hostile even when they lost to the Japanese Mercantile Marine 71 per cent of the Eastern trade.

New Dangers in the Far East

But there is a more dangerous implication of the question which touches on the defence problem of India. We have referred above to the thoughts on the evolution of a new defence policy in India which finds expression in the writings and speeches of British administrators and strategists. They confess that Britain cannot be expected to render as effective help to the outlying parts of the Empire in the future as she did in the past. Dominions and dependencies must be prepared to make their own arrangements for their own internal peace and external defence. The main part of the British Fleet, of the British Army, and of the British Air Force must be kept in the "home country." There has, of course, been built the Singapore Base with contributions from the Malaya States, from Australia, and from the British Exchequer, the Mediterranean being no longer a "British lake." So, there has been provided a small British Fleet east of Aden, and a line of fortresses from Trincomalee to Penang, from Penang to Singapore, from Singapore to Hongkong. But the developments made explicit by Japan's aggression on China, of her endeavour to get control over China's man-power and of her natural resources and so organise and discipline them as British

did in India, have put a new meaning to India's self-organisation for defence. France has her empire in Indo-China, Britain in Burma and India. Both these imperialist Powers have been taking steps to strengthen the defence of their territorial and finance-economic interests. There is perhaps concerted action between the two. Britain is building a new road from north east Burma to the Chinese Province of Yunnan in which hundreds of thousands of Chinese labourers have been working. At present this road will be used to expedite the supply of war materials through the port of Rangoon, as Hongkong has become suspect in the eyes of the Japanese. But it is not possible for France and Britain to organise effective defence of their interests from the other side of the Euro-Asiatic continent. Far-sighted British statesmen are aware of the need for local organisation of defence forces and for the co-operation of local people. To this need of co-operation for the advance and defence of common interests, His Excellency Lord Linlithgow drew particular attention in his address to the Indian Legislature at the Simla session (1937). Many of the things that are the common concern of civilised humanity, that are held precious by them, are in grave jeopardy. Peace which both the peoples love and value is threatened over half the world. Democratic principles are under question and open challenge in wide regions of the world.

"The regimentation of the human mind proceeds apace. Freedom of opinion is systematically suppressed and the right of the individual to live as he wishes in the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the family circle is a thing denied to half of mankind It is common affection for these things—to-day in dire peril of destruction —common determination to protect the elementary decencies of human life in this planet that holds together the peoples of the British Commonwealth of Nations....."

Indian Helplessness in Defence

There are sentiments and statements in the speech of Lord Linlithgow's against which Indians with a cynical bent of mind may direct criticism. But without questioning these, an Indian may still feel and think that for a century and more he has been deprived of all powers which can equip him and his people for defence of the honour of his country, defence of the decencies of life. Even now he has not been made responsible for organising the defence forces of the realm. And if the "rule of force" tries to extend its sway in the world India has not been made ready to play a decisive part in fighting it. This is the tragedy of the situation. If India breaks under any invasion the misfortune will be India's but the failure and the shame of it will be Britain's.

Five-year & Ten-year Plans

In speaking of the organisation of modern defence in India, British strategists say that India is not financially competent to maintain the expenditure required. India's revenue sources are inelastic, and the forty-seven and half crores of rupees that form India's military budget cannot finance any better and stronger defence organisation than the existing one. And, in the existing state of things representative men of Indian opinion and Indian sentiments do not support any increase in military expenditure. As other proposals for the improvement of the material and mental life of the people are halted

by their poverty, so is the military budget limited by Indian poverty. Indian public men and publicists have, since the Congress agreed to shoulder the burden of government in the provinces, been inspired to put forward schemes leading to a rise in material prosperity that can be the source of all social expenditure, local, provincial or central. Sir M. Visvesvaraya, ex-Dewan of Mysore and a great engineer and industrial thinker, has come out with a "Five Year Plan" "for the reconstruction of India's economic life. The following half a dozen items are regarded as fundamental for rapid industrial and social advance :

1. Establishment of heavy industries, specially those relating to the manufacture of machinery and heavy chemicals ;
2. Extensive spread of cottage and small-scale industries and industrial life in rural areas ;
3. Providing Banking and credit facilities and adequate tariff protection for both heavy and cottage industries ;
4. Establishing real self-government in the villages ,
5. Introducing a District Development scheme ,
6. Universal Mass Education.

"Five-year Plans" for provinces and a "Ten-year Plan" for India should form the coping-stones of all the schemes for reconstruction and nation-building. The Development Scheme should be kept apart from administrative routine ; its budget should be separate. The Development Department should be under the supervision of a Minister with a competent Secretary and a staff of two or three experts. An Economic Council of local men of influence and experience financiers, economists, industrialists and merchants should be associated with this department. A survey and investigation should precede the preparation of the Plan and the Plan of action.

Co-ordination between Provinces

The Congress Executive anticipated certain of these recommendations. The Working Committee of the Congress passed certain resolutions which were issued to the Press on August 16, 1937, recommending to the Congress Ministries to set up a inter-provincial Committee of experts

"To consider the general nature of the problems to be faced and to suggest how and in what order these should be tackled This expert Committee may suggest the formation of a special Committee or Board to consider each of such problems separately and to advise the Provincial Governments concerning as to joint action to be undertaken."

There were many problems that could not be dealt with and solved on a provincial basis, and the interests of adjoining provinces are very often inter-linked. As an instance, the Working Committee drew the attention of the Governments of the United Provinces and Behar to the un-co-ordinated growth of the factory sugar industry which had brought calamity and wide-spread misery to the cane growers of these two provinces.

Instance of Sugar Industry

The factory-owners also have not been sitting idle. They have formed an "Indian Sugar Syndicate" with a view to "improve the tone of the sugar market" by "organised marketing." The Syndicate has taken over from its members their entire unsold stocks of sugar produced in the season (1937) to be disposed of at rates specified by the Syndicate. As the United Provinces and Behar produce more

than 80 per cent of sugar, this organisation may dictate terms both to the cane-grower and the consumer. But this danger has been sought to be minimised by the Joint Board set up by the two Governments to control and guide the industry in healthy lines. The concentration of this industry in two provinces has another tendency that requires that the factory sugar industry should not be started in other provinces. Already, it is said, this industry has been producing an amount of sugar that will in the near future be more than enough for use in this country and Burma, the only two countries that are open to Indian sugar. For, an International Agreement regarding the Regulation and Production and Marketing of sugar, signed at London on May 6, 1937 on behalf of 21 Governments, including India, has among other conditions limited the sale and export of Indian sugar by sea elsewhere than to Burma ; this Agreement shall remain in force for a period of five years and shall not be subject to denunciation at any earlier date. Without consulting the Central Legislature the Government of India has signed the Agreement.

Congress yielding to Separatist Pressure

In discussing the trends and tendencies of events in India, one comes very often against a sort of parochialism that is a danger to the unity of the country. We have in the present study indicated all the forces of disintegration that have been at work amongst us. In these conflicts of ideas and interests, the organisation of the State as laid down in the Government of India Act, 1935, is not very helpful to the growth of India—one, whole and indivisible. Organisations beyond the control of the State, are many of them promoters of separatist tendencies. The Indian National Congress has for fifty-two years been working to evolve a composite Nationalism in the country. The pressure of separatist tendencies and activities seeks to deflect it from that path. Now and then it appears to be yielding to that pressure. In its attitude towards the "Communal Award" this sign of weakness has been unmistakable, And, during the period which is the subject matter of the discussions in this volume of the *Register*, a decision by the All-India Congress Committee, the decision mutilating the *Bande Mataram* song, is a witness to the same tendency. A section of Indian Muslems feel that the song is anti-Muslem and anti-Islamic. Anti-Muslem because it appeared in the *Ananda Mutt*, a novel by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee wherein the break-down of Muslem rule in Bengal has been described and the oppression and extortion to which the people were subjected during this period of misrule or "no rule". The rebels whose activities and exploits are described and idealised in the novel cannot in the very nature of things be expected to be charitable and liberal in the expression of their feelings against the ruling authority and the community which supplied that authority. The song is regarded as anti-Islamic because in this Hymn to the Motherland, Hindu ideology has been requisitioned to describe the beauty and the grandeur and the might of the country who nourishes us all.

This new sensitiveness developed among a section of Indian

Molem objection to National Song

Muslems who objected to the *Bande Mataram* may be natural in the first flush of awakening when a spirit and feeling of separatism may be encouraged for the realisation of the individuality of a community or a nation in the grip of defeat and subjection. The disruption of Muslem rule had driven the Muslem community in India to its own cell nursing a grievance and getting over the "inferiority complex' that had settled on its mind. And when the Muslems strengthened by the discipline of the new order of things introduced into this country by the British and inspired by the example of their neighbouring community of the Hindus burst that cell, they were impelled to regard the Hindus as their rivals in the country. State policy, the policy of setting up a counterpoise to what was regarded as Hindu Nationalism, encouraged this rivalry. Because the Hindus had accepted the whole trend of modern thought and modern endeavour as an instrument of national reconstruction they happened to occupy many of the po itions of vantage in the life of India, social, economic, administrative and political. This has been made into a grievance without realising that the Muslems must pass through the same discipline before they could hope to be able to play their legitimate part in building up the India of the future. The spirit of separatism which had its place as a temporary expedient to be shed off when it had served its purpose is being hugged to the bosom as part of an eternal policy. This short-sightedness is the breeding-around of the Hindu-Muslem tension in the country.

Bande-Mataram— Hymn to Motherland

The *Bande-Mataram* song fell a victim to this mentality, It is on record that the song was composed years before it appeared in the novel *Ananda Mutt* which was first published in 1882. In explaining the significance of the words used in the song, the rebel Sannyasin Bhavananda said that these described the Motherland, that they recognised no other object of worship than the Motherland to whom they owed their life and to whose service they had dedicated their life in a spirit of religious devotion and to free ; and to free Her from thraldom they were prepared to make the supreme sacrifice. There was no Hindu God or Goddess that answered to the description in the song :

"Mother, I bow to thee !
Rich with thy hurrying streams,
Bright with thy orchard gleams,
Cool with thy winds of delight,
Dark fields waving, Mother of might, Mother free !

Glory of moon-light dreams
O'er thy beaches and lordly streams
Clad in thy blossing trees,
Mother, giver of ease
Laughing low and sweet !
Mother I kiss thy feet.
Who hath said Thou art weak
When the swords flash out in seventy million hands.
And seventy million voices roar

Thy dreadful name from shore to shore ?
Thou who savest, arise and save !
To her I cry who ever her foemen drave
Back from plain and sea
And shook herself free.

Thou art wisdom, thou art law,
Thou our heart, our soul, our breath,
Thou the love divine, the awe
In our hearts that conquer death.
Thine the strength that nerves the arm,
Thine the beauty, thine the charm.
Every image made divine
In our temples is but thine.
Thou art Durga, Lady and Queen,
With her hands that strike and her sword of sheen.
Thou art Lakshmi lotus-throned,
And the Muse a hundred-toned
Pure and perfect without peer,
Mother ! lend thine ear.

Rich with thy hurrying streams,
Bright with thy orchard gleams,
Dark of hue, O candid-fair
In thy soul, with jewelled hair
And thy glorious smile divine,
Loveliest of all earthly lands,
Showering wealth from well-stored hands !
Mother, mother mine !
Mother sweet, I bow to Thee !
Mother great and free !"

Mutilation of the Song

The above is a free translation of the song made by Sri Aurobindo Ghosh in 1905. And the Working Committee of the Congress without referring the matter to public opinion, without submitting it to public discussion, declared through the mouth of the President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, that the song was one to parts of which the Muslem community could take legitimate objection, and, therefore, only the first two stanzas should be sung on the occasion of meetings and conferences held under Congress auspices. It is difficult to justify the hole-and-corner way in which the Working Committee decided a matter round which the deepest of human feelings had entwined themselves ; for the protection of the honour of this song thousands had bled ; the inspiration of this song has moulded the life and conduct of millions in course of two generations in a country that has been struggling to be free. The injustice of the decision, and of the method in arriving at it, rankles in hearts that are silent with the silence of a great sorrow.

Thus has the Indian scene been moving between hopes and fears—hopes generated by Congress Ministries, undertaking to fight the dirt,

All-India Women's Conference

disease and ignorance that centuries of neglect have accumulated in India and that have been smothering the promises and possibilities of human development in this country of three hundred and fifty millions of human bodies and souls. Fears halt every activity of ours because separatism has not been silenced or reconciled. Sons of the nation seem to have failed in evolving the mind that can take charge or be given charge of the destiny of a country where men of many cultures have been thrown together to work and live, to beat out a music of harmony of their own. A year ago at the session of the All-India Women's Conference, a daughter of the nation declared that "the daughters of the nation will yet rebuild India into a nation of the strong and the free." At the Nagpur session of the Conference held in the last week of 1937, Raj Kumari Amrit Kuar, the President, struck the same high note. The gift of sympathy, of understanding. of patience unquenchable that women bring to family and social life, that cement the discordant elements of individual and group differences—to this gift India must owe her recovery. Raj Kumari Amrit Kuar asked her audience and through them the mothers and daughters of the nation to bring this special quality of theirs to the service of their Motherland. She placed before them the concrete suggestion that every organisation of women affiliated to the All-India Women's Conference and every women's organisation in the country should "adopt" a village or a rural area and rear it into health and strength and beauty as they do the human children of their love. Modern educated women find themselves ill at ease in their life detached from the main current of national life. And the break-down of social and economic life in the country threatens to wreck the houses of beauty that they have built for their own. Even the impulse of enlightened self-interest must drive them to interest themselves in questions that have been stirring and disturbing the still waters of Indian life, if they must intercept the coming catastrophe. This is the psychology of the women's movement in the country that has come forward to contribute the special gifts of women to heal the distempers of Indian life and to enrich that life.

Meaning of India's Recent Struggles

Amidst the thousand and one disappointments and failures, of failures of spirit and of mind, of a life where alien standards and values threatened the original genius of the country, men and women have been striving all these two centuries after the first shock of defeat had been absorbed, to re-assert human nature's dignity, to regain national self-respect, to fight for recapturing control over the material contrivances that serve the purposes of life, control over the State organisation which in the philosophy of the Hindus is symbolised by the word *Swaraj*. This is the meaning of Indian history during the last two centuries. Hindu and Muslem, Christian and Sikh, the Aryan, the Mongolian, the Dravidian whom India nourishes must all find fulfilment in working for this purpose in universal history. The hopes and fears that uplift and assail us today are necessary processes of a great evolution, of the re-birth of a great human endeavour. (*Specially contributed by Sj. Suresh Chandra Deb.*)

Proceedings of

The Council of State

The Legislative Council

AND

Provincial Councils

AND

Assemblies

July—December 1937

The Council of State

Autumn Session—Simla—14th Sept. to 5th October 1937

Return of Polical exlies

The autumn session of the Council of State commenced at Simla on the **14th. September 1937** with *Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy*, the President, in the chair.

After interpellation, on the motion of the President, the Council condoled with the families of Mr. B. K. Basu and Mr. J. C. Banerjee who died recently. Sir Maneckjee, paying an eloquent tribute to Mr. Basu, said that Mr. Basu was a clean fighter, a keen debator and a sound lawyer.

15th. SEPTEMBER :—Mr. *R. M. Maxwell*, Home Member, reeled out facts after facts against the House accepting the demand of the Congress member from C P., Mr. *B. N Biyani*, for permission to Mahendra Pratap, Hardayal and other political exiles to return to India.

Mr. *Biyani's* own plea, supported by Mr. *P. N. Sapru* was based on a change in the political situation in India but the Home Member asked the House to face the facts relating to the dangerous activities of the persons mentioned in the resolution.

Mr. *Maxwell* said that excepting Hardayal and Obedullah all the other absconders including Mahendra Pratap and Khankoje had changed their nationality The case of Mahendra Pratap was rendered worse by the fact that he did not own allegiance to any State in the world. Still the Government of India had been merciful enough not to confiscate his property but to hand it over to his heirs. As for Khankoje, whose case had evidently prompted the mover to bring in his resolution, Mr Maxwell told the House that apart from his revolutionary propaganda he had adopted Mexican nationality. How could these revolutionaries, he asked, be "white-washed" merely because the political situation in India had changed. As a proof of the Government's sympathy for those who had not given up their Indian nationality, the Home Member cited the case of Sailendra Nath Ghose who had been allowed to return to India. The Government would not be unreasonable but would review the cases of the offenders every six months. The resolution was negatived without division.

E I Railway Press

Sir *Guthrie Russell*, in the absence of Sir Sultan Ahmad, answered the resolution of a member from Bengal relating to the working of the E I. Railway Press in Calcutta. Sir Guthrie heard Mr. *S K. Roy Choudhury* out but found in his speech no new facts beyond what Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardy had mentioned in 1933. He wanted specific complaints on which to proceed. Mr. Roy Choudhury withdrew his motion.

The House rejected a resolution moved by Mr. *Kumarshankar Ray Chaudhury*, urging an amendment of the Government of India Act 1935, so as to secure the recruitment to the public services of India, both civil and military, by public examinations in India. The House then adjourned till September 20.

Indians in Colonies

20th. SEPTEMBER :—The House resumed discussion of Pandit *H. Kunzru's* resolution for the protection of the interests of Indians in Fiji, British Guiana and Trinidad and also to secure the appointment of agents to the Government of India for those colonies. Pandit Kunzru who was supported by Pandit P. N. Sapru and Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das pointed out the disabilities of Indians in those three colonies and explained that due to church controlled education in British Guiana and Trinidad there was unwillingness on the part of Indians to send their children to school, the result being a general backwardness in education of Indians in those two colonies. Referring to economic conditions of Indians Pandit Kunzru pointed out that Indian Labour was non-organised and surplus to the need of the sugar industry in British Guiana with the result that Indians were not in a position to bargain with the employers of Labour. Further though the indentured system of labour had been

abolished, the conditions were worse than those under indentured labour prevailing in the sugar industry due to the fact that the labour protection laws had been abolished.

Sir *Jagdish Prasad* said that the Government fully recognised that without agents they were unable to obtain first hand information as to what was going on in these colonies and he thanked the Opposition for bringing this question forcibly before the Government. Past experience of having agents in South Africa and Ceylon had been a great benefit to the Government of India and colonial Governments concerned and he assured the house that the Government of India would spare no efforts and lose no opportunity to secure the appointment of agents, wherever feasible. Turning to educational problems Sir Jagadish added that comparative figures showed that no doubt there was a great scope for expansion of Indian education. In Fiji there had been a good deal of improvement since 1929, still the disparity was great While expenditure on an Indian child from colonial revenues was only 8-6 shillings, on the Fijian it was 14-7 shillings—on Indian boys 34 shillings and Fijian boys 74. The position as regards girls was worse. As regards the economic position of Indians in Fiji the problem was land tenure and the Government of India were fully alive to the seriousness of it and would do everything in their power to protect the interest of Indians. In British Guiana the system of indenture was abolished a few years ago along protective legislation with the result that the position of labourers had weakened and there had been constant labour troubles since three years. Sir Jagadish assured the House that the Government would be in no way remiss to the interests of Indians abroad and endeavour promptly to advance their legitimate interests. He accepted the resolution with pleasure.

Pandit Kunzru thanked Sir Jagadish for his conciliatory attitude and in understanding the psychology of modern India. The resolution was adopted unanimously amidst cheers.

Parsi Intestate Succession

Sir *Phiroze Sethna* introduced a Bill to amend the law relating to intestate succession amongst Parsis. On his own motion the House agreed to its circulation for opinion before the middle of January next.

Reduction of I. C. S. Salary

Thereafter Mr. *Biyani* (Congress) moved a resolution urging the Governor-General in Council to intimate to the Secretary of State the wishes of the House that the rules as regards the pay of Indian Civil Service should be so amended as to reduce the present pay to at least 50 per cent.

Mr. *Mohd. Hussain* moved an amendment, which the mover accepted, that the pay should be reduced as to bring the pay into accord with the economic conditions of the country.

Lala Ramsaran Das pointed out that similar services in the colonies and British possession, like Nigeria where the climate was worse than India, were paid a considerably low pay.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* protested that India was being used as a dumping ground to get rid of the surplus population of England. He did not believe that Britishers were unwilling to accept less pay. On the contrary his information was that they could not pass examination despite the large number of candidates appearing in it.

Sir Hissam-ud-din, *Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Das*, *Mr. Narainswami Chetty* and *Sir K. Rammurti* opposed the resolution and the amendment. Mr. *Chetty* said that the services were above blame and their work was warmly appreciated by the Congress Governments.

Mr. *Maxwell*, Home Member, said that India could afford to pay the cost of the I. C. S. He would go further to argue that it was well worth while for India to do so. The opposition members seemed to be labouring under a misconception that the I. C. S. was a European service but the fact was that Indians formed very nearly half of its total strength. Mr. Maxwell continuing asked the House to look ahead and reflect. India needs an impartial and reliable service to control very large establishments, vast mass population, business spread over vast areas of the country—a service which would do something dependable to set up a standard in the tone of the administration.

The resolution was pressed to a division and negatived by 25 votes to 12.

Mr. *Sushil Kumar Roy Chowdury* introduced a Bill relating to shebaity and office of shebaits and devolution of such right or office in Hindu debutter endowments in favour of family deities. In short the Bill aims to remove doubts and difficulties

that have lately arisen relating to private debutter or religious endowments by persons professing the Hindu faith. The House adjourned till the 22nd.

INDIAN MILITARY ACADEMY

22nd SEPTEMBER :—Pandit *H. N. Kunzru's* resolution, moved on September 20 was taken up for disposal first. The resolution urged that the warrant of non-commissioned officers, etc, be rendered eligible to the Indian Military Academy on the same terms as applicable to officers of corresponding grades in other branches of the Indian Territorial Force and the Auxiliary Force ; and (B) examination for "B" certificate be instituted for members of the University Training Corps with a view to their utilisation for the supply of Commissioned Officers in ways similar to those prescribed for the officers' training corps in England. Pandit Kunzru quoting Lord Haldane pointed out that the proper utilisation of University students for the army was not so much to provide careers for individuals as to serve the interests of the nation as a whole. The speaker asserted that the opportunities at present provided for members of the University Training Corps compared unfavourably with officers training corps in England, although the aim and object of both were more or less identical.

The *Commander-in Chief*, opposing the resolution, explained that members of the University Training Corps were regarded as suitable material for open competitive examination for the Academy. They were in a position of greater advantage over those admitted to the Academy through nomination. The Government saw no reason to allow members of the University Training Corps to compete for vacancies reserved for listed classes In regard to the second part of the resolution, the Defence Member said that the Government had no intention to grant commissions directly, and as there was adequate supply available for admission into the academy there seems no reason to institute the system of certificate as suggested in the resolution. Moreover, the standard of training in the Officers Training Corps in England was much higher than the University Training Corps and it would be unfair to both individuals and the army if with the present standard of the University Training Corps direct commissions were granted to its members.

CADET CORPS

Pandit Kunzru's second resolution recommended the introduction of military drill and establishment of Cadet Corps in schools, expansion of the University Training Corps, diversification of its training so as to constitute units of other arms than infantry and expansion of urban units and their extension to large centres of population where they did not exist at present. The mover knew that education was a provincial subject and yet he was convinced that the purpose underlying the resolution could only be achieved if the military lent its support. The speaker held that the proposal would not entail additional expenditure to the army as the salaries of instructors would be borne by provincial Governments. Alluding to the expansion of the University Training Corps and urban units Pandit Kunzru pointed out that there was keenness and enthusiasm amongst the people for army life and it was up to the Government to make use of it.

The *Commander-in-Chief* explained in detail the conditions which prevailed in England for the development of Cadet Units and said that a similar system could not be economically and successfully applied to Indian schools because of the early leaving age for boys for the benefit to be obtained and because of the limited number of schools which could provide a sufficient number of Cadets to make the organisation of contingents financially possible This might sound unsympathetic, but he was prepared to welcome any other scheme which would indicate the means of getting over the difficulties he had explained. The resolution was rejected without a division.

COASTAL TRAFFIC CONTROL BILL

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* moved referring to select committee the Bill to control the coastal traffic in India which should report before January 1, 1938. He said that the present Bill was somewhat different from the one which he had introduced in September last year. Mr. Sapru said that he had no doubt that the present popular Governments in the provinces would give the fullest support to the measure. Mr. Sapru had not concluded when the House adjourned.

DEBATE ON WEDGWOOD REPORT

23rd. SEPTEMBER:—The Council of State met this morning to discuss the Wedgwood Report. Sir *Guthrie Russell* moved that the Government of India should consider the report of the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee in the light of the discussions in this Council.

Three amendments were moved by Opposition members and the discussion proceeded on the original resolution and the amendments. Mr. *Hossain Imam*, in his amendment, suggested the formation of a joint committee of two Houses to review the financial and economic aspects of the investigation.

Mr. *Ramdas Pantulu* thereafter moved an amendment substituting for the words "in the light of the discussions in this Council" the following "and on such consideration this House recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that they should accept the recommendations of the Public Accounts Committee on account of 1935-36 on the report of the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee."

Sir *A. P. Patro* moved a lengthy resolution that the recommendations of the Committee relating to economies in administration, statistics, improved railway facilities and public relations may be adopted generally without any alterations being found necessary that the recommendation relating to discipline and training may be adopted, that the recommendations might be held over until the Government had consulted public opinion concerned in matters regarding increase in revenue and rates, that the Motor Vehicles Amendment Bill be brought forward as early as possible, that the amalgamation of the railway should take place only when the contracts with Company-managed railways cease to operate and, lastly, that the recommendations relating to the financial outlook and the Federal Railway Authority required further consideration of the Central Legislature."

Lala Ramsaran Das declared that the Committee's recommendation favouring the writing off of sixty crores from the Depreciation Fund was unfair to the general taxpayers

Mr. *Hossain Imam* said that Indian non-official opinion had no confidence to the recommendations of the Wedgwood Committee. After suggesting economies in rolling stock and general co-operative adjustment between various railways, the speaker urged the Government to pursue a policy of Retrenchment Committee of 1931.

Mr. *Ramdas Pantulu* pointed out that the Wedgwood Committee was appointed to suggest means whereby relief could be afforded to the tax-payer, but the recommendations of the committee had entirely falsified such expectations.

Mr. *Parker* said that railways should be looked at from purely business viewpoint and that employment and such other matters should be governed entirely on efficiency.

Pandit *H. N. Kunzru* pleaded for better amenities for third class passengers who were the mainstay of railway earnings. Sometime ago the Home Member had said that a suitable Indian journalist was available to hold the post of Director of Public Information, but to-day Sir Guthrie Russell remarked that suitable Indian journalists were available for doing railway publicity work. He pondered whether this difference in view between the different departments was due to Indians being in charge thereof.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* said that reading the report on a wider viewpoint the Committee had travelled far beyond its terms of reference and the recommendations were based distinctly on political bias.

Mr. *Kalikkar* said that the most objectionable recommendation was the attempt to deprive the legislature of its control over railways and place the accounts department under the agent. He pleaded for a fair adjustment between road and rail traffic.

Mr. *Mahapatro* observed that the mountain of the Wedgwood Committee produced only a mouse and all hopes of placing the railways on a remunerative basis had been blasted.

Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, Railway Member, who was present in the Council throughout the debate, complemented the members for the high standard of the debate in keeping with the dignity and tradition of the House. He reiterated the assurance given to the Assembly in regard to Indianisation fulfilling the pledges under the Niemeyer Award.

Sir *A. P. Patro* wanted to withdraw his amendment, but Mr. Sapru objected to it with the result that the amendment was put to vote without division. Thereafter Sir *Guthrie Russell's* original resolution was unanimously passed and the Council adjourned till September 28.

CONTORVERSY RE-INTERPELLATIONS

28th. SEPTEMBER :—When the Council of State met this morning the President *Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy* made a reassuring statement relating to the controversy between the Chair and the Progressive Party regarding interpellation and said that he had no desire whatever to stifle the legitimate right and privileges of the House. The statement was received amidst loud cheers and members exercised their right of putting questions as usual.

Pandit Hriday Nato Kunzru with the permission of the of the Chair, made a statement recalling the incident of September 22. He said "You had expressed strongly on the subject and as you are aware this caused dissatisfaction on this side of the House especially because the right of putting supplementaries has been exercised on a few occasions in the House. We were, therefore, naturally anxious to know what were our rights with regard to asking supplementaries. It has always been your endeavour to secure for members of the Council the same rights as are enjoyed by members of the Assembly. We, therefore, trust that your ruling will enable us to enjoy equal opportunities of eliciting information on matters of public importance from the Government as are available to members of the other House. It is our earnest desire to co-operate with you in maintaining the dignity and privileges of this House and we can assure you that it has always been our endeavour to help the Chair to regulate the proceedings in such a way as will best restore public interest."

Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy said : "I am glad you have given me this opportunity of removing a serious misunderstanding and misapprehension under which your party had been labouring. I am myself most anxious to maintain harmonious relations between the Chair and members (cheers) and it is my constant desire and my great ambition ever since I occupied the Chair of the Council to put this House on the level of the best Legislatures of the world (cheers) and to maintain the dignity and prestige of this House which is the second Premier House of the Empire.

The President referring to his past rulings on interpellation said that some new members were unaware of them and many members were generally not acquainted with the Parliamentary practice. He would presently read them to the House and if members gave their careful attention to them he was absolutely sanguine that they would agree with the propriety of those rulings.

His first ruling was given at the Simla session last year when he explained that the object of supplementary questions should only be to clear up some ambiguity in the main reply and this right should not be exercised to "heckle Government members or cross-examine or extort certain answers from them"

Later on he made another ruling at the last Delhi Session with a view to still further explaining the position. Unfortunately on September 22, the House had heavy business before it, most of the non-official business of the previous two days having not concluded. Out of the 152 questions to be disposed, of which 74 were to be asked by Yuvraj Dutt Singh, and Mr. Mahapatra had a formidable list of 54 questions.

"I have never stopped supplementaries," proceeded Sir Maneckji, "and I have exercised the greatest restraint. When 55 minutes had been completed I discovered that only 24 questions had been answered. With the formidable list of business I was endeavouring to help honourable members as it is my duty to see expeditious despatch of public duty and I expressed my desire to the House, which speech, I understand, has been objected and resented to by members of the progressive party."

Here the President read out that speech again and pointed out that in it he had used not a single offensive or unparliamentary language nor there was any single word which indicated that he tried to stop legitimate supplementary questions in any way.

Proceeding Sir Maneckji said : "It is clear that I did not stop you from putting supplementary questions but I only requested you to show a reasonable spirit in order to enable expeditious despatch of business. I have given enough latitude and I have no desire whatever to stifle the legitimate rights of the House. I shall support you in every reasonable attitude but it is likewise my obligatory duty to enforce the standing orders and rulings of my predecessors of this House and promote the welfare and interests of this council. (Cheers).

Pandit Kunzru suggested the dropping out of the expressions from the President's observation on September 22 "obstructing legitimate work of this House" as this was not fair to the Opposition.

The *President* : Mr. Kunzru, you have taken the words in a different sense. I have not said that honourable members had been obstructing the work of the House. What I said referred to unnecessary supplementary questions and it was perfectly Parliamentary language and I may assure you as one having long Parliamentary experience that I am not guilty of any unparliamentary expression. (Cheers)

The House passed three small bills passed by the Assembly namely, the Bill extending the Petroleum Act to Berar, the Bill providing for the continuance of certain rules and regulations and the Bill empowering the Federal Court to make rules regulating the service of processes issued by a court. The House then adjourned.

COASTAL TRAFFIC CONTROL BILL (CONTD.)

29th. SEPTEMBER :—With comparatively crowded galleries the Council of State resumed discussion of Mr. *P. N. Sapru's* Select Committee motion for the Coastal Traffic Bill. In a speech lasting over an hour Mr. Sapru explained the provisions of the Bill and said that Japan had made rapid strides in building a mercantile marine during the last 20 years primarily because, unlike India, it was not dominated by foreign and vested interests. This was apparent from the discriminatory clauses in the Constitution Act. The speaker enquired what alternative the Government had when they were not in a position to reserve coastal trade to Indian bottoms and could not grant subsidies to Indian companies on account of the Government of India Act. He held that the only alternative was his own bill. Mr. Sapru admitted the difficulty in ascertaining uneconomic and unfair competition and maximum and minimum rates, but suggested the setting up of a shipping advisory board which could reach a mutual understanding between 'haves' and 'have nots.'

Mr. *H. Dow*, Commerce Secretary, elaborately explained what the Government had done for the development of Indian shipping and said that there was nothing in the circumstances of Indian shipping to-day which would justify a measure of this kind and it was quite unnecessary not merely because there was no rate war, but because the provisions of the Bill would do nothing to help the smaller companies, and he did not think that there was anything therein to help the bigger ones. On the other hand the Bill was likely to introduce quite unnecessary complications into Indian coastal trade. Important measures adopted by the Government to promote Indian shipping were the establishment of the Dufferin Training ship, etc., and to-day they were also training Indian engineering cadets. The Bengal Pilot Service, which was really one important European service had been entirely Indianised Moreover, the Government by personation were trying to promote goodwill and co-operation between Indian and British companies. All this was done at a time when the political atmosphere in the country was dark and when Indian political parties were playing 'Will O' The Wisp' of coastal reservation to lead them into the promised land. Mr. Dow claimed that the vast progress in Indian mercantile marine during the last fifteen years was entirely achieved with the help of the Government and it was true that the progress in Indian shipping was much greater than that of Japan during the first fifteen years of its progress in the sea. Continuing Mr. Dow said that rather than singing glories of the past he would give more a recent account of the history of Indian shipping. He would say with no fear of contradiction that there was no possibility of further progress in Indian shipping on lines, the discriminating shadow of which was hanging over this Bill. He would rather suggest adoption of measures for exploration of means of better relations between British and Indian shipping. Indian shipping was not suffering from rate war with powerful foreign concerns. The problem of India was mostly confined between small Indian companies themselves. In the Lower House there was Sir A. H. Ghuznavi's Bill, which was referred to a Select Committee. Successful working even of this moderate measure was doubtful, and Mr. Sapru's Bill, much wider in scope, might definitely lead to considerable complications.

Sir A. P. Patro felt that the Bill was unnecessary and undesirable. On the one hand Indian commercial opinion considered that its provisions did not go far enough as recommended by the Mercantile Marine Committee. On the other hand British Chambers expressed the view that the Bill would create an uneconomic situation. Between these two conflicting views, the Bill attempted to sail smoothly, but with little hope of success. In his opinion legislation was not the only way of securing the objective, namely, reservation of coastal traffic for Indian nationals. Moreover, they were bound to fail in view of section 115 of the Government of India Act, 1935. They

could not drive out competition through the force of legislation, but they could achieve much through conference method

Mr. *Ramdas Pantulu* said that he had heard Mr. Dow's speech with natural disappointment. But Sir A. P Patro's speech was most painful to him. It was forgetting history of Indian shipping. The sp eaker said that a dispassionate and impartial reading of the economic history of India since the beginning of the nineteenth century would convince anyone that the attitude of the East India Company and British interests towards Indian interest was by no means friendly and this fact was forcibly brought out when about the middle of last century the Indian coast was thrown open to all nations of the world and India subjected to unrestricted commercial and political exploitation. Mr. Pantulu emphasised that the people were frankly dissatisfied with the eye wash of the Dufferin training ship and the system of deferred rebates was most pernicious, immoral and indefensible. The Opposition were fully alive to many defects of the Bill, every section of which was liable to certain objection or other, and that the matter of detail was remediable in the Select Committee.

Mr. *Parker* had no doubt that behind the measure was a group of powerful Indian commercial magnets and the whole game savoured of expropriatory. The result of the present Bill, if passed, would be to encourage Indians lose their money in an unwanted enterprise and the least they desired at present was introduction of any uneconomic competition in Indian coastal trade.

Syed Padshah refused to believe that Mr Parker's argument that the Bill savoured of expropriatory. Every right thinking man in India was anxious to see the impediments at present existing in the way of the growh of Indian shipping effectively removed for promotion of good relation between the two countries. This was a very modest demand on their part It was unfair to allow Indian shipping ever made to stand a precarious and doubtful sort of protec tion, namely, the goodwill of powerful foreign interests.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* supporting the motion discussed as to whether there was need for legislation and asked why the British commercial interests had long drawn negotiations which were given to effect by legislation instead of leaving the whole question to Conferences amongst parties concerned, as suggested by Mr. Dow ? Alluding to difficulties of giving effect to other provisions of the Bill the speaker said that when railways could fix minimum and maximum rates, where was the difficulty of doing the same for shipping industry ? Similarly, when the Government through the insurance legislation were undertaking to examine the accounts and license of a large number of agents it could equally regulate the shipping trade The real fear, however, as the speaker understood, was that under the Bill British companies would have to part with a larger percentage of business they did at present.

Mr. *Shivalal Matilal* pursuing the same argument asked why did not the British commercial interests leave matters to the goodwill and mutual understanding instead of forcing the British Government to insert discriminatory clauses in the Government of India Act ? The speaker looked forward to the Government of India in the near future not only to buy ships, but give effective protection to Indian companies.

Mr. *Kalikar* claimed that the much talked of system of Conference and agreements had totally failed. The only method of encour aging Indian mercantile marine in the face of the Government of India Act was through the Bill before the House.

Mr. *Sapru* replying to the debate pointed out that the constructive policy of the Government, so far as the British companies were concerned, appeared to him as one of assistance as was noticed in the huge amounts paid to the P and O for carriage of mails. But so far as the Indian companies were concerned the Government suggested mutual adjustment between the giant British concerns and the dwarf Indian shipping. This was a position which India would never accept. Mr. Sapru claimed that his Bill would help the process of mutual adjustment, as it sought to vest the Government with certain powers of inter vention. None of his side admitted that the Bill was perfect, but he inquired if there was any better alternative from the Government side. If not, his bill deserved fullest support.

Mr. *Dow*, briefly replying to the points raised in the debate, said that in passing the Bill they were doing nothing which would in any way help small Indian companies and at present there was no reason whatever for a measure of such comprehensive interference with ordinary channels of trade in shipping, which was unnecessary and unjustifiable.

Mr. *Sapru's* motion was pressed to a division and negatived by 25 votes to 14, all the elected Indian members of the present House voting in favour. The Council then adjourned till the 2nd October.

Moslem Shariat Bill

2nd. OCTOBER :—On the motion of Mr. *Hossain Imam*, the Council passed the Bill providing for the application of the Moslem personal law (*Shariat*) to Moslems in British India, as passed by the Assembly.

International Sugar Agreement

Thereupon Mr. *H Dow*, Additional Secretary, Commerce Department, moved a resolution recommending the Governor-General-in-Council that the international agreement regarding the regulation of production and marketing of sugar, signed in London on May 6, 1937, be ratified by him. Mr. Dow explained in detail the circumstances leading to the signing of the international agreement and replied to the charges against the Government by the industry. He asked the House not to go away with the impression that because the industry was not consulted before signing the agreement, the Government were entirely ignorant of the situation of the sugar industry in the country. Despite the storm of fury for the last two months in the press and on the platform, he could say without fear of contradiction that the industry had put forward no practicable alternative. It had been suggested that Indian sugar should be allowed free entry into United Kingdom or at least be preferentially treated on the basis of certificated colonial rate. Mr. Dow pointed out that most of the Colonies like Mauritius, Fizi, Trinidad and Guiana were entirely dependent on the production of sugar. Moreover, this industry was mainly run by Indian settlers in those Colonies, who already had been looking forward to the Indian and the Imperial Government for help. He emphasized that any attempt to dump Indian sugar on the United Kingdom market would seriously affect these Colonies and consequently the Indian settlers therein.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* moved an amendment urging the non-ratification of the agreement and expressing strong disapproval of the Central Government's action in agreeing to prohibit the export of sugar by sea except to Burma for the next five years without the knowledge and consent of the industry, and recommending the exploitation of all possible avenues for the export of sugar and development of export markets both by land and sea for sugar as may be necessary.

Mr. *J. Reid Kay* and Mr. *R. H. Parker* supported the Government on the assumption that India might not be in a position to export sugar profitably during the next five years.

Mr. *A. J. Raisman*, officiating secretary, Finance Department, intervening in the debate said that the agreement was an outcome of international endeavour towards economic planning and to control enormous world forces.

The Council rejected Mr. *Sapru's* amendment by 22 votes to 12, and by similar votes adopted Mr. *Dow's* resolution. The Council then adjourned till the 5th.

Tariff & Securities Acts Amend. Bills

5th. OCTOBER :—The House passed two official bills, as passed by the Assembly, the first to amend the Indian Tariff Act and the second to amend the Indian Securities Act. The House then concluded its session and adjourned to meet in New Delhi on November 15 to consider the Insurance Bill, copy of which, passed by the Assembly, was presented to the Council by the Secretary.

Special Session—New Delhi—15th. to 25th. November 1937.

Debate on the Insurance Bill

The opening day of the special session of the Council of State, called to deal with the Insurance Bill as passed by the Assembly, revealed the need for improvements in the measure and not merely changes in respect of drafting, as had been supposed.

This point was emphasized in the telling speeches made to-day by Sir *N. N. Sirkar*, Law Member of the Government of India, Mr. *R. H Parker* (of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce) and *Sir Phiroze Sethna* (of the Sun Life Insurance Company). There was no disposition on the part of the other Front Bench members to intervene in the debate, and this necessitated the President (*Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy*) issuing a broad hint to members, pointing out that if they did not take advantage of the opportunities afforded them he would call upon *Sir N. N. Sircar* to wind up the debate to-morrow.

The Law Member was given a rousing reception , not merely because he had to pilot such a heavy piece of legislation but because he had just recovered from a long indisposition.

Sir N. N Sircar moved that the Insurance Bill, as passed by the Assembly, be taken up for consideration. He did not desire to take up all the provisions of the Bill in the course of his speech nor did he expect, after the exhaustive discussions in the other House and elsewhere, to hear any new arguments advanced The Government had given the provisions of the Bill careful consideration for over a year and it would be rather difficult for them to agree to any change of vital principle affecting the Bill.

Dealing with the general position of foreign companies, the Law Member said that after the Bill had been passed by the Assembly certain representations had been received complaining of the discrimination in regard to the investment of assets as between Indian and non-United Kingdom companies.

Referring to the charge of retaliation he said —"I should like to touch on the point of retaliation, about which some very ill-informed criticisms have appeared in the Press I would like this House to realise that although under this Bill there is full Power of retaliation, so far as India is concerned, against non-Indians, it is confined to insurance law only.

"As a matter of fact notices were given of some amendments for discrimination against those countries where there were laws unfavourable to Indians. For instance, it was said that America had immigration laws and Canada and South Africa certain laws which discriminated against Indians and therefore, these ought to be ground for placing them in difficulties so far as their insurance business in this country was concerned I think the Hon. members will find that it has been made perfectly clear that there is no scope for retaliation under this Bill The point at issue must relate to insurance business If there is a condition in some foreign country which applies to Indian companies and which Indian companies have first to fulfil before they are allowed to carry on insurance business there, then, under these sections, the Government will have power—in fact it is mandatory—to enforce similar provisions against that country , but that does mean that American companies could not carry on business here."

Mr. S. K. Roy Chowdhury—Why this distinction ?

President—"An Hon. member cannot interrupt another Hon. member in his speech."

Continuing Sir *N. N. Sircar* said : "I think the House will agree that the provisions of the Bill, looked at from this point of view, cannot be described as 'vindictive'. They are not wider than what is necessary for protecting Indian interests, but I do not think that this House ought to know the origin of these sections. It was not necessitated by the action of the United Kingdom companies, because under the laws of the United Kingdom there is no discrimination against any company or against any foreign country. Nor was it necessiated by a country like France or America, because there is nothing to prevent Indians—in spite of the immigration laws—from doing insurance business there, but if Hon. members will cast their minds back for a moment they will remember that a large number of questions were

asked about Italy, and the same applies to Japan. Foreign companies, including Indian companies—I don't say all foreign companies but some foreign companies—are precluded from carrying on insurance business there, and in view of this, the Government were asked to find out why, when Italy prevented Indians from carrying on insurance businesses there, foreign companies should be allowed to carry on their business in India.

Referring to Canadian companies, the Law Member declared that their interests had been pressed by the European members of the Assembly. "I have found," he said, "some insinuations in the Press that, because the United Kingdom companies had not bothered as to what would happen to the Canadian companies. That, however, is not the fact. They did their best and came to an ultimate agreement but only for reasons beyond their control. The Canadian companies were given, so far as I was concerned, every opportunity of placing their case before me. I had several interviews and I am breaking no confidence when I say that I was at first told that, if this happened all Canadian companies would have to shut down shop and go away. Gradually, however, there was increasing mildness in their tone, and ultimately I was convinced that there would be no difficulty in their complying with the provisions of our Bill—just as foreign companies have to comply with the provisions in Canada—provided reasonable time was given to them for bringing in their assets.

"I remember a caustic remark (which, of course, I do not mind as I am quite accustomed to them) that the Law Member apparently thought that by waving a magic wand he could bring in crores of rupees from Canada. That point has been more than met, because they have now been given four years—it really comes to five years—for putting in their money in instalments. Then it has to be remembered that the bulk of their investments are already in Government of India securities. We have flattered the Canadians by imitating the language of their statute.

Proceeding, the Law Member observed that he understood that a big battle was going to be fought in this House on the question of chief agents, and he, therefore, proposed to deal with the subject fully The chief objection seemed to be that the Bill failed to make any provision to limit the chief agents' commission and it was argued that if the chief agent obtained unlimited commission, he could pay a rebate to the applicants and thereby nullify the whole scheme of preventing wealthy companies from offering undue inducements for the capture of trade. The Government, however, would move amendments to prohibit the payment of rebate by the chief agent as well as by licensed agents The Speaker, however, was opposed as to the limitation of commission to the chief agent because it would not achieve the objective aimed at. Any company could get round this restriction by opening branch offices which, under the provisions of the Bill, were not so restricted in this matter.

Referring to the payment of commission to licensed agents, Sir *N. N. Sircar* said that in view of the representations received and in view of the concensus of opinion, the Government would move an amendment reducing from 30 to 15 per cent the commission to agents in the case of general insurance. In regard to life insurance, although some reduction had been urged the Government had not decided yet to agree to a reduction.

Sir *Phiroze Sethna* thought that the Bill was long overdue He dealt with the discriminatory clauses against non-Indian and Empire insurance companies and declared that "live and let live" should be their motto. It was distinctly in their interest to keep relations with other offices doing business in this country as pleasant as possible They would thus do good to their insurance business as a whole. The restrictions sought to be imposed on Empire companies were unwarranted and savoured of vindictiveness and would make insurance more costly for Indians. In spite of the argument that Indians were not being treated well in certain Dominions and Colonies deletion of the retaliatory clauses would greatly help to improve the status of Indian nationals in those parts.

Mr *Roy Chowdhury* criticized the measure on the ground that it gave the policy-holders no interest in the business, although the working capital had been largely contributed by them. Referring to managing agents, he said the entire abolition of the system would hamper the growth of insurance in this country. He suggested their continuance, with limited remuneration and a restriction on their powers to control shares, etc. He also opposed the provision for licensing agents.

Mr. Parker declared that it was an unsound principle to interfere by statute with the commission or other remuneration to be paid by one party to another, but the

provision in the Bill was even more undesirable. Having fixed the commission or remuneration to canvassers in the cases of life insurance at the maximum of 45 per cent, and 30 per cent in the case of general insurance, the Company might pay 55 per cent. This was discriminatory legislation and was bad for the insurer and the insured Referring to the share which non-Indian insurers had of Indian business, Mr. Parker thought it was in the interest of India, as far as insurance was concerned that she should not be thrown entirely on her own resources. Actually, the number of first-class insurers had such unsatisfactory returns from Indian business that some of them had taken very little interest in it and there was danger that others might cease to take interest not to exclude good insurers. He suggested that the mandatory provision to this effect under Section 3 should be changed to make it permissive. The House then adjourned.

16th. NOVEMBER :—The Council of State resumed the general discussion on the Insurance Bill to-day

Mr *Ramadas Pantulu* criticized a number of provisions of the Bill and declared that those relating to retaliation and the imposition of reciprocal disabilities were wholly illusory.

As for retaliation, Clause 3 empowered the Superintendent of Insurance to refuse registration to foreign insurers only if the law and practice relating to insurance in their country debarred Indians from carrying on insurance business there. But if such countries debarred Indians from settling there or owning property, there was no need for legislation against Indian insurance business.

Referring to the investment of assets, Mr. Pantulu pleaded for a reduction of the percentage of the investment in Government securities from 55 to 50, or at least for some provision to include in the 55 percent the investment made in the building in which the head office or the branch offices were located.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* strongly criticized the omission to refer the Bill to a joint select committee of both Houses, and declared that this was a measure eminently suitable for consideration by such a committee.

The Law Member, *Sir N. N. Sircar*, interrupting, pointed out that the Government had done their best to set up a joint select committee, but they could not force the Assembly to agree to this.

Mr *Hossain Imam* replied that at the time the Bill was introduced in the Assembly the Congress members were absent. He protested against the policy of indiscriminate protection, which, he said, was ultimately paid for by the poor tax-payer. Protection in the insurance field was detrimental to Indian interests He therefore opposed the penalising of non-Indian non-Empire insurance companies. Concluding, Mr Hossain Imam pleaded for the cheapening of insurance, the creation of control by policy-holders, and a statutory share to policy-holders in profits. He wanted an assurance that the Superintendent of Insurance would be an Indian and if a non-Indian was appointed it would be only for a short period.

Pandit P. N. Sapru gave general support to the Bill, but suggested a number of changes which, in his opinion, would improve the measure, and better serve the interests of policy-holders. He urged that the desirability of fixing the maximum number of chief agents which a company was entitled to have should be considered. He thought that 15 was an adequate number.

Mr. *Govindlal Shivlal Motilal* referred to the argument that the provisions relating to the managing agents were necessary because of certain unconscionable contracts they had entered into. Unconscionable contracts, he maintained, could be dealt with under the existing law and no fresh legislation was necessary for the purpose. He urged that insurance companies should not be precluded from investing in Indian States, such as Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin.

Mr. *Chidambaram Chetty* referring to the provision that a policy should not be called in question after a lapse of two years, on the ground of mis-statements, said that two years was too short a period and should be extended. He did not think that the provision compelling insurance companies to invest 55 per cent of their assets in Government securities was necessary in order to safeguard policy-holders' interests. A large number of companies had suffered on account of the depreciation in the value of Government securities. He stressed the need of purchasing provin-

cial Government securities, not only because of the favourable rate of interest but also in the interest of the development of business in the provincial areas concerned.

Mr. *S. K. Roy Choudhury* urged that the benefits, resulting from the reduction in the agents' commission from 30 to 15 per cent which the Law Member had agreed to make, should be passed to the policy-holders. The House then adjourned.

17th. NOVEMBER :—General discussion on the Insurance Bill was resumed in the Council of State to-day.

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, who spoke first, referred to certain features of the measure which required strengthening and others which required toning down. Nothing, however, could detract from the merits of the Bill as a whole, and the Law Member was entitled to every credit for his strenuous and honest efforts in producing it.

The Bill had been described as a policy-holders' Bill and the speaker agreed with the description. One of the most valuable features was that relating to retaliation. It was a frequent experience for Indians to be discriminated against, both in and outside the British Empire, and it was good to see that the Government had, for the first time, taken into consideration India's dignity. Referring to investment of assets, Pandit Kunzru criticized the restriction imposed and declared that many other securities, besides Government securities, had a guaranteed interest payable, such as the shares of railway companies, and an investment in these should be recognised. He pleaded that some consideration should be paid to the money invested by the insurance companies in the buildings for their headquarters and also branch office.

MANAGING AGENCY SYSTEM

Referring Clause 38-A, which prohibits the cessation of payment of commission to an agent if he leaves without serving the company for at least 10 years, the Pandit pointed out that this was unfair to the agents, some of whom, within a shorter period than 10 years, brought in as much business as other did in 10 years. He urged that the period of 10 years should be reduced.

Pandit Kunzru then dealt with the abuses of the managing agency system and declared that it deserved to be brought to end The Law Member, who as a lawyer had lived all his life among evil-doers (laughter) and who had associated more with habitual breakers of the law than anybody in this House (renewed laughter) was in a better position than anyone else to check these abuses

Lala Ramsarandas, in winding up the debate on behalf of the Opposition, hoped that the Government would accept an amendment to the effect that the Superintendent of Insurance should not be an actuary. He also hoped that efforts would be made to appoint an Indian as Superintendent of Insurance. He supported Pandit Kunzru and Rao Bahadur Shivlal Motilal, urging that the shares and debentures of railway companies and loans to certain Indian States should be placed on the approved list for insurance companies to invest in. Finally, he pleaded that the Government should encourage Indian companies by insuring with them Government property.

The Law Member, Sir *N. N. Sircar*, replying to the debate, referred to the objections of Canadian companies to keep assets in India. He pointed out in this respect that Canada herself required such an investment, even from British insurance companies, who had to keep 157,000,000 in Canada. The Bill gave foreign companies four years to complete their investment. There was therefore little hardship.

Referring to Mr. Ramdas Pantulu's charge of unfair competition and difficulty with foreign exchange banks which did not accept policies issued by Indian companies, Sir N. N. Sircar said that if there was difficulty, it was not because one company was Indian and another non-Indian, but it was obvious that when a guarantee of solvency was wanted, the bigger man had the pull over the smaller man. He did not agree that the charge of unfair competition had been proved.

As for the demand for the inclusion of the securities of certain Indian States among the approved securities, the Law Member said that an inquiry into the solvency of this or that State and a comparison of the solvency of one State with that of another were exactly the things he did not want to indulge in.

The House passed the motion for consideration.

Mr. *J. Bartley* moved a formal amendment that the clauses and sub-clauses be renumbered consequent on the changes made in the Assembly. The Houses agreed to this and adjourned till the 19th.

19th. NOVEMBER :—Amendments to the Insurance Bill were taken up in the Council of State to-day.

The House took up amendments to the Insurance Bill. There was considerable discussion on an official amendment, moved by Mr *J. Bartley*, which was intended to limit to insurance business only the application of the clause relating to retaliation. In its present form the clause empowers the Superintendent of Insurance to withhold registration already made of a non-Indian insurance company if he is satisfied that, in the country in which such an insurer has his principal place of business or domicile, Indian nationals are debarred by the law or practice of the country from carrying on business in insurance. The amendment was for the insertion of the words "relating to insurance" after the words "law or practice of the country". The amendment was eventually carried by 28 votes to 20.

The Law Member (Sir *N. N. Sircar*), agreeing the House adopted three amendments, proposed by Mr. *V. Ramadas Pantula*, to Clause 4 (as renumbered) which as amended reads :

No insurer, not being a provident society, to which Part Three applies or a co-operative life insurance society, to which Part Four of this Act applies, shall pay or undertake to pay on any policy of insurance issued after the commencement of this Act, an annuity of Rs 50 or less or a gross sum of Rs. 500 or less, exclusive of any profit or bonus.

On Mr. *Pantulu's* motion, the House also accepted the following provisos : "Provided, however, nothing contained in this section shall apply to group policies, that is to say, policies in respect of a group of persons engaged in the same occupation or kindred occupations under a single employer · provided further, such insurer shall not be prevented from converting any policy into a paid-up policy at any time."

The House thereafter quickly passed through the next 60 amendments. Charges of an "unholy alliance" between the Government and the Congress, and that Congress sympathies were on the side of the insurers rather than the policy-holders, was made by Mr. *Hossain Imam* in the course of the discussion of his amendment, which suggested the addition of a new Clause 13(A), to the effect that a percentage of the net profits of an insurer from his life assurance be distributed among participating policy-holders.

Mr. *Pantulu*, opposing the amendment, refuted Mr. Imam's charge and declared that Congress had accepted whatever was reasonable, even if it came from the Government.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* remarked : There is a race to help the poor policy-holder, and there is no reason why I should lag behind although I am not capable of rapid locomotion (laughter). But while our heart is melting for the poor, let us think of the principles of sound business also. The amendment was rejected.

Discussion of Wheeler Report

At 4 p. m. Mr. *Hossain Imam* moved the adjournment of the House to discuss the Wheeler report. He ridiculed the practice of appointing I. C S. officers to posts in Departments like the Posts and Telegraphs, Accounts, etc. Experience had shown that I. C. S. officers who had served in the districts, were found to be "misfits" in such departments. He complained of the abnormally high cadre of the superior and special Central posts as compared with the provinces, with the result that almost all the selected officers in the provinces were sent to the Centre.

Pandit Sapru declared that the Government ought to have consulted the Central Legislature before determining their course of action. Of what use was a discussion when the Government had already come to a decision on a report ? Moreover, every provincial Government was deeply interested in the method or system whereby their officers were to be called upon to serve at the Centre ; and it was but proper that public opinion should have been allowed to adequately express itself before any decision had been reached. It was but natural that the provinces would like to retain their best men for themselves. What was the need for so many I. C. S.

officers in the Education, Health and Lands Department? It was clear that apart from any reduction, the number of I. C. S. posts was actually to be increased.

Referring to the proposal to abolish the post of Assistant Secretary, the speaker felt the decision unfair to experienced ministerial officers, who would not be able to rise to any responsible post hereafter.

Mr. *Ramdas Pantulu* strongly objected to the widespread reorganisation of the Central Secretariat in the hope of inaugurating Federation. A large section of the people, he said, were opposed to the proposed Federation, and it was clear that not only the seven Congress provinces, but also the other provinces strongly objected to it in its present form It was premature to make any radical changes or to expand the Central Secretariat, thus tying the hands of future Ministers. The Government would have lost nothing by consulting the Central Legislature before taking any decision on the report. Mr. Pantulu pleaded that a large number of able Indians (available in plenty) should be recruited to the Central services which should not merely be the monopoly of the I. C S., who were "nothing but a corporation of foreign bureaucrats, whose main purpose is to rule this country to their own benefit."

Sir A. P Patro declared that it was irrelevant to discuss the report from the point of view of Indianization only the standpoint from which it should be approached was that of recruitment to the central secretariat so as to secure efficient and expeditious despatch of administrative work. He refuted the suggestion that there were too many I. C S. officers. As one with personal experience of secretariat work he suggested that some members would visit the secretariat and see, for instance, how much strain their own questions placed on the staff.

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru said that in spite of Sir A. P. Patro's admonition only one question was important in discussing the report, and that was Indianization. Mr. Maxwell gave an undertaking to the Council of State last March that in considering the recommendations of the Wheeler Report the claims of Indians well qualified for secretariat work would not be overlooked, but notwithstanding this assurance the position of Indians in departments like Foreign and Political, Defence Legislative, Finance and Commerce was such as to cause extreme concern. The Government had not recruited Indians in the proportion recommended even by the Lee Commission. The recent reorganization of the I. M. S. had resulted in excluding Indians from the post of civil surgeons The Wheeler Report gave no sign that full justice would be done to Indian members of the I. C. S. or that Government intended to change "the unprogressive conservative and even re-actionary policy regarding Indianization."

Lala Ramsaran Das criticized Government's action in considering the report for nineteen months and then announcing their decisions without consulting the Central Legislature. Surely, they could have waited a few months more in order to obtain the Legislature's views

Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha declared that the Wheeler Report was not calculated to advance the cause either of Indianization or of economy. He expressed the fear that the provinces might not find it possible to lend the best men for service in the central secretariat.

Mr. *K. S. Roy Chowdhury* argued that the changes in the present system proposed in the report were unnecessary.

Mr. *R. M. Maxwell* replying to the debate said that he did not know what he was to defend himself against. Some members had complained about the delay in the publication of the report, while others had rebuked the Government for hurrying in the matter, but he could only take it as a compliment. But an attempt to support the motion on such contradictory grounds showed that the members had not made up their minds in the matter. Referring to the charge that the report did not disclose the intention of the Government of India to implement the assurance given to the Council of State, regarding Indianization, Mr. Maxwell explained the proposal to have a more definite and systematized system of recruitment. The suggested appointment of an establishment officer was part of this proposal It would mean the recruitment of more Indians as he said last March and it would mean young Indians and young Europeans would get a chance of being tried in the central secretariat. As regards the apprehension that the intention was to increase the strength of the Indian Civil Service in the reorganization of the secretariat, Mr. Maxwell pointed out that the strengthening would occur in the lower ranks and that was the foundation on which the future tenure of higher posts rested. Mr. Maxwell explained

the reasons why the I. C. S. should be used under the tenure system of staffing the central secretariat. He said the possible alternative was a separate cadre for the secretariat, to which there were grave objections. Under such a system the men would spend the entire services in the central secretariat, and would have no administrative experience in the provinces Such an isolation was undesirable for themselves and for the service. The provinces themselves saw certain advantages in sending their officers to the centre.

Syed Mohammed Padashah Saheb criticized the Government's failure to give time to the Central Legislature to express views before final decisions were reached. As he was speaking the clock struck 6, and the President declared the motion talked out, and adjourned the House till the 22nd.

Debate on Insurance Bill

22nd. NOVEMBER .—The House took up amendments to the Insurance Bill and disposed of over 100 amendments before the adjournment. At the outset the Law Member, *Sir N. N. Sircar*, said that on Friday last there had been a division on Clause 3 relating to retaliation, and the Government had carried an amendment whereby, after the words "law and practice of a foreign country" the words "relating to insurance" had been added. Opposition to the amendment was based on the contention that the added words narrowed the sphere of retaliation.

The Government, however, had no intention of narrowing the scope of the section, the slip was due to inadvertence. He asked the President's permission to substitute the words "relating to or applied to insurance" for "relating to insurance," as the matter, he said, was very important. The slip, as had been pointed out, was unintentional, and the amendment was directed to meet the view of the Opposition and remove any suspicion that there was a desire on the part of the Government to whittle down the scope of the section as passed by the Assembly. The circumstances were exceptional, and his request, if granted, would avoid the necessity of the matter coming up again before the House. The President allowed the amendment to be moved, and it was accepted by the House.

INVESTMENT OF ASSETS

Nearly 50 amendments were on the order paper relating to Clause 26, in connexion with the investment of assets, but except for verbal changes the Clause was passed in the form in which it emerged from the Assembly.

Mr. *Susil Kumar Roy* Chowdhury sought to remove the compulsory investment of 25 per cent of assets in Government securities. He was supported by Mr. Imam, who argued that there was practically no difference between Government securities and approved securities and that there was no harm in substituting the latter for the former.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* pointed out that if compulsion was removed foreign companies would invest all their assets in British securities. He saw no reason why part of the investments by foreign companies should not be in Indian securities. The amendment was rejected.

Another important amendment was moved by Lala Ramsaran Das for the reduction of the percentage of investment from 55 to 50.

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, Mr. Imam, Syed Mohammad Padshah and others supported the amendment and contended that the reduction by five per cent was not likely to adversely affect the policy-holders' interests. The amendment was rejected.

On Mr. *Motilal's* motion, the sub-clause relating to the remuneration of managing agents was altered as follows : "After the commencement of this Act, notwithstanding anything contained in the Indian Companies Act of 1913 and notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any agreement entered into by the insurer or in the Articles of Association of the insurer being a company, no insurer shall pay to the managing agent and no managing agent shall accept from the insurer as remuneration for his services as managing agent, more than Rs. 2,000 in all, including salary, commission and other remuneration payable to or receivable by the managing agent for his services as managing agent."

Mr. Imam, by an amendment, attempted to reduce the life of the managing agency system from three years to two, but the amendment was rejected.

What promises to be an exhaustive debate on the qualifications of the proposed Superintendent of Insurance was initiated by *Pandit P. N. Sapru*, who moved an amendment suggesting the deletion of the requirement that the Superintendent shall be qualified actuary. Pandit Sapru pointed out that the amendment, if passed, would not rule out the appointment of an actuary as Superintendent, but he opposed the statutory prescription of an actual qualification as the duties of Superintendent were quasi-judicial, administrative and executive and only incidentally and secondarily acturial. It was no more correct to lay down that because of this secondary part of his duties, the officer should be a qualified actuary than to demand, for instance, that the Auditor-General should be a qualified auditor, or the Member in charge of the Commerce Department should have had personal experience in the field of business or commerce. To help the Superintendent to discharge the actuarial part of his duties he could have a qualified assistant.

The speaker maintained that insistence upon an actuarial qualification would make it virtually impossible for any Indian to be appointed to this post, as there were only six Indians with acturial experience ; one of whom had 12 years' experience, while the others had had only three or four years' experience. Unless the amendment was accepted India might have another temparary sojourner, imported on an extravagant salary, "and with ignorance of Indian conditions as his supreme qualification." The Superintendent should be an Indian who enjoyed the confidence of the Indian commercial community and who could be trusted to approach the difficult work of administering the Act in a sympathetic spirit.

As *Lala Ramsaran Das* rose to speak on the amendment, the President inquired if Pandit Sapru had not already exhausted the arguments in support of it and if further speeches were necessary. Lala Ramsaran Das supported the amendment and affirmed that most of the Ministers had technical men as their assistants. Further discussion was adjourned.

23rd. NOVEMBER :—After an hour and a half's discusssion to-day, Mr. *P. N. Sapru's* amendment to the insurance Bill suggesting the deletion of the requirement that the proposed superintendent of insurance shall be a qualified actuary was rejected by 38 votes against 9.

The Congress group remained neutral. This was the second division on the Bill in this House.

Pandit *H. N. Kunzru* resumed the debate initiated by Mr. Sapru and said that the object of the amendment was to widen the field of choice so that an Indian could be appointed.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* declared that the non-official side insisted that the first superintendent should be an Indian, but he would not mind if an I. C. S., man was appointed whether he was an Indian or a Eurouean, provided he had sufficient experience and could inspire confidence. He criticised the Congress Party's attitude in the Lower House where, he thought, they were swayed by "an economy mania" and tried to save by having one and the same man for both acturial and administrative work.

Mr. *Ramdas Pantulu* explaining the Congress attitude said that the European group's amendment in the Lower House, by insisting on "a fully qualified actuary," would have definitely shut out Indians while the Congress amendment, which was adopted, made it possible for an Indian to be appointed. The question of salary did not arise because the Karachi Congress resolution excluded technical posts from the minimum limit fixed by the Congress.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* (Law Member), admitted that there was considerable force in the argument advanced from opposition benches but what had influenced the opinion of the Government was that one of the duties of the superintendent of insurance was to scrutinize the reports made by the other actuaries, and if one was to sit in judgment over these highly technical documents one had to have actuarial knowledge oneself. Many of the administrative steps to be taken by the superintendent would depend on the acturarial reports submitted to him. He reminded the House that the clause in question had been practically unanimously accepted by the Assembly.

Except for half a dozen clauses, held over for discussion to-morrow, clauses up to 102 were passed when the House rose.

The clause relating to the dividing principle was altered as follows :—

"No insurer shall after the commencement of this Act begin, or after three years from that date, continue to carry on any business upon the dividing principle, that is to say, on the principle that the benefit secured by the policy is not fixed but depends either wholly or partly on the results of the distribution of certain sums amongst policies becoming claims within certain time limits or on the principle that the premiums payable by the policy holders depend wholly or partly on the number of policies becoming claims within certain time limits.

"Provided nothing in this section shall be deemed to prevent the insurer allocating bonuses to holders of policies of life insurance as the result of periodic actuarial valuation either as reversionary additions to the sums insured or as the immediate cash bonuses or otherwise.

"Provided, further, that the insurer who continues to carry on insurance business on the dividing principle after the commencement of this Act shall withhold from distribution a sum not less than 40 per cent of the premiums received during each year after the commencement of this Act in which such business is continued so as to make up the amount required for investment under section 26, renumbered 27."

The House adopted Mr. *Hossain Imam's* amendment to the effect that the provisions relating to managing agency shall apply to provident societies.

The Bill, as renumbered in consequence of the amendments made in the Assembly, contains 121 clauses as against the original 106. The House at this stage adjourned.

24th. NOVEMBER :—An amusing reference to the 1,100 detenus who are about to be released enlivened to-day's proceedings in the Council of State, when the House took up consideration of further amendments to the Insurance Bill.

Mr. *Sitakanta Mahapatra* (Orissa) moved a lengthy amendment to add a proviso to Clause 35, relating to the percentage of commission payable to licensed agents. He explained that the object of his proviso was to help field workers against oppression by chief agents. He observed that in a few days 1,100 detenus would be released and he had no doubt that most of them would become insurance agents (Laughter). Insurance middlemen would reap a harvest through them, because public sympathy for the detenus would result in good business for the companies they worked for but was there any guarantee in the Bill, the speaker asked, that middlemen would pay them all their dues ?

In a caustic reply the Law Member, Sir *N. N. Sircar*, suggested that many members of both Houses, who had at least as much sympathy for the field workers as Mr. Mahapatra, considered the provisions of the Bill as it stood to be sufficient. He wished the mover of the amendment had not attempted to solve at one stroke so many problems—including that of detenus (Laughter).

The amendment was lost.

Earlier, the House, on Mr. *Ramadas Pantulu's* motion, adopted the following two sub-clauses to Clause 36 —

"A Provincial Government may, subject to any rates which the Central Government may make empower the Registrar of Co-operative Societies of a province to register co-operative societies for the insurance of cattle or crop or both under the provisions of the Co-operative Societies Act in force in the province.

"A provincial Government may make rules, not inconsistent with the rules made by the Central Government, to govern such societies ; and the provisions of this Act, in so far as they are inconsistent with those rules or regulations shall not apply to such societies."

The *Law Member* moved that the proviso relating to the consent of both Houses to the rules made under the Act be altered as follows :—

"Provided that every rule made under this section (i e. Section 101), shall be laid before both Chambers of the Central Legislature as soon as it is made ; and if, within one month from the latter date whereon the rule has so been laid, both Chambers agree that the rule should not be made, the rules shall thereafter have effect only in such a modified form, or shall be of no effect as the case may be."

Sir *N. N. Sircar* explained that the proviso as it now stood would have the effect of preventing any rules coming into operation unless they had been laid

before both Houses, but the two Houses might not be sitting at the time the Act came into force and there might, therefore, be an interval without any rules. As the rules would have to be changed promptly it would not be desirable that there should be any delay. The change proposed by his amendment was that the rules would come into operation but, nevertheless, the Houses would not lose their power of modifying them under the proviso, as passed in the Assembly.

He emphasized that there was no intention of taking away this power.

Mr. Hossain Imam asked what would happen if both Houses did not agree.

Sir N. N. Sircar "What did you think would happen ?

The Law Member's amenndment was adopted.

The House agreed to the following new clauses :—"The market value on the day of deposit of securities deposited, in pursuance of any of the provision of this Act, with the Reverve Bank of India, shall be determined by the Reserve Bank of India, whose decision shall be final."

The House agreed to the Law Member's motion, altering Clause 35 as follows :—

No person shall, after the expiry of six months from the commencement of this Act, pay or contract to pay any remuneration or reward, whether by way of commission or otherwise, for soliciting or procuring insurance business in India, to any person, except an insurance agent licensed under Section 42 (originally 73), or person acting on behalf of an insurer who, for purposes of insurance business, employs licensed insurance agents. No insurance agent licensed under Section 42 shall be paid or contract to be paid, by way of commision or as remuneration in form an amount exceeding, in the case of life insurance business, 40 per cent of the first year's premium payable on any policy or policies effected through him and five per cent of renewal premium, or, in the case of business of any other class, 15 per cent of premium ; provided that the insurers in respect of life insurance bnsiness only may pay, during the first 10 years of their business, to their insurance agents 55 per cent of the first year's premium, payable on any policy or policies effected through them and six per cent of renewal premiums Nothing in this section shall prevent payment under any contract existing prior to January 27, 1937, of gratuities or renewal commission to an insurance agent or to his representatives after his decease in respect of insurance business effected through him before the said date.

The Law Member explained that the object of the alterations was to widen the scope to others, besides the insurer or chief agents, covered by the clause as it emerged from the Assembly. The clause in its new form also embodied the change in percentage commission from 45 to 40.

The House disposed of the remaining clauses and schedules and adjourned.

Adj. Motions Ruled Out

The President (Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy) ruled out the adjournment motion given notice of by Mr. P. N. Sapru to discuss the reported appointment of Mr. Salt as the entomologist of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

The President inquired when the appointment was made.

Mr. Sapru replied that he had read about it in the newspaper that morning.

The President remarked that it would be a dangerous precedent to allow adjournment motions on information obtained only from newspapers without official confirmation.

Sir Jagdish Prasad, Leader of the House, stated that he did not know anything about the appointment and he only heard about it from Mr. Sapru himself.

The President held the motion out of order as it was based on newspaper reports and as the Leader of the House had denied any knowledge of the appointment.

Pandit H. Kunzru pointed out that if members were debarred from moving adjournment motions on information obtained from newspapers, they would find it impossible to exercise the right of moving adjournment motions. Newpapers were fer them almost the only source of information on very important matters, and, if they waited till official confirmation was available, then it might be too late for an adjournment motion. If the accuracy of the information was denied, then the motion would naturally fall through.

The President observed that he had ruled out the motion not only on the ground that it was based on newspaper informations but because the Leader of the House did not know anything about the appointment.

Pandit Kunzru urged that the matter might be held in abeyance till the Leader of the House had time to obtain definite information about the appointment.

The President said that he had no power to keep the motion in suspense.

Later in the day Sir Jagdish Prasad made a statement that no such appointment was to be made by the Government of India. Any appointment to be made would be made by the imperial Council of Agricultural Research from its research funds.

He understood that certain proposals had been made but these would have to be placed before the Governing Body of the Imperial Council meeting on December 23. He himself had not seen the proposals but as he had stated they would be placed before the Governing Bo dy and a decision would be taken by that body.

Debate on the Insurance Bill

25th. NOVEMBER :—The changes made in the Insurance Bill by the Council of State during their special session, which concluded to-day after eight sittings, were of great importance to the insurance world in India. The Bill as amended, passed its third reading in the Upper House to day. It will be placed before the Legislative Assembly in February next.

Three persons to-day received encomiums for the passage of this comprehensive measure. They were Sir N. N. Sircar, Law Member, Mr. J. Bartley, the Draftsman, and Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, President, who had dealt with several difficult situations with admirable composure. The Law Member was too modest even to acknowledge the compliments showered upon him, while Sir Maneckji, by way of acknowledgment, took the opportunity of impressing Government the necessity of appointing a Joint Select Committee on matters connected with commerce and industry—an observation which the Opposition loudly cheered, especially as the Chair had mentioned that the Council of State had many commercial brains

Sir N. N. Sircar explained at some length the changes of substance that had been effected by the Council. Mr. *Hossain Imam*, however, was of opinion that all that the House had done was to dot the i's and cross the t's Thereupon Mr. *Ramdas Pantalu*, leader of the Congress Party, observed :—"Even if that is so, this House has rendered distinctive service for, as a lawyer, I know how careless drafting has often led to conflicting judgments in the court."

Mr. Pantulu was grateful to the Government for having accommodated the point of view of millions of co-operators, by agreeing to exempt co-operative insurance companies from the Rs 500 minimum limit of policy. He regretted, however, that no limitation had been imposed on the commission payable to chief agents.

There was, he added, a great deal of scope for conflict between the States and British India in matters relating to licensing agents, etc., and he hoped that the Government of India would persuade the States to come into line with British Indian Legislation.

A succinct summary of the important changes made in the Bill by the Council was given by the *Law Member* when at the outest he moved that the third reading of the measure be taken up These changes, he said, would prove that the House had not merely dotted the i's and crossed the t's, as Mr. Hossain Imam had averred, the changes were real, essential and far-reaching.

To begin with, in Clause 2 (8) B the words "Incorporated under the Indian Companies Act of 1913" had been changed by the House to "incorporated under any law for the time being in force in British India." The change in Clause 3(2) (EE) had removed a difficulty which would have been felt if that section had not been made applicable to general insurance, such as fire or motor insurance.

The House had also removed insurers' difficulties by adding standard forms in that sub-section. In Clause 3 A there had been an obvious defect where the sum of Rs. 500 was mentioned. An amendment, moved by the Opposition, had been accepted and the words "exclusive of profit or bonus" had since been added. Then, again, another important change had been made in connexion with section 3A, the amendment moved, with reference to group policies having been accepted.

In regard to Clause 6, the changes, no doubt, now nearly cleared the language, but Mr. G. L. Motilal's amendments not only now made the position clear but had removed a difficulty in connexion with the construction and operation of that clause. In the same clause power had been given to the Reserve Bank to make certain

requisitions. This had been taken away and the matter had been left to the insurer. In Clause 9(3) there was inconsistency with Clause 48 about the declaration of dividends. That had been removed by an amendment moved in this House. Then again, there were four or five clauses where the word "British" had been removed from the expression "British India," which made a considerable change in substance.

"For instance" continued the Law Member, "unless this had been done and the amendment accepted, the result would have been that while I, representing an insurance company, could not offer any rebate throughout British India. I could have done so in a neighbonring State.

The speaker next pointed out the change in substance in Clause 27 relating to the remuneration of managing agents. While the total limit of Rs. 2,000 has not been changed the sub-divisions had disappeared, with the result that the Rs. 2,000 might be received, although that represented only commission or salary.

"In the matter of giving rebate, the Law Member wondered if those who talked of dotting i's and crossing t's relaized that a great change has been made and for the better. A similar line of treatment has been accorded to Clause 39, and prevention of employment of unlicensed insurance agents for transacting business had been extended by the House to everybody. Clause 38 had been treated on the same lines. A considerable change for the better was made by the amendment of Clause 102 C. The result of the amendment which has been carried in the House, was to extend the exemption of funds to which the Provident Funds Act of 1925 applied to funds in existence concerning Government servants and prisoners officially recognized by the Government and to provident societies composed of Government servants and of railway servants. On the question of dennition of the dividing principle, the House must realize that there had been a loose end; they had fixed one end but not the other. The improved definition which had been accepted removed that defect.

The view taken on the measnre by the member from the Frontier. Sir *S. Hissamuddin* was that it was a judicious compromise of the principles of fair play and protection to the policy-holder, which would result in the promotion of the qualities of thrift and the insurance habit.

The success of the whole scheme of insurance reform, in the opinion of *Lala Ramsarandas* and *Pandit P. N. Sapru*, lay on the provision of a capable and impartial person as Superintendent of Insurance; and for the post they reiterated the need for the appointment of an Indian.

"European business interests regard the Bill favourably," was the assurance given by Mr. *J. Reid Kay* who, however, wished that it had been less mandatory in character. He was aware that under the operation of this Bill there would be keener competition but business, he said, thrived on competition. He hoped that the Bill would be the foundation for better relations and a general standing together of insurers, determined to give it fair play and to foster the insurance habit among the peoples of India.

Sir *N. N. Sircar*, replying to the debate, referred to the suggestion in regard to Indian States falling into line with the Bill, and said that it was a matter entirely for the States themselves. He referred to the strong objection to the scheme for giving the Superintendent power to judge the qualifications of insurance agents and said that the matter would be given due attention. The House then adopted the motion.

Indian Mines Act Amend Bill.

The Council also passed the Indian Mines Act (Amendment) Bill, as passed by the Assembly, designed principally to make permanent certain powers given to the chief inspector, or inspectors, to issue orders applicable to individual mines where danger is apprehended. The President then adjourned the House *sine die*.

Proceedings of

The Legislative Assembly

July—December 1937

The Indian Legislative Assembly

Autumn Session—Simla—23rd. August to 7th. October 1937

Adjourned Motions Disallowed

There was a full attendance of members when the autumn session of the Assembly opened on the **23rd. August 1937** at Simla with Sir *Abdur Rahim* in the Chair.

The *President* took up the adjournment motions and said that the Governor-General had disallowed the motion regarding the banning of the Kottapatam school on the ground that it did not relate to matter concerning the Central Government, the motion regarding Palestine as it was not primarily the concern of the Governor-General-in-Council, the motion regarding the tribes in the N W F. P on the ground that it could not be moved without detriment to public interests and the motion regarding the alleged aspersions cast by Sir Mahomed Zafrullah on the ground that it could not be removed without detriment to public interests.

Official Bills Introduced

Sir *N N Sircar* then introduced a bill further to amend the Indian Companies Act 1913 in order to remove certain inaccuracies and correct certain errors which crept in the Acts in course of the recent extensive amendment of the Act Sir *Thomas Stewart* introduced a bill to provide for continuance in force of certain rules and regulations Mr *R. F Mudie* introduced a Bill to empower the Federal Court to make rules regulating service processes issued by the Court. Sir *Thomas Stewart* introduced a Bill to extend the Petroleum Act, 1934 to Berar. Sir *Sultan Ahmed* introduced a Bill further to amend the Indian Railways Act in order to remedy an omission in the Indian Railways Act Mr *M S A Hydari* introduced a Bill to regulate the import of drugs and medicines into British India Sir *Thomas Stewart* introduced a Bill further to amend Workmen's Compensation Act 1923 and Mr. *R. F. Mudie* a Bill further to amend the Indian Naturalisation Act, 1926.

Amendment of Legislative Rules

After lunch the House held an interesting discussion in relation to the privilege of the House on a resolution moved by the leader of the House to amend legislative rules. The resolution provided that where the President had given consent to the moving of a motion for the purpose of discussing the question of privilege, the Governor-General-in-Council shall, unless the motion was prohibited under existing rules or disallowed by the Governor-General as soon as may be, allot for discussion of such motion so much time on a day or days not allotted for business of non-official members as may appear to him to be sufficient and such motion shall be open to discussion within the time as allotted, but at no other time The resolution further stated that the motion for the purpose of discussing a question of privilege may be moved with the consent of the President

After Sir *N N. Sircar* had made a brief speech moving the above resolution Sardar *Sant Singh* moved an amendment that when the President had given his consent to the moving of the motion for the purpose of discussing the question of privilege, such a motion shall have precedence over the day's business on which such a motion would be moved. He held that the matter of privilege was purely a domestic affair of the House and the Governor-General should have absolutely no concern with that. The amendment was supported by Mr Lalchand Navalrai, Mr K Sanatanam, Mr Abdul Qaiyum Kazmi, Mr Ananthasayanam, Sir Mohd Yakub, Mr Azhar Ali, Mr Bhulabhai Desai and Mr. Sri Prakasa. It was argued that the House itself was responsible for its discipline and there was no room for interference by the Governor-General

More extremist members maintained that the position of the House was mockery and futile and it would be better to let things be allowed to stand as they were until more radical changes were brought out. Mr. *Desai* urged that even

under very restricted and limited privilege of the House under the Government of India Act, it was reasonable to expect that the question of privilege should predominate over any other questions.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* said that there was no basis for the suspicion of the opposition members that the Government's move was a machiavallian design to encroach on the existing rights of the members. Sir *N. N. Sircar* added that the analogy of Parliament was inapplicable here. In Parliament the Government was the majority party and the Government often formed the minority. If any discussion of the question of privilege was raised in Parliament the Government in power was always in a position to bring the closure But in the Assembly they were in a peculiar position if such a matter was discussed for days or the Government could not bring the closure, because they were not in the majority. The Law Member had not concluded his speech when the clock struck four when Mr. Satyamurti moved his adjournment motion on Zanzibar.

Adj. Motion on Zanzibar Legislation

Moving the adjournment of the House Mr. *Satyamurti* strongly criticised the Government of India's efforts regarding the Zanzibar legislation and declared that the Government did not safeguard the interests of Indians there Mr. Satyamurti quoted Mr K. P. S. Menon's report which declared that the clove growers' decree was calculated to do irretrievable damage to Indian interests and urged for strongest possible representations by the Government of India with the object of removing the bills from the statute book. Concessions now given were illusory and Indian representation would be unable to influence decisions In this connection Mr. Satyamurthi urged the appointment of an Indian Agent wherever considerable Indian interests existed

Mr. *M. S A Hydari*, Secretary, Education, Health and Lands Department, declared that the idea that an agreement had been reached between the Governments of India and Zanzibar was incorrect. The idea that the Government of India was committed irrevocably for all time to the acceptance of clove legislation was equally incorrect. When the Government of India found that the Zanzibar Government was not prepared to give way on the question of the method of solving the agricultural and economic problems, the Government of India urged that the Zanzibar Government should take care that the Indian middleman trader should not be put out of business.

The closure was accepted and the motion was rejected by 66 votes to 52.

Amend. of Legislative Rules (Contd.)

24th AUGUST :—Discussion was resumed of Mr. *Sant Singh's* amendment to the Law Member's resolution moved yesterday The *Law Member*, continuing his unfinished speech and opposing the amendment, reiterated that the acceptance of the amendment would result in the business of the House being held up

Mr. *Satyamurti*, supporting the amendment, declared that without the amendment the resolution would amount to an expression of want of confidence in the Chair It would be putting the Governor-General over the head of the President Supposing the Members of the Government made contemptuous remarks against the House in speech or conversation outside the House and supposing the Chair and the House held that the discussion of such remarks was a matter of privilege, was it to be within the Governor-General's power to disallow such a discussion ?

Mr *Sant Singh's* amendment was carried Another amendment to omit para 3 was also carried. Thereafter, the resolution, as amended, was adopted.

Trade Disputes Act

Sir *Thomas Stewart* next moved reference of the Bill further to amend the Trade Disputes Act to a Select Committee. Sir Thomas Stewart referred to the volume of opinion which had resulted from circulation and said that the new clause eight, giving the Governor-General in Council power to declare any strike or lockout illegal, had attracted most attention. He admitted that the draft was capable of improvement.

Prof. Ranga thought that the Bill sought to deprive the workers of their inalienable right to strike. What was the use of the conciliation board when its decisions were not binding on the parties at dispute, he asked. If industrial peace were to be enforced the right course for the Government would be the establishment of a joint conciliation machinery, as suggested by the Whitley Commission or

the appointment of Trade Boards as existing in England and Australia, on which employers and employees were represented He instanced the prompt settlement of disputes in U P., and Madras by Congress Ministries who had obliged employers to recognise trade unions

Mr. *Gadgil* pointed out that the Bombay Government had not taken kindly to the provisions, as drafted in the Bill and asked why the Government of India rejected their suggestions and took the cue from the Bombay Millowners and industrialists. He feared that if the Bill was passed the power of workers would be crushed and Government's object in securing industrial peace would not also be achieved.

Mr. *P. J. Griffiths* who recently resigned from the Civil Service and joined tea interests, making his first non-official speech in the House, said that the European group were constrained to oppose the Government measure as they believed that its provisions were fundamenally dangerous The Government should not be armed with powers except in great emergency and at present no such emergency arose. Firstly, the Bill proposed to empower the Government to declare strike temporarily illegal; secondly, it proposed that when a strike or lockout had been declared illegal steps would be taken to have the claims of parties investigated and thirdly, a vague sort of conciliation machinery was sought to be set up through appointing conciliation officers The European group were radically opposed to the first two principles and as regards the third they were sympathetic but believed that the objective could not be implemented through the Bill as proposed He strongly objected to the transfer of power to the executive from courts of enquiry

Mr. *N M Joshi* stood for industrial peace for all time but, he said, provisions of the Bill fell far short of the requirement in some respects and went much further in some others. He was for Government's intervention with a view to settling industrial disputes and it was not difficult to make provision so as to enable the Government to interfere before actually a strike took place

AMEND. OF LEG. RULES—ADJ. MOTION

Moving his adjournment motion to consider amendments to Legislative Rules, Mr. *Satyamurti* declared that the Government deserved censure because the new rules were made without consulting the House, were not urgent and were superfluous because there were ample powers already vested in the Governor-General to cover practically all classes of cases covered by the new rules The new rules were in themselves objectionable as they took away the powers enjoyed by members. Sir *N N Sircar* denied that the new rules constituted an encroachment to the rights of members In fact, where old rules put an absolute bar to raising certain questions, the new rules gave conditional permission to raise these questions if they were not disallowed by the Governor-General. That, he asserted, was really an enlargement of members' rights Mr *Bhulabhai Desai* contended that the Government in framing the new rules had really used powers under section 38 of the New Act which had not yet come in force. The new rules were copies of phrases, such as excluded areas, while, in fact, excluded areas had not yet come into existence

The House passed the adjournment motion without division and adjourned

[ANDAMANS PRISONERS' HUNGER-STRIKE*

25th. AUGUST —Seven more adjournment motions, were disposed of in the Assembly to-day. By 62 against 55 votes the Congress Party carried their adjournment motion regarding the Andamans hunger strike. Mr. Jinnah and his

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*The following communique was issued by the Government of India :—Since it is clear that misapprehensions have arisen as regards the position of the Government of India in regard to the demands for repatriation of the prisoners in the Andamans, consequent on the discussion in the Legislative Assembly on August 25, the Government of India think it well to make clear beyond question their attitude in this matter. It is as follows .—

Any order for repatriation would have to be issued, as already publicly explained, by the Government of India as being the Government administering the Andamans. The Government of India have already made it clear that, for reasons they have publicly stated, so far as they are concerned, they are not prepared to give any consideration to the demands put forward by the prisoners, or by other persons on their behalf, so long as the hunger-strike continues.

followers voted with the Congress. On the closure motion which was carried by 58 against 55 votes, Mr *Jinnah* and some members of his party remained neutral.

Mr *Bhulabhai Desai*, Mr. *Satyamurthi* and Mr *Mohanlal Saxena*, after conclusion of the Assembly debate on the Andamans hunger-strike, sent the following cablegram to the Andamans hunger-strikers through the Home Department, Government of India.—

"The Central Legislature has passed a vote in favour of your repatriation. Please give up hunger-strike".

In reply to Mr. Jinnah's enquiry if the Government of India would immediately consider about the repatriation of hunger-strikers in the Andamans while speaking on Mr. Satyamurthi's adjournment motion, Mr. Mudie stated that the Government of India would not stand in the way of Bengal Government if they wanted repatriation.

Two adjournment motions regarding the military operations in the Frontier by Mr. Satyamurthi and Mr. Saxena were disallowed by the Governor-General.

Mr. Saxena's motion regarding Zanzibar Indians were barred by previous discussion while motions about the Mudie Report on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway strike and appointment of the Deputy Secretary in the Assembly were not moved to-day.

Mr. *Satyamurthi*, moving his adjournment motion regarding the Andamans, appealed to the House to send its voice to the hunger-strikers urging them to give up the strike on the strength of the vote of censure on Government and on the strength of assurance that they would soon be free Men did not resort to hunger-strike and stake their life in a light-hearted manner The demand for repatriation of prisoners to their provinces had been made years ago and Government could not say that they had been taken by surprise. The Viceroy in reply to Mr. Saxena had given evidence of the human touch but it was not human enough Would it be an illusory gain, as the Viceroy stated, if more than two hundred lives were saved? The Viceroy had then declared if Government yielded, hunger-strike might be resorted to by others for any objective. Mr. Satyamurthi's reply was that life was greater than logic. Many prisoners of yesterday were Prime Ministers of to-day. He declared there was a real change of heart in these men in the Andamans and elsewhere, thanks to the great force in India, which Government might recognise, working for peace and non-violence, namely, Mahatma Gandhi (cheers) Referring to the legal position, Mr. Satyamurthi asked what was the authority under which Government of India kept these prisoners? Law and order, it was said, had been transferred to Provinces and how then were the Central Government trying to act as jailors for Provinces? Sir Henry Craik had described the Andamans as a paradise, while Raizada Hansraj called it a hell Mr Satyamurthi asked the Government not to send prisoners either to paradise or to hell, but keep them in their own Provinces, be they heaven or hell. If casualties should occur, as a result of hunger-strike, no legal doctrine or quibbling would help Government or absolve them of responsibility.

Mr. *S. N. Roy*, Joint Secretary, Industries Department, emphasised that because the subject had roused emotions and sympathies of a large section of the House, it, as a responsible House, should look at the matter from a dispassionate standpoint. He was speaking not as a representative of the Department with which he had severed connection sometime ago, but because the motion affected Bengal (oh, oh) and the eighty per cent of the prisoners belonged to Bengal. He strongly refuted the suggestion that Bengal or Central Government had been vindictive in their treatment of these prisoners. It was not till a year and a half had passed after the Chittagong Raid of 1930, that the local Government had decided to send prisoners to the Andamans. Their hands had been forced by the experience of eighteen months during which it was found that they were communicating with terrorists outside and refused to submit to any kind of discipline, because they found the press and a section of opinion outside sympathised with them This was having a very bad effect on jail discipline When the Central Government was approached by the Bengal Government the Central Government made two conditions, namely, that no prisoner who had not been convicted to sentence of more than five years would be sent and before so sending them they should be medically examined. That surely did not show the vindictive spirit Regarding the change of heart, Mr. Roy declared that he was not satisfied that this had really occurred. The continuance of hunger-strike, even after appeals to give it up had been made to prisoners by many leaders and organisations, including the Working Committee of

the Congress was an indication in support of his contention The Central Government must accept the vote of the Bengal Assembly, as indicating the wishes of the people On two occasions motions for repatriation had been defeated by large majorities. Mr. Roy concluded by declaring that this was not a matter which should be decided by means of adjournment motions He urged the members from Bengal to look back at the years of anarchy through which Bengal had passed. It was not right to force the hands of Ministers who were trying to carry on the administration as well as they could.

Mr *Bhulabhai Desai* condemned the Government attitude of praising their own officers. Referring to the hunger-strikers he said that if they died it was matter of no consequence to Government If that was the way by which Government tried to discourage or persuade men not to resort to hunger-strike, they were quite mistaken Mr Desai said the matter had passed the stage of ordinary insistence on discipline, but they should view the matter with sympathy and broad-mindedness Already the Governments of Madras, Bihar and U. P. demanded repatriation of prisoners of their Provinces It had been often told by men like Sir Mohd. Yakub that they would be watching what the Congress Provinces would be doing with respect to law and order and Mr Desai asked whether they would give the Congress Governments the same co-operation which they asked for themselves The Andamans since 1929 had been condemned as unfit for prisoners Mr Jinnah said that the issue before the House was not the analysis of what method they adopted in pursuance of their objective. None in the country to whichever quarter he belonged approved of hunger-strike. They for long were convinced that the Andamans was unsuitable for such prisoners and that they should be repatriated This was the simple issue before them and they were not asking Government to repatriate the hunger-strikers because of the threat of hunger-strike, but in defence of the popular demand that the Andamans was unsuitable for them The object of the motion was not that the motion was not to censure Government The object was not that the motion should be carried by a majority. The object was to get a clear statement from Government as to what they were going to do and should give immediate consideration to repatriation The House at this stage adjourned.

THE FEDERAL COURT BILL

26th AUGUST —The Assembly resumed consideration of the Bill empowering the Federal Court to make rules for regulating the service of processes issued by the Court Mr *Sri Prakasa* opposed the bill on the ground that, since the Congress had rejected the whole of the Federal structure, the acceptance of the Bill would mean reversing that decision Mr *Satyamurti* said that if the Bill was passed by the House it should not mean that they had lent support to the Federation in any form (Applause from Government benches) The Federation would not go by omitting the Federal Court which had to decide the disputes between the already constituted provinces Mr *Sant Singh* said that it was difficult to understand how this Bill was connected with the Federation The Federal Court was already in existence and would start functioning in October

The motion for consideration as well as the second reading were thereupon passed. During the third reading Mr *Sri Prakasa* vehemently opposed the Bill Without further discussion the Federal Court Bill was passed

NATURALISATION ACT AMEND BILL

Mr *R. F Mudie* moved that the Bill amending the Indian Naturalisation Act, 1926, be taken up for consideration The Bill is designed to provide naturalisation of subjects of European powers who did not have their domicile of origin in Europe It particularly wanted to grant naturalisation certificate to people like the Goanese settled in Bombay.

Mr. *B Das* moved an amendment to the effect that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion by December 31 next He said that he was not opposed to naturalisation of Asiatics who wanted to make India their home, but he suspected that naturalisation of people like the Goanese would go against the interests of the Indian Christians. He also suspected a nefarious design behind the Bill.

Mr. *Satyamurthi* developed this viewpoint further and referred to the British Act which gave power to every other dominion except India to frame its own naturalisation laws. He referred to the denial of franchise to Indians in South Africa and asked why a South African who under the British Act became a British citizen should *ipso facto* become a citizen of India also Mr. Satyamurthi also

urged that the power to grant or revoke the certificate of naturalisation should not be given absolutely to the province and stated that in view of the forces at work to prevent the rise of a strong self-governing and self-respecting nation this power should be exercised by the Central Government consistent with provincial autonomy.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* pointed out that the Bill, innocent as it might appear, raised a question of national importance which might be passed by unless the implications were understood. If in the English Act the rights of citizenship in the dominions were left to be created by the Dominions themselves, why should India be treated differently It was the duty of the Government to insist that the Indian citizenship should be put on the same footing as citizenship of other self-governing parts of the Empire. The time might come when certain nationals might want to become Indian citizens without at the same time being obliged to become British citizen Why should such persons be debarred He therefore urged the Government to withdraw the Bill and take advantage of the occasion to press for inclusion of India among the dominions empowered under the British Act to make her own naturalisation laws The Government of India would thereby be respecting themselves.

Mr *R. F. Mudie* replying observed that after hearing the debate he had come to the conclusion that little reflection would not be a bad thing for some members of the House He therefore proposed to agree to circulation If, however, objection to the Bill was aimed at preventing the Government of India from naturalising Europeans, he would point out that there was no such prohibition. As regards Mr. Satyamurthi's suggestion regarding the power to grant certificate of naturalisation, Mr. Mudie explained that under the new Government of India Act the power in fact rested with the Government of India.

The House adopted Mr. B Das's motion for circulation and adjourned.

Wedgwood Report Discussion

27th. AUGUST —After questions to-day Sir *Sultan Ahmed* moved, without a speech, that the report of the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee be taken up for consideration.

Mr *Satyamurthi* opened the debate on behalf of the Opposition and declared that the Wedgwood Committee in many instances strayed far beyond the terms of reference and made recommendations for which they could not have sufficient evidence. The Committee had been asked to make suggestions for retrenchment in expenditure in every direction He made caustic comment on the proposal to import men from abroad in order to fill a number of new posts such as commercial manager, press liason officer and statistical officer. It looked to him that the Committee actually had in their pockets the names for these posts.

Mr *F. E James*, on behalf of the European group, protested against the Public Accounts Committee sitting in judgment over the Wedgwood Report, though they had certain amount of sympathy with certain points raised by it. Mr. James moved an amendment which recommended that the Wedgwood Report's recommendations concerning economic administration, statistics, improved railway facilities and public relations be generally adopted. The recommendations concerning staff, discipline and training be adopted without delay. The recommendations concerning amalgamation of railways be adopted in general, subject to modification that contracts of company-managed railways be dealt with as such contracts expire. Finally the amendment recommended that the recommendations concerning financial outlook and Federal railway authority be considered by the Assembly.

Dr *Ziauddin Ahmed* strongly objected to the Committee's recommendation that the Federal Railway authority should be empowered to borrow on the same footing as provincial governments.

Mr *Joshi* said that the verdict of the Wedgwood Report was that the Indian railways had been mis-managed by the authorities. The speaker said that it was a shame that the highly paid staff which continued making such mistakes were kept in the service, while 132,000 workers had been retrenched within a short period. The Wedgwood Report showed how first class passengers got too many advantages and third class passengers got too few in comparison with what they paid. This was a clear case of corruption.

Sir *Mahomed Yakub* vehemently condemned the proposal to have part time members of the Federal Authority leaving the Chief Commissioner in sole control in which even the Viceroy could have no voice, also the proposal to locate headquarters of the authority in Calcutta. Wholeheartedly supporting Mr. Satyamurthi's

amendment Sir Mahomed Yakub emphasised that there was no dearth of capable Indians to man every department of activity.

Sir Sultan Ahmed replied to the various criticisms levelled against the Report in a conciliatory spirit. He announced that,

(1) The Government agree with the Railway Enquiry Committee recommendation for appointment of a commercial manager on all railways but they are definitely of opinion that the necessity of importing people from outside for this purpose does not exist at all. The object in view can be fulfilled by appointing suitable recruits from India.

(2) With regard to the appointment of a Press liason officer with adequate staff for the Railway information office, the Government are again fully satisfied that many young enterprising Indian journalists fully capable of organising an office of this kind can easily be found.

(3) As regards the statistical officer recommended by the Committee the Government should try to secure one in India but if anyone has to be imported from outside it would purely be temporary.

(4) With regard to the Committee's recommendation about depreciation and reserve funds, Sir Sultan said that whatever may be the final decision of the Government in regard to the final disposal of any railway surpluses, amounts payable to the provinces under the Niemeyer Award will be fully met and pledges under it strictly honoured

The House then adjourned till the 30th. August.

THE INSURANCE BILL

30th. AUGUST —After questions, Sir *N. N. Sircar*, Law Member, moved consideration of the Select Committee's report on the Insurance Bill. In the course of a lengthy speech he referred to the interest which the Insurance Bill had aroused, leading to over a hundred representatives of various interests staying at Simla for quite a long time After referring to conflicting views of the different sections, he drew attention of the House to the statement of Messrs Essak and Ghiasuddin in their note of dissent, viz, "We consider it undesirable to push out foreign concerns on the one hand and kill out the smaller Indian concerns on the other and thus provide a sort of monopoly for a few larger Indian companies in the field of insurance" The Law Member stated that this correctly represented the impression left on his mind as regards the activities of influential and clamorous section The Law Member assured the House that he had always kept in the forefront the interest of Indian business and that he had in dealing with the foreign insurers gone to the farthest possible limits permissible under the Government of India Act If he was unable to accept the proposal for compulsory insurance by foreign companies to the extent of ten per cent, in connection with insurance other than life insurance, it was due to his conviction that what the Select Committee had done was not only unworkable, but in fact, having regard to the provisions in the Government of India Act relating to commercial discrimination, this ten per cent of re-insurance could be placed with U K Companies. What the Select Committee had done would help U K Companies. and not Indian business On the matter of keeping assets in India by all insurers, he pointed out that what the Select Committee had done would hamper Indian companies far more than foreign companies and, while accepting the principle, he would move amendments for easing the situation The Law Member pointed out that possibly it was fully realised that discrimination against the U. K was not permissible under the law The Select Committee had divided insurers into three classes viz., Indian, non-Indian and U. K. insurers but, having done that, the Select Committee had not used the expression U K insurers in any of the classes With regard to managing agents, the Law Member said that he could not accept the period of ten years approved of by the majority of the Select Committee. He would try to reduce the period to one not exceeding three years In prescribing ten years with restrictions the Select Committee had confined it to life insurance business only, but there was no reason why other kinds of insurance should be differently treated. The Law Member realised that this might not be an easy task. The European group would probably oppose him, but if they do so they would be quite consistent in their attitude. He had, however, reasons to believe that some who were very bitter against managing agents during the passage of the Companies Bill had now developed tenderness for Managing Agents. Men like Sir Purshottamdas

Thakurdas, who had been strong protagonists of managing agents for manufacturing concerns, were equally emphatic about managing agents not being necessary in connection with banking and insurance. This House had unhesitatingly accepted this view in connection with banking companies and now they would have to consider the case of insurance companies. The question of putting a limit on maximum commission payable to agents, the Law Member recognised, had given rise to serious conflict of opinion, but he was not prepared to say that, if no limit is fixed, the provision against payment of rebate would be futile He would support the decisions of the Select Committee in the matters of licensing, rebate and non-fixing of maximum commission The Law Member said that his idea of allowing representation to policy holders and of preventing insurance companies from challenging the validity of policies after the lapse of a certain period of time had been accepted by the Select Committee. The latter provision was a drastic change of law introduced for saving policy-holders from embarrassment While no provision had been made on that behalf by the Select Committee, the Law Member thought it desirable that prosecutions should not be launched without the sanction of some responsible authority The Law Member pointed out that the Bill gave complete power of retaliation to India against foreign countries and that the numerous advantages enjoyed by foreign companies under the old law had all been taken away. He referred also to some of the changes introduced in connection with Provident Societies. He recognised that in some quarters it had been said that increased deposits, keeping of detailed accounts, maintenance of assets, powers of inspection and investigation given to the superintendent had made the law too strict, and unnecessarily severe, but he disagreed with this view and maintained that the provisions in the Bill would remove most of the abuses which prevailed in insurance business and would lead to a healthy development of insurance business in which India would have an increasingly large share.

31st AUGUST.—Dr. *Ziauddin Ahmed* thought that the old Bill was better than one that had emerged from the Select Committee, members of which had been so lavishly feted and entertained that they had no time for independent thinking. He defined insurance as a form of gambling, though it was not included in the definition of the Gambling Act. He strongly advocated nationalisation of insurance and said that provincial Governments, who were finding it difficult to undertake nation-building work, would have in this a new source of income As a beginning he urged that post office insurance should be extended.

Mr. *N. M Joshi* further developed the case for complete State-control of insurance and contended that full protection could not be obtained for policy-holders until the whole business was nationalised. He urged that provisions of the Bill should not be applied to insurance business carried on by some trade unions for the benefit of their members.

The *Law Member* interrupting expressed agreement with the suggestion

Bhai Parmanand strongly pleaded the cause of young companies and asked why the law should be sought to be changed in such a way as to make the existence of these companies impossible He feared that the provisions of the Bill were so as to make it impossible for Indian enterprise to start new ventures in some provinces.

Mr. *Sushil Sen*, Government expert, said that the primary necessity of any ideal insurance company was sufficient financial backing from which claims could be promptly met. The existing law was defective by which companies could be floated with insufficient capital. It was incumbent on them in the interest of policy-holders that the system which permitted insurance companies being started with deplorable funds should be done away with At present there were more than 30 such companies hopelessly in default and the Government had not interfered because of the humanitarian reasons that the winding up of insurance companies would mean hundreds and thousands of policy-holders being deprived of their lives' saving Nevertheless, the Government felt compelled to interfere in the case of two companies namely, Angels of Delhi and the Great Indian of Calcutta, resulting in ruining of thousands of policy-holders Referring to the provision making compulsory investment in British India equal to liabilities to policy-holders, the speaker opined that this was an essential element in the Bill. Mr. Sen appealed to the Congress not to do anything which might endanger the Bill, and to the European group he said that

as far as United Kingdom Companies were concerned the Bill treated them as Indian Companies as required within the Government of India Act.

Mr. *Zafar Ali Khan* took up the cause of insurance employees for whom he wished that something was done in the Bill to protect their interests by providing them with provident funds, leave rules and bonuses in times of prosperity. He also pleaded the cause of smaller insurance companies from whom, he said, the Government should be content to accept Rs. 25,000 deposits.

Dr. *Banerjea* said that though the insurance business had been conducted with a fair amount of ability and efficiency there was need for this Bill, it was necessary for removing the defects of the present law and mainly for promoting the interests of Indian Insurance Companies. It was their duty to protect the interests of policy-holders and to encourage indigenous enterprises.

1st SEPTEMBER :—Dr. *P. N. Banerjea*, continuing his speech on the Insurance Bill to-day, urged that the powers of the Superintendent should not exceed what was absolutely necessary to carry out his duties The Speaker preferred the appointment of a board composed of representatives of the different interests concerned, a Government officer being an ex-officio member This Board should help and advise the Superintendent. The first object of legislation of this kind should be to safeguard the interests of policy holders, but consistently with this the next object should be to encourage the indigenous enterprise and help in particular the small insurers who needed help most.

Mr. *Mathuradas Vissanji* wanted to know if the underwriters, who undertook insurance of small craftsiplying in coastal waters, were intended to be brought within the scope of the Bill

The *Law Member* replied in the affirmative

Mr. *Vissanji* argued that that would be a great hardship on them, particularly the provision relating to deposits and working capital.

The *Law Member* interrupting again stated that according to a representation received from this class of insurers, it was clear that they were doing as much as one crore of rupees business. The Bill therefore was unlikely to cause hardship in their case.

Mr *Vissanji* thought the provision of allowing seven years for life companies against two given to general companies for completing the deposit was bound to cause hardship to general companies, which were few in number.

Sardar Sant Singh objected to the definition of Indian insurance companies, which he thought was calculated to give little protection to Indian companies competing with British concerns He wanted the definition to be redrafted. The speaker advocated certain percentage of insurance companies funds being utilised for industries in India and urged protection of employees of insurance companies.

The House at this stage adjourned.

COASTAL TRAFFIC CONTROL BILL

2nd SEPTEMBER .– The Assembly resumed to-day the debate on Sir *Abdul Halim Ghuznavi's* Bill to control coastal traffic in India Sir Halim continued his speech on his motion made at the last session seeking to refer the Bill to a Select Committee. He said that the circulation of the Bill had shown that every interest (except British) and the entire Press in India supported it. It was curious that some Britishers confronted him with the question as to whether he had turned a Congressman, believing that non-Congressmen could not do anything to support the cause of Indian trade and commerce They were taking a peculiar attitude. After killing Indian shipping and usurping the field for themselves, they argued the existence of their vested interests. Indian and British shipping was treated on the same footing for the sake of the Bill. Discrimination was not possible owing to its prohibition by the Government of India Act, 1935, but even then some protection could be given to Indian shipping as was done in the case of cotton, sugar and steel industries Sir Abdul Halim suggested that a conference of shipping companies might be established in India as in Europe and America which would fix rates yearly so as to obviate the changes of a rate war. Indian coastal trade offered a vast field for Indian shipping.

Sir Leslie Hudson thought that the mover's speech contained some facts and some fiction. He declared that it was not British monopolist lines that drove Indian shipping out of the seas or killed the Indian ship-building art, but that it was modern steam-driven ships. He maintained that the bill was not going to lend any

assistance to progress. The fixation of minimum rates, for instance, would only result in preventing the use of the only weapon that Indian as well as non-Indian shipping had against the unfair competition of new companies.

Likening the Bill to the Zanzibar Bills, the speaker declared that the European group had asked the same protection from unfair competition and on the same principle on which the Government of India protected their nationals in Zanzibar.

Mr. *B. Das* was not enthused over the Bill because Sir A. H. Ghuznavi and his friends co-operated with England in the Round Table Conference and gave away all rights of Indian shipping. He wished Sir Leslie had said that after having hitherto had all advantages Britishers would not enter into a gentleman's pact and help Indian shipping.

Sir *Sultan Ahmed* said that he came to oppose the Bill but found it unnecessary because those who had professed to speak in support of it had really made out a case against it. Some said that it was not an ideal Bill, others said it was not a perfect and still others said it was imperfect and practically useless. The Government thought that it was an impossible Bill. Objections to the Bill were, firstly, that there was no immediate necessity for it There was absolutely no apprehension that the B. I. S. N. or other companies would start a rate war Secondly, what was an unfair competition was extremely difficult to decide Thirdly, no machinery had been provided to carry out the provisions of the Bill. If the idea was that a select committee should improve it and make it perfect then he suggested that it was not the work of a select committee. The mover should withdraw the measure and bring a better one that would not have the result of helping Japanese shipping Fourthly, fixing of rate was also a difficult work. He, therefore, opposed the Bill, If it was likely to help Indian shipping, as the preamble claimed, then he would have supported it, but its effect would be entirely different

The House without a division accepted Sir A H. Ghuznavi's motion referring the Bill to a select committee and then adjourned

Reduction in Central Expenditure

3rd. SEPTEMBER.—The Assembly took up non-official resolutions to-day

Sardar Sant Singh moved a resolution recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council to take immediate steps to effect all possible economies in the central expenditure, particularly the army expenditure with a view to making ample contributions to provincial Governments, according to their needs to enable them to undertake and accelerate the pace of nation-building activities.

Dr. *Bhagwan Das* supporting quoted some figures of expenditure in the North-west Frontier on defence which, according to present calculation, was about Rs 10 crores a year There have been quartered 42,000 troops in the Frontier Even then there was no tranquility there He strongly advocated the establishment of a militia and a citizen guard of 25,000,000 men which would automatically reduce the expenditure.

Mr. *C. M. G Ogilvie*, Defence Secretary, expressed surprise at Dr. Bhagwan Das's observations. Dr. Bhagwan Das, after recounting the enormous armaments piled up by other Powers and after describing international complications in a way that could not be bettered, had drawn the conclusion that military forces designed to protect one-fifth of the human race should be reduced The Defence Secretary dealt lengthily with retrenchment already carried out to the extent of Rs 23 and half crores since 1921. That, he asserted, was not a small or contemptible reduction. Such reduction was possible because the danger of a major war was regarded remote. But could the figure be reduced further ? He suggested that it could not. Giving his reasons why the country could not face the slightest reduction in the number of British troops in India, Mr. Ogilvie quoted from the resolution passed by the Assembly in 1921 and accepted by the Government, declaring that organisation, equipment and administration of the Indian army should be thoroughly up to date with due regard to Indian conditions in accordance with the present day standards of efficiency in the British army so that when army in India had to co-operate with the British army on any occasion there might be no such dissimilarities of organisation which would render such co-operation difficult Referring to the other suggestion by Mr. Asaf Ali for reduction in the ecclesiastical department, he said that the amount involved was small, approximately Rs. 2.3 lakhs. Then there was the suggestion that if Frontier tribes could manufacture arms of modern precision why not the Government of India Mr Ogilvie asserted that every rifle, every machine-gun and every automatic used in this country was made in the country.

Colonel Parsons, Secretary, External Affairs, dealt with the question of strength of the Army in the North West Frontier. He said that the problem was a vast one, covering a belt of land fifty miles across from the Indo-Afghan border on the west to the administered districts in the east inhabited by uncivilised tribesmen. He appealed to the Congress not to do anything which would bring law and order into contempt. If the Congress did nothing to jeopardise law and order in the Frontier, time might come when reduction of army could be possible. But until that time came there was very little chance of bringing about reduction

Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum* protested against the Government calling tribes men uncivilised. He said that all wars on the frontier were initiated by the Government by creating protected areas in the tribal territory with people living in non-protected areas, and then sending expeditions He declared that there was no danger of peace in the Frontier. The danger was from the Imperial army, which provoked wars.

Mr. *Satyamurthi* said that the Finance Member's speech was mainly remarkable for cheap jokes at the expense of the Opposition. The Finance Member had himself admitted that about Rs 10 crores could be saved by substituting British by Indian troops The speaker asked him to produce those ten crores immediately. As regards the talk of British helping India, Mr. Satyamurthi quoted their admission by eminent Britishers that every fifth man in Britain lived on India. Did the Finance Member honestly believe that Britain was defending India out of benevolence of her heart ?

The resolution being put to vote ended in a victory for the opposition

EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN CADETS

Sir *Mohammed Yakub* next moved a resolution recommending the introduction at a very early date of legislative measures in order to compel British Navigation Companies to take qualified Indian cadets of the Indian Mercantile Marine Training ship "Dufferin" as officers in their ships. Sir Mohammad copiously quoted from the declarations made by the authorities with regard to the employment of the cadets. He urged the Government of India to legislate on the lines recommended by the Indian mercantile Marine Committee The House then adjourned till the 6th

THE INSURANCE BILL DEBATE (CONTD.)

6th SEPTEMBER —The Assembly resumed general discussion on the Insurance Bill to-day Several front-benches including Mr Bhulabhai Desai, Mr Jinnah, Mr Aney, Sir H P Mody, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Mr. Hoseinbhoy Lalji and Dr. Deshmukh participated in the debate

Dr Deshmukh, the first speaker to-day, made four suggestions firstly, that the terms of a life policy should be printed in the vernacular of the province in which the policy-holder lived, secondly, that a photographed copy of the policy-holder's statement should be supplied to the policy-holders by insurance companies, thirdly, that, after the payment of premium for two years, no policy should lapse and, fourthly, that the medical examination by insurance companies should be by qualified medical men who were on the provincial register.

Intervening, Sir *N N. Sircar* said that the Government were prepared to accept the first two suggestions, but opposed the later two The House then adjourned.

7th SEPTEMBER —Replying to the debate to-day Sir *N N Sircar* referred to Sir Leslie Hudson's expression 'fair field and no favour' and enquired if there was any country now which allowed competition between nationals and foreign countries on equal terms Why did the United Kingdom erect high tariff walls against Japanese textiles and Belgian steel ? He recognised that under the provisions of the Government of India Act no discrimination was possible against the United Kingdom and for that reason he opposed as strenuously as possible clause 3A relating to compulsory reinsurance by foreign companies with Indian companies. He was equally opposed to all measures which ran counter to his conviction that United Kingdom companies, by reason of section 113 of the Government of India Act, must be deemed to be Indian Companies. If however, clause 3A were permissible, would not Sir Leslie Hudson agree that 10 per cent reinsurance was very moderate, even humble ? Referring to managing agents, the Law Member said that there was a large number of small companies mostly run by managing agents whose life fund was negative. There was still a larger number whose life fund was less than last year's premium. Where, then, was the much-vaunted financial assistance rendered by managing agents ? Taking big companies, he said that some paid as much as

nineteen lakhs as managing agents' commission in one year, while in the case of one company they would receive five year's profit. In the case of another managing agents started another company mostly with the money of the first and appointed themselves as managing agents. He contented that big Indian companies had no difficulty in competing with foreign companies even in marine and fire business in which few Indian companies were now operating. He was prepared to consider extension to ten years the time for deposits of the existing companies, but would not agree to reduce the deposits or the working capital.

The House then took up detailed consideration of the definition clause of the Insurance Bill. An amendment of *Pandit K. Sanatanam*, that the approved securities should include debenture or other security for the money issued under the Municipal Corporation of any presidency town was accepted, while Dr. P. N. Banerji's suggestion to make it more general and applicable to all Municipal Corporations was rejected.

On the motion of Sir *N. N. Sircar* the House adopted an amendment, which read as follows: "That in sub-clause (10) of clause "A" of the Bill the words "managing agent" and the figure "9 (a)" be omitted and after the said sub-clause the following be added "(10) (a) managing agent means a person, firm or company entitled to the management of the whole affairs of a company by virtue of an agreement with the company and under control and direction of directors except to the extent if any otherwise provided for in the agreement, and includes any person, firm or company occupying such position by whatever name called. (Explanation) If a person occupying the position of Managing Agent calls himself Manager or Managing Director he shall nevertheless be regarded as Managing Agent for purposes of section 27 of this Act."

With regard to the definition of the Superintendent of Insurance, the House adopted Mr. *Sriprakasa's* amendment that he should also be a qualified actuary

In another amendment Mr. *A N. Chattopadhaya* suggested that 'the Superintendent of Insurance should be under the control of the Indian Insurance Council consisting of members nominated by provincial Governors, one from each province, and the Governor-General-in-Council, so long as the Federal Assembly is not established.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* pointed out that the method suggested was very cumbersome and would not be conducive to expeditious work. However, the Government had under consideration the provision of an appellate authority in certain exceptional cases, such as withholding or cancellation of registration of insurance companies. The amendment was rejected.

A lively debate developed on Mr. *George Joseph's* amendment to add the proviso, that "the Superintendent's salary shall in no case exceed Rs. 500 per month". The principle had been accepted and carried out by Congress Ministry in seven provinces. He suggested that the atmosphere, the background and the history of Delhi and Simla might be all against the spirit underlying the principle of Rs. 500

Sir *N. N. Sircar* opposing asked the House to realise that only ten minutes previously it had approved the proposal to have an actuary as Superintendent. There were only six Indian actuaries and he was sure some of them would be be available for Rs. 500, nor even for Rs 1,200 As regards Congress Ministers, the Law Member pointed out that though salaries might be Rs. 500 they had other compensations. They had the power to influence their name appearing in newspapers almost every day (loud laughter).

The amendment was pressed to a division and defeated by 68 votes to 49.

The next amendment was moved by Mr. *S. Satyamurti*. The amendment aimed to exclude from the provisions of this Bill insurance business carried on by Governments of Governors' provinces.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* requested the Chair to allow this amendment to stand over until he had consultation with the leader of the Opposition. This was agreed to.

Mr. *Sriprakasa* next moved an amendment which aimed to give a period of twelve months to small companies in case they wished to amalgamate with big companies for obtaining certificate of insurance from the Supdt. of the Insurance. The amendment was under consideration when the House adjourned.

8th. SEPTEMBER.—The House rejected the amendment of Mr. *Sri Prakasa* to-day.

Mr. *P J Griffiths* moved the deletion of the sub-clause to clause 3 which reads "In the case of an insurer having his principal place of business or domicile outside British India, a statement verified by an affidavit should be made by the principal officer of the insurer setting forth the requirements (if any)not applicable to the nationals of the country in which such insurer is constituted, incorporated or domiciled, which are imposed by the laws or practice of that country upon Indian nationals as a condition of carrying on insurance business in that country."

Sir *N. N. Sircar* also opposed the amendment and said that if, as Mr. Griffiths claimed, a foreigner might not know the laws of his own country it was better that he took a little trouble to earn them instead of running the risk of a penalty in another country

Mr. A. Das also opposed the amendmeat which was negatived.

The House rejected by 91 votes to 47 the joint amendment of Mr *A Ayyangar*, Mr *Santanam* and *Sami Venkatachalam Chetty* to provide that a foreign insurer shall file a declaration that it carries on independent business, issues policies in its own name at its principal place of business or domicile and is not subsidiary to or merged in or amalgamated with any other insurer.

An amendment moved by the same three members, prescribing the registration fee as Rs. 100 for each class of business, was accepted by the Law Member and was passed

The House made good progress after lunch in dealing with the amendments of which over 150 had hitherto been disposed off relating to five clauses of the Bill The House was discussing the sixth clause, when it adjourned.

Considerable discussion arose on *Maulvi Zafarali's* amendment urging reduction of working capital of new Life Insurance Companies from Rs. 50,000 to Rs 25,000. The mover as also Dr Ziauddin Ahmed, Mr A. N. Chattopadhya and Mr. S K. Som pleaded the cause of small companies and pointed out that fixing of smaller capital would help the spread of insurance to the masses in the country.

Mr *Satyamurthi* opposing declared that Rs 50,000 was the absolute minimum which would guarantee the security of policy-holders, particularly the young ones. The amendment was rejected

Dr *Ziauddin Ahmed* moved an amendment with the object of preventing the same insurer doing life well as general insurance business He dwelt lengthily on the danger arising out of big loss on the accident or fire side of the business having an adverse effect on the life side and quoted the example of America, which was giving up the practice of combining life with other forms of insurance

Sir *N N Sircar* pointed out that there was no need to draw such a hard and fast distinction between life accident and fire, and humorously said "supposing I insure the life of a horse, it is both a life and accident insurance" The amendment was rejected.

Earlier the House agreed to the omission of clause 3 (a) requiring non-Indian insurer ten per cent of re-insurance.

MUSLIM INTESTATE PROPERTIES BILL (CONTD)

9th SEPTEMBER —The Assembly to-day resumed consideration of *Sir Mahomed Yakub's* motion referring to a Select Committee his Bill which declares that properties of a Muslim dying intestate and without an heir should devolve upon the Muslim community.

Sir N N Sircar pointed out that the Bill purported to be a return to Muslim law, but, according to the interpretation by Mr Justice Amir Ali, Muslim Law required that the property of Muslim intestates must be treated as part of a charitable trust for the relief of the Muslim poor The Bill did not make any provision for the creation of such a trust If, however, the intention was that such a trust should be created then the Central Legislature did not have the power to deal with it for it was provincial responsibility If, for instance, property of Muslims dying intestate and without an heir consisted of agriculture land then the Central Legislature was definitely debarred from framing any laws to deal with such land.

Sir N. N. Sircar took a concrete instance of a house left, say, in Cawnpore According to the Bill it would become the property of the 70,000,000 Muslims of India. What were they to do with it ? Would there be a partition suit, and during the interval before the suit had been decided, who would pay rate taxes (Laughter). He reiterated that if the proposal was to follow Muslim law in its entirety and create a charitable trust out of an estate of the kind referred by the Bill the House

could not have anything to do with it, but it was quite open to the provinces to adopt it. Sir N. N. Sircar concluded by saying that the Government would, however, remain neutral on this occasion.

When Sir Yakub's motion was put to the House, Mr. *Aney* challenged a division and the motion was carried by 26 votes to 9, Congress, Government and European members remaining neutral.

Moslem Personal Law

Mr. *H M. Abdulla* next moved consideration of the Bill to make provision for application of the Moslem Personal Law (Shariat) to Moslems in British India, as reported by the Select Committee. The object of the Bill is to secure to female heirs a due share of property which by the Muslim Personal Law is theirs, but of which by customary law they are deprived often by their husbands or other male relatives. Mr Abdulla commending the Bill referred to the changes made by the Select Committee as wholesome ones. Further discussion was adjourned

Employment of Indian Cadets (Contd.)

10th SEPTEMBER.—The Assembly resumed the debate on *Sir Mahomed Yakub's* resolution of last Friday regarding the Indian Mercantile Marine Training Ship "Dufferin".

Mr. *K. Santanam* moved an amendment to the effect that the Governor-General-in-Council should take immediate legislative and other measures to ensure employment in an adequate number of qualified Indian cadets of the "Dufferin" as officers in their ships by British shipping companies engaged in coastal and foreign trade of India, and also reserve a majority of the posts of officers in the Royal Indian Navy to such cadets The speaker said that already 30 ex-cadets were waiting to be employed and this year 50 would be added to them number so that in another 10 years there would be 100 boys awaiting employment, while his estimate of the total number of officers on ships engaged in coastal trade was 1,200 or 1 500. The Commerce Member had stated that if it was the desire of the House the Government had no objection The speaker opined that if this happened there would be such a wave of indignation all over the country as to force the hands of the Government to nationalise shipping as railways had been nationalised so that many more cadets would find employment.

Mr. *Avinashilingam Chettiyar* moved the second amendment to the effect that measures should be taken to compel British Navigation Companies and Shipping Companies of other countries enjoying the benefit of Indian trade and contracts with the Government of India to employ the Dufferin cadets Mr Chettiyar asked why the Government had not insisted at the time of giving the mail contracts to the P and O and other companies to take on the Dufferin cadets This showed that even to exert pressure, they have been impotent to exercise it He declared that it was high time the Government took strong steps to see that the cadets formed a nucleus of the Indian mercantile marine and the Indian navy

Mr. *H. Dow*, Secretary, Commerce Department, refuted Sir M. Yakub's statement regarding the figures of employment of cadets and said that instead of 34 being unemployed as Sir Yakub stated there were only two or three unemployed Mr Dow declared that the Government deliberately decided to train more boys than could be expected to find a sea career, firstly, because none knew at the beginning how much attitude middle-class Indian boys had for a sea career and how much wastage should be allowed for. Actually however, wastage had not occurred and Indian boys had turned out to be much what English boys would have been, if taught at the proper age Wastage had not occurred also because of the excellent choice of the Superintendent to whom Mr. Dow paid a tribute Mr Dow admitted falling off in entries for training on the ship but the blame for it was on the shoulders of those who were carrying on a sustained propaganda about widespread unemployment among ex-cadets.

Sir *Sultan Ahmed* declared that most of the agitation on the subject was based on wrong facts of which the mover's speech was full. He gave an assurance that the change in the prospectus did not mean a change of policy. The fact was that only two were unemployed. Of course in employment, the British companies had employed twenty-three, namely, the B I S N. sixteen, Asiatic Steam Navigation five and the Moghul Line two, while Indian companies employed forty-three, of which Scindia had forty. As a result of efforts made by the department, the B.I.S.N. had now agreed to increase the number and annually to take in form five to eight,

while as regards the P. and O, who had hitherto taken none has now agreed to take four.

Mr *Bhulabhai Desai* declared that the demand contained in the resolution could not be resisted It was not intended to be a censure motion, but merely drew attention to the obvious duty of the Government. Section 15 of the Government of India Act afforded complete protection to the United Kingdom shipping from discriminatory legislation, but did not prevent the Government giving effect to as many measures as they reasonably thought fit. The question was not whether these cadets had found employment The question was what the Government had done to get employment for them How have they used their rights and powers as the high contracting party with the British Shipping Companies ? The mere promise to take four cadets for all eternity was not certainly to the Government's credits.

Mr. *M S Aney* expressed satisfaction that the Commerce Member had succeeded in removing some misapprehensions, but one thing the speaker could not understand and that was this, that the Government carried out negotiations without a prominent member of the governing body, meaning the mover of the resolution.

Mr *S. Satyamurthi* drew attention to the fact that the resolution was not moved by a Congressman, but by a consistent supporter of the Government. The change of prospectus reduced the institution from one intended to train Indian boys for sea career and as pioneers of a new adventure to public school. ,It was a descent from the sublime to the ridiculous

The resolution, as amended by Pandit K Santanam, was put before the House and carried without a division. The House then adjourned till the 13th.

II. E THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS

13th. SEPTEMBER —Addressing a joint sitting of the Central Legislature to-day, *His Excellency the Viceroy* reviewed the political and other developments which have marked the year since His Excellency last addressed the combined Legislature

His Excellency dealt with the measures already taken and proposed to be taken regarding middle class unemployment, rural development improvement of cattle breeding and archæological research He then announced that the extension of the life of the Legislative Assembly would be up to October 1, 1938.

Referring to the disturbances in Waziristan, the Viceroy was glad to say that there were now distinct signs of a settlement and of acceptance by the tribes of the very moderate terms which had been imposed upon them His Excellency added "It is my earnest hope that, thanks to the operations of the last few months, the foundation has been laid of a greater measure of stability in this difficult and disturbed area"

'In consultation with the Commander-in-Charge," His Excellency continued, I have been giving the closest consideration to the question of Army organisation and the re-equipment of the Army in India so as to maintain its efficiency at the highest possible pitch having regard to the recent developments elsewhere in matter of mechanisation and the like The expenditure involved is inevitably considerable I have caused representations to be made in the matter to His Majesty's Government for assistance in carrying out the organisation owing to the very heavy cost involved and it is my hope that we shall receive a favourable reply.

Turning to the railways, His Excellency expressed the hope that the nett betterment of over five crores during the year 1936-37 would be maintained and materially enhanced during the current year for the approximate earnings up to the end of August were some 2 75 crores better than over the same period of the previous year

The Viceroy also referred to the heavy loss of life in Bihta disaster, but said that he was glad to think that this shocking accident should be so wholly exceptional in character and that during the five years ending March, 1936, the average number of persons killed in India per annum in collisions or derailments of trains should have been no more than 11, a figure of great significance when it was remembered that during each year 525 million passengers were carried and 125 million train miles were run.

His Excellency stressed the relation of industrial research and industrial development to the problem of middle class unemployment and announced that the next Industries Conference which would be held at Lahore in December, would be asked to consider the question of training and assisting young men to start and conduct small industrial enterprises.

As regards Indians overseas, the Viceroy alluded to the keen interest felt in India and, referring to the case of Zanzibar, His Excellency said that the scheme now proposed, though it fell short of the expectations and demands of the Indians in Zanzibar, held out very definite advantages and he made an appeal to those concerned that it should be given a fair trial.

Passing on the constitutional changes introduced on April 1, the Viceroy referred in appreciative terms to the smoothness of the elections and solid interest, discipline and self-restraint which the electorate had shown. "By the early days of August," said His Excellency, "there were established in office in every province of India Ministries enjoying the support of the majority of their respective Legislatures. The decision which has brought about this happy position does high credit to all concerned. One of the great turning points of our political history has been successfully negotiated and we face now a future that in my judgment is full of promise I have entire confidence that the Ministers in every province will find in the Public Services a body of men willing and anxious to support their political chiefs by every proper means in their power and zealous under the direction of responsible Ministers, to continue to the best of their ability to serve their several provinces. Nor do I doubt that the Ministers will at all times be found ready to protect the just rights and interests of every servant of the Government. There can be no stronger bond of mutual regard and understanding than that of labour shared of constructive work done together. It is in this field of common aspirations and common endeavour that we see exemplified the first fruits of that new relationship which it is the prime purpose of the Constitution to establish and foster." The Viceroy thought it appropriate to send those Provincial Governments a message of cordial goodwill and encourgement in confronting the many problems that lie before them.

Turning to the next and final stage in the Constitutional Reforms, namely, the Introduction of a Federation of India, the Viceroy stated that replies from almost every State to his letter of enquiry of last August had been received expressing their views on matters connected with the Federation in which they were particularly interested. The work of collating and analysing these voluminous replies was nearing completion and, after decisions had been taken on the many difficult and complicated questions of policy arising therefrom, it would be possible to enter on the next phase of the programme, namely, that of placing the complete and final picture before the Ruling Princes and then formally addressing them in regard to their accession.

After referring to the doubts and difficulties of setting up the Federation, the Viceroy said that these had been before the Joint Parliamentary Committee which nevertheless judged that two considerations outweighed all others first, that early establishment of a constitutional relationship within the federal sphere between the States and British India was of the utmost importance from the standpoint of maintenance of unity of India and, second, that the existence of a Central Government capable of formulating economic policies affecting the interest of the subcontinent as a whole was of direct and immediate relevance to the economic circumstances of India of to-day

Elaborating the second consideration, the Viceroy said that he was confident that the achievement of the Federation would presage early and substantial modification of those conditions the existence of which to-day tended in so many ways to hamper the growth to trade and commerce and full development of natural resources.

Finally, the Viceroy expressed profound satisfaction that, at a time when over wide areas of the world political liberty was being increasingly curtailed "we should witness in India the establishment, upon foundations patiently prepared, of a new and vigorous system of Parliamentary Government.

Indian Mines Act Amend. Bill

The Assembly met in the afternoon and took up consideration of *Sir Thomas Stewart's* motion for reference to a Select Committee of his Bill to further amend the Indian Mines Act. Explaining the provisions of the Bill Sir Thomas Stewart said that they were non-controversial and were intended to secure the safety of lives of workers underground. One effect of the Bill would be to make permanent the powers temporarily given to the inspectorate to issue orders, applicable to individual mines where danger was apprehended. Another effect would be to give the inspectorate the liberty to disclose knowledge of conditions of one mine if these conditions threaten the safety of neighbouring mines. The Bill also sought to remove the defects noticed in drafting regulations, and especially to provide for imposition of a duty on coal coke for defraying the cost of Rescue Stations.

Mr. M. L. Saksena, *Mr. B. Das*, *Mr Ramnarain Singh* and *Prof. Ranga* while supporting the Select Committee motion, criticised the Government's dilatory policy in giving effect to the recommendations of the Coal Mining Committee. Prof. Ranga declared that Managing Agents, controlling the coal industry, should be done away with as early as possible as they were exploiting the miners paying them low wages and long hours of work

Sir Thomas Stewart was glad that members of all parts of the House had agreed to the Bill, though some held that the measure was inadequate. He felt that the charge of inadequacy had been over-pressed. The Government were still examining the report and when the draft regulations were finally determined they would be published in the form of a notification in the Gazette of India.

The House adopted Sir Thomas Stewart's motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee to report on or before the 22nd September, and then adjourned.

INDIAN TARIFF ACT AMEND BILL

14th. SEPTEMBER —Mr. *A. H. Lloyd* introduced the Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act intended to set at rest the doubt whether wheat flour can be held liable to revenue duty.

THE INSURANCE BILL DEBATE (Contd)

The House next resumed the debate on the Insurance Bill The *Law Member* moved deletion of the definition of an Indian insuring company as being a company three-fourths of the capital of which are owned by British Indians in their own right and three-fourths of the directors of which are British Indians The Law Member referred to the contention that, without such a definition, a German company could get incorporated here and to the analogy drawn from what happened in the match industry He pointed out that this analogy did not hold good as, by incorporating here, a German company would get no substantial advantages. Moreover, a German company had only to incorporate in England and then, if every share-holder was a German, the company being a U K. company would in law be deemed to have complied the requirements about the share capital and directorate laid down in the definition. The Government of India Act no doubt intended to protect the British national, but its language enabled any company to claim benefit, being a U K company, though the share-holders and directors were not British This was unfortunate, but, so long as the present Act stood unamended, the proposed definition requiring the share-holders and directors to be British Indians would serve no useful purpose Further, the facts did not justify any fear from non-British foreign companies incorporating here If they had not done so when they were free practically from all control, why should they incorporate here after the present Bill was passed with all the burdens laid on the insurance companies ?

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* said that it was possible, as Sir N N Sircar had stated, that the protection enjoyed by the United Kingdom Companies under the Government of India Act would be extended to any ten Germans, or ten Italians, or ten others, who incorporated in the United Kingdom It was possible that to that extent protection given to the British Companies was not full or complete, but the House was not bound to consider the extent of protection the Britisher had actually got. "If the Britisher had not got that much protection that he wished, that is not our fault. It was the fault of those, who framed the Act." If the definition, which the Law Member wanted to be removed, where retained, then in view of differing interpretations that were possible of section 113 the matter might be taken to the Federal Court which, it was said this morning, would be without any work when it started on October 1 That was a situation that the speaker wanted to create. Mr. Desai proceeding said: "Unless you put it to test, unless you get section 113 constructed one way or the other, you would remain in my opinion in the most dangerous condition." That was the way in which the issue could be forced on point. Mr. Desai stressed the countryside importance of the matter and urged the House to give it the greatest possible care. Referring to the difficulties that might be created by blank transfer of shares or in other ways dealing with shares in order to circumvent the provisions regarding three-fourths shares, Mr Desai said that it was not beyond the ingenuity of the Law Member to check such things It was easy by legislation to provide that "no transfer shall remain blank for more than specified period and no holder shall have more than a specified number of shares.".

The *Law Member* made a statement suggesting postponement of consideration on the matter till clause 26 was reached. He drew attention to the agreement on two points which the speeches hitherto had indicated, namely, that there should be no discrimination between the United Kingdom and Indian companies, and non-British Foreign companies, incorporated in England should not get the benefit of section 113. Further, if interpretation of Section 113 was to be left vague, if as the leader of the opposition had suggested, two views were possible on it, and if no attempt was made to clarify it, then the Bill might be arrived. The House agreed to the matter standing over.

Mr. *B. Das* moved an amendment to the effect that the marine insurer, doing business in country craft and of its cargo, should deposit with the Reserve Bank Rs. 10,000 only. He saw no reason for making them deposit larger amounts as there had been no trouble as regards payment for risks.

Mr. *Vissanji* said that if this relief was not given the country craft insurers would become forward to take insurance risks

Sir *N. N. Sircar* pointed out that according to a representation made by these insurers themselves, there were six such insurers in whole of India doing business worth one crore of rupees and receiving premia to the value of thirty-five thousand. When they were doing such roaring business, he could not understand why they should be singled out for special treatment. He, therefore, opposed the amendment, which was carried by 65 votes against 47

Mr. *S Satyamurthi* moved an amendment that in respect of marine insurance, the deposit should be increased from one and a half to two times of that specified in the Bill. After discussion the amendment was negatived by 29 votes to 55.

The House adopted an amendment that deposits mentioned above should be in the Reserve Bank of India in one of the offices in India of the bank for and on behalf of the Central Government in cash or approved securities estimated at the market value of securities on the day of deposit.

The House agreed to Mr. *Vissanji's* amendment deleting sub-clause 3 of clause 6, which reads as follows : "Where the deposit is to be made by an insurer incorporated before or carrying on any insurance business except life insurance business in British India before the 1st January, 1937, in respect of any class of business carried on by him at the date the deposit referred to above, may be made in instalments of not less than 1-4th of the total amount before application for registration is made not less than one and a half of the balance before January 1. 1939, and the balance before the 1st January, 1940."

By Mr. *Vissanji's* another amendment the House deleted the word "life" thus removing the differentiation between "life" and "general" insurance companies in respect of number of instalments. The House at this stage adjourned.

15th. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly accepted to-day Mr *Akhil Chandra Datta's* amendment whereby sub-clause 6 of clause 6 relating to deposits was altered to the following form: "Where a deposit is to be made by an insurer incorporated after or commencing business in British India after Dec 31, 1936 the deposit may be made in instalments of not less than one-fourth of the total amount before the application for registration is made, not less than one-third of the balance before the expiry of one year from the commencement of the business in British India and not less than one-third of the balance before the expiry of two years from the commencement of the business in British India and the balance before the expiry of three years from the commencement of the business in British India

A piquant situation arose as the House proceeded to discuss several amendments together relating to the insurance companies with the Reserve Bank of India. The amendments suggested that varying rates were moved by Mr S. C. Sen (Special Officer), Mr. Mathuradas Vissanji, Mr. Sri Prakasa and Mr B. Bajoria.

The Law Member pointed out that the Governor-General's sanction was required for the amendments

The Governor-General's letter was then read to the House by the President. It stated that no sanction was necessary for the amendments

When the discussion was resumed the Law Member explained that section 17 of the Reserve Bank Act prevented the Bank from paying any interest on deposit and therefore it was useless to discuss the amendments The Law Member reiterated that without an amendment to section 17 of the Reserve Bank Act nothing in this direction could be done.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* pointed out the difficulty in the way of new companies investing in Government Paper which was subject to fluctuation in prices. The discussion had not concluded when the House rose.

MUSLIM PERSONAL LAW BILL (CONTD.)

16th. SEPTEMBER:—The Assembly resumed consideration of Mr. *H. M. Abdulla's* bill providing for the application of the Muslim personal law to Moslems.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang objected to anyone considering it unfortunate that the Muslims wanted to be governed by their own sacred laws

Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan declared that without the Bill there was the danger of Muslims losing their solidarity and national unity He appealed to the Congress Party to vote for the Bill and thus show that they were prepared to allow the Muslims to follow the Shariat, otherwise they had not the right to talk of mass contact

Dr. *Deshmukh* declared that the question was not one of party or politics but the welfare of forty millions of Indian women who were a half of the great community who would be released from the paralysing hold of custom and whose economic status would be increased. He hoped the example of the present bill would be followed by other communities also.

Mr *M S Aney* pointed out that the Bill actually went beyond the limited scope which the mover had in his mind The Bill seemed calculated to make inoperative or otherwise affected the general body of law which governed both Hindus and Muslims, such for instance as the law of guardianship and the law of gift Mr. Aney proceeding considered it undesirable and ominous that a bill of this description should be placed before the House.

The House passed the motion for consideration and then took up the amendments.

Mr *Jinnah* moved an amendment to omit the word "law" from operative clause 2 He explained that it would remove the ground of criticisms like those of Mr. Aney. He pointed out that the Bill had not suffered from the defect of being general as Mr. Aney had stated It was clear and definite.

The *President* before putting the amendment pointed out that it had been brought to his notice that if Mr. Jinnah's amendment were adopted it would rule out the amendment tabled by Mr R F Mudie, Joint Secretary to the Home Department. He therefore called upon Mr Mudie to move his amendment.

Mr. *Mudie* moved his amendment to add to clause 2 the provision "except in so far as that law has been either expressly or by necessary implication altered or abolished or is opposed to the provisions of any Legislative enactment, provided that nothing herein contained shall affect the power of the court, in the absence of specific law, to apply to the decision of any case the principles of justice, equity and good conscience."

Mr Mudie said that if his amendment were not accepted the Bill would create dangerous complications They should state in the Bill which Acts were to remain in force and which of the existing Acts should go. If this was not made clear it would lead to unnecessary litigation

Mr. *Aney* expressed the opinion that no law was repealed unless it was repealed by an Act of the legislature. Therefore Mr Mudie's amendment was redundant

Mr, Jinnah's amendment was carried and that of Mr. Mudie rejected.

The House disposed of several other amendments of which one moved by Mr *Jinnah* proposed the addition of two new clauses, one providing for a declaration to be made by the person who desires to obtain benefit of the Act and the second empowering provincial Governments to make rules under the Act regarding authority before whom the declaration is to be made and the form thereof and fees for it. The amendment was passed.

The House also accepted Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum's* amendment to exclude the N.W F.P. from the operation of the Act.

Another amendment moved by *Quazi Ahmed Kazmi* sought to repeal the provisions of seven Acts which were inconsistent with the provisions of the Bill. The amendment was accepted. The Bill as amended was then passed. The House rose.

DEMAND FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

17th. SEPTEMBER:—Mr. *S. Satyamurthi* moved to-day a Congress Party resolution recommending the Governor-General-in-Council to convey to the Secretary of State and the British Government the opinion of the House that the Government

of India Act 1935 in no way represented the will of the nation and was wholly unsatisfactory and should be replaced by a Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise.

Mr. Satyamurthi declared that he had moved the motion as a humble representative of the Indian National Congress which governed seven out of eleven provinces and hoped to govern other four provinces very soon and which was therefore no longer an irresponsible opposition but a responsible body. He drew attention to the fact that this resolution had been adopted or would soon be passed by the provincial legislatures and no objection had been taken by any minority, including the Muslims to the phrase "Constituent Assembly", and he pointed out that Muslim members of provincial legislatures represented a much larger electorate than the members of the Central Legislature. The pharse "Constituent Assembly" meant an assembly representing the sovereign will of the people after they had overthrown the Government in power by violence; but the last page in the history of the world had not yet been written and as long as Mahatma Gandhi remained the Constituent Assembly would be convened and transfer of power achieved by the people of this country by peaceful means. The people had enough of the method of Round Table Conferences; they now wanted elimination of the third party altogether. Referring to the amendments tabled, he said that while Mr Aney wanted elimination of the Communal Award, Mr. Jinnah wanted its perpetuation He declared that separate electorate was antinational and anti-democratic. It prevented the speaker, for instance, from voting for Mr. Jinnah even if he wanted to do so. The Congress stood for adult franchise, to which no followers of a democratic faith like Islam could object. Passing to the declaration in the resolution that the Government of India Act did not represent the will of the nation, Mr. Satyamurthi pointed out that it did not carry out the recommendations of the Round Table Conference, did not accept a single recommendation of the Aga Khan memorandum and went against the resolutions of the Congress, Muslim League and every other progressive body in the country. Above all, even the amendments hitherto tabled in the House took no objection to the resolution as far as it declared itself against the Act. Detailing the objections to the Act, Mr. Satyamurthi emphasised that it sought to introduce dyarchy in the centre in a far worse form than one, which was tried and had failed in the provinces. Furthermore, the Indian Princes would nominate one-third of the Federal Legislature and have power to influence it, while they themselves would be governed, not by the Act, but by separate Instruments, which, as the Maharajah of Patiala had declared, were more important to them than the Act. Proceeding Mr. Satyamurthi declared that unless the representatives of States were elected to the legislature by the people of States and fundamental rights were guaranteed to them the Federation would be entirely useless. The country wanted neither the Federation as at present proposed, nor so-called central responsibility. He continued: "By all means, make a Federation of eleven self-governing provinces and keep the door open for the States to enter. Good States may come in, bad States may not. It is better that they do not." Mr. Satyamurthi strongly criticised "the conspiracy and silence" in the matter of negotiations now progressing in relation to the Federation and asked whether the intention was even to amend the Government of India Act 1935 in order to suit the Princes and whether other efforts were being made to coerce them to enter the Federation. Continuing, the speaker emphasised that the acceptance of offices by the Congress in seven provinces did not mean acceptance of the Act. They accepted office in order to serve the people to the extent of opportunities given by it, in order to remove the fear of the Government from the minds of the people and above all to remove the fear of the majority from the minds of the minorities regarding their interests. The Government could do worse than accept the resolution. The Government were relying on communalists and Indian Princes but joint electorate was bound to come soon. The Premiers of the Punjab and Sind had already declared themselves in favour of this. When joint electorate came the communalists would find their occupation gone. In relying on Indian Princes the Government were relying on a broken reed. Concluding Mr. Satyamurthi declared that the resolution was humble, but gave a definite indication of the desire and ambition of the people to be master of this country, not merely, not so much desire for the transfer of power from the white to the brown or black Government as that people of the country might come by their own and the evils of poverty want to be removed. They were short-sighted who thought when a great nation willed to be free anyone could stand in the way. He quoted the words of an Irish mother who in reply to his question declared that so long as one Irish child lived

the fight for the freedom of Ireland would go on. He declared that so long as a single Indian child lived the fight for the freedom of India would go on. (Cheers.) He also warned the Government that so long as Mahatma Gandhi lived there was a chance of a friendly settlement but freedom would be attained by this country sooner even than her friends hoped and enemies feared. (Renewed Cheers.)

The various amendments were then moved and the *President* ruled that the resolutions and amendments would be discussed together Mr. *Jinnah* moved insertion in place of "Constituent Assembly" the words "Convention or Conference elected on the basis of electorates as provided in the Communal Award in the absence of any agreement to the contrary and further that the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities should be effectively safeguarded with the mutual consent of the communities concerned."

Mr *M S Aney* moved the addition after the words "the Government of India Act 1925" the following words "and the ordinances promulgated and the body of rules framed thereunder including those relating to franchise and class representation based on the Cabinet decision known as the Communal Award" and also to the effect that the Constituent Assembly be elected on the basis of a non-communal system of representation and adult franchise.

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* moved an addition to Mr. Jinnah s amendment the following words "and further all small minorities be represented"

Mr. *Husseinbhoy Laljee* moved the substitution for Constituent Assembly the following words. 'Convention or conference elected on the basis of electorates as provided in the Communal Award in the absence of any agreement to the contrary whose decisions shall be binding on the British Parliament and further the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities should be effectively safeguarded with the mutual consent of the communities concerned"

Moulvi Zaffar Ali Khan said that Mr. Satyamurthi's resolution reminded him of a story in which when the father died the clever eldest son told the younger ones that he being the eldest the paternal house from the floor to the roof was his and from the roof right up to the seventh heaven was theirs Unless therefore the Congress treated the Muslim minorities generously, the Muslims would accept the Congress promises with a grain of salt He said that he was with the Congress so far as making the British leave India and ameliorating the condition of the masses were concerned, but before he was prepared to fight for that end, he wanted an assurance that the Muslim minorities would be treated fairly. He therefore supported Mr. Jinnah's amendment.

Rao Sahib *N Shiva Raj*, representative of the Scheduled castes, expressed satisfaction at having been granted an opportunity to express his views on this important question. Mr Shivaraj said that if the resolution was moved in a spirit of co-operation then only he would welcome it. It was premature, firstly, as only just now the Congress had accepted office and become a legal unit of the Federation and they should not urge abolition of the Act without giving it a trial. Secondly, the method suggested for abolition of the Act did not appeal to him. The method outlined in Mr Jinnah's amendment was acceptable

Mr. *L. K Maitra*, supporting Mr Aney's amendment, said that it was the Communal Award that had separated the Congress Nationalists from the main Congress It was the Communal Award, which was bringing suppressed sneer and jeer for Bengal—the province which was the birth-place of nationalism. She had been reduced to a position of utter political impotence due to this Award. Muslims should not blame the Congress. Mr Gandhi had promised a blank cheque for the Muslims if they joined hands with the Congress for the attainment of freedom.

Sir A. H, Ghuznavi wished that if the resolution had been brought after a settlement had been arrived at between Hindus and Muslims, then the Muslims would have supported it. Tracing the history of the efforts made to achieve such settlement in the past, he blamed Hindu communalists for their failure He paid a tribute to Mr. Jinnah for his efforts for a settlement and declared that until an agreed settlement had been made Muslims must stick to the Communal Award The Congress must show that it was prepared to safeguard minority interests, particularly those of Muslims, but the way administration in Congress Provinces was carried on Muslims' fears were not allayed. Citing the example of Bombay, he declared that if a resolution of this kind was to be passed at all it should be with the amendment of Mr. Jinnah.

Sardar Sant Singh declared that no Constituent Assembly could be called on the basis of the Communal Award for the Sikhs were pledged to oppose the Award stout-

ly in every shape and form. The Sikhs were ready to co-operate with those who wished to develop the constitution on healthy lines but not on communal lines. If the Congress yielded to unfair and unjust Muslim demands then he would not be with the Congress.

The debate had not concluded when the House rose. As to-day was the last non-official day of the session the debate will be continued in the Delhi session.

THE INSURANCE BILL DEBATE (CONTD.)

18th SEPTEMBER —The Assembly held an extra meeting to-day in order to get through the Insurance Bill. The question hour was dispensed with and after Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* had withdrawn his amendments moved on Wednesday to the effect that mutual provident companies should have actuarial investigation in ten years instead of five for other companies, the House took up *Raizada Hansraj's* two amendments to clause 12 the effect of which would be to require insurance companies to show separately the business done in India as also business done outside.

Mr *Bhulabhai Desai* explained that the effect of the amendment would be felt equally by Indian companies doing business abroad and foreign companies doing business in India The object was to show clearly whether the bonus paid by companies in India was justified by the amount of business done and profits earned in India.

Mr *P J Griffiths* opposed the amendment on three grounds He said that firstly if the law of averages were not applied over a sufficiently large area, fluctuations in the bonus would be so great as to destroy confidence. The result of the amendment would be to split up the funds in several parts. Secondly, if foreign companies showed the amount of business done in India separately it would give the policy-holder an inadequate sense of security and fail to show the total financial security behind the policy. Thirdly, if fluctuations occurred the companies would have to keep in hand larger reverse funds in order to meet the unexpected than if things were steady. Consequently instead of paying as large a bonus as possible the companies would try to pay as little as possible and increase the reserve against the rainy day.

Sir *N N. Sircar*, leader of the House, said that the Opposition seemed to argue that the English companies were subsidising their Indian section of the business by bringing moneys from their large reserves elsewhere and this led to a ratewar which would mean the ruin of the Indian business. As regards unfair competition Sir N. N Sircar contended that it did exist between small and big Indian companies themselves Big Indian companies paid more bonus than the small ones.

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* contended that without the amendment Indian companies would be placed at a disadvantage because they would as a result of actuarial investigation show particulars regarding methods etc. which foreign companies would not be called on to do. That would be contrary to the demand for a fair field and no favour which the European group frequently made.

Closure was moved at this stage but was rejected and the debate was continued by Dr. *Deshmukh*, who said that it was difficult to understand the opposition to the amendment He asserted that it would be to the good of the policy-holder to know the exact condition of things.

Mr. *Ananthasayanam Ayyangar* said that the European Group were not trying to understand the amendment, although in their heart they knew what its aim was All that was required was that there ought to be differentiation between Indian business and foreign business of non-Indian companies.

Mr. N C. Chunder quoting the latest edition of the English insurance law referred to provisions in it which required insurance companies in the United Kingdom to furnish a summary statement. It was not at all unusual for the Indian legislature to ask for a similar provision in the Indian insurance law.

Mr. *Sushil Sen*, Special Officer, held that the amendment was unnecessary as it was only imposing an additional obligation which did not benefit either Indian or other companies. He did not see any need for the amendment because of the forms which under the schedule had to be filled by the insurer and would give full details of income and expenditure in India

The House quickly passed through several clauses and agreed to take up on Wednesday clause 26 relating to the investment of assets.

On clause 27 regarding managing agents Dr. *Ziauddin Ahmed's* amendment evoked a lively, sometimes heated, debate which had not concluded when the House rose. The amendment was to the effect that no insurance companies started after the Act shall have managing agents and the period of office of managing agents appointed before the Act shall expire three years from the commencement of the Act.

Mr. *Satyamurthi* elaborated the point and defined the Congress attitude. He pointed out that life insurance business had made such good progress that there was a very strong case for the limitation of period while as regards general business which had a great deal of leeway still to make managing agents were wanted in order to build it up.

Sir *N N. Sircar* supported the amendment and said that in the course of his speeches on the consideration stage he had made no distinction in his opposition to managing agents between life and other companies It was a sights for the gods to see Mr. Satyamurthi fighting for managing agents in general companies (laughter)

Mr. *Jinnah* expressed strong opposition to managing agents for any kind of insurance business. They were, he said, parasites and he asked the Congress benches whether they were going to allow these parasites to exist. If he had the power and if he had the majority on his side he would wipe off managing agents at this very moment, but there was the Congress Party favouring the continuance of parasites. He, therefore, reluctantly supported the amendment reducing this evil to the minimum point.

Mr *M. S. Aney* supported the amendment and asked was it argued by the Congress that general insurance was not making progress because of the absence of managing agents He had not heard real intelligible reason for their continuance.

Sir *H. P. Mody* vehemently attacked the speakers who had given managing agents a bad name in order to hang it It was a topsy-turvy world, he said, in which the Congress was admitted. Even managing agents had the right to exist There might have been "rascals" among them as among other professions The debate was adjourned till the 20th.

20th SEPTEMBER —Mr *Bhulabhai Desai* made a lengthy statement on behalf of the Congress Party and said that considering many different proposals hitherto made regarding managing agents it was clear that there was nothing to suggest that the party was doing something nefarious in supporting the continuance of managing agents as far as general insurance companies were concerned He reminded the House that the period of three years, but without restriction of remuneration, had been provided in the old bill and the Select Committee recommended ten years, subject to restriction of remuneration Giving figures, Mr Desai pointed out that under provisions of the Bill. as emerged from the Select Committee, namely, ten years subject to the limitation of twenty-four thousand rupees yearly the total amount payable to managing agents taking a unit of a hundred companies would be nearly 250 lakhs while under the Congress Party's proposal, namely, three years without limitation, the total amount would be 85 lakhs, of which the baby companies would swallow 67 There was nothing, therefore, in the Congress proposal, which was nefarious Proceeding, he declared that that was right to draw a distinction between life and general companies From the point of view of progress of Indian insurance business and the direction in which the Indian companies did not make sufficient progress, the initiative and enterprise of men who, however parasitical they might be considered, were really useful, should be utilised. He had no objection to limiting the life of managing agents in respect of general companies to ten years In any case he and his party would abide by the verdict of the House not in a spirit of helpless surrender, but in recognition of the principle of democracy He drew attention to the attitude of the European group who, he said, had awakened to the new situation and despite the Government of India Act had agreed to three years' limitation for managing agents, indicating that in the interest of the State they could terminate contracts without compunction

Mr. Jinnah, in a personal statement, refuted Mr Desai's statement that the independent party representative had not expressed dissent to the Select Committee proposal regarding ten years.

Sir *Leslie Hudson*, on behalf of the European Group, said that the net result of the statement of the Leader of the Opposition was that the Congress now agreed to three years, plus restriction of remuneration His group, as already stated during the first reading of the Bill, opposed any statutory restriction of remunera-

tion as being a dangerous principle leading to undue interference in commercial enterprise, but under all circumstances, which had been revealed during the course of discussion, his group agreed to managing aaents' agreements, as far as insurance, more especially life insurance companies were concerned, being terminated after three years. He, however, made two points clear. First, this was not to be regarded as being an admission that the European group had changed their view with regard to the general question of managing agents. What they said was that the special nature of insurance business was such that in the case of banking companies they should be prohibited from having managing agents. Managing agents—they rendered great services in ths past—did not seem so necessary to the growth of healthy and stable insurance companies. Hence, the group agreed to their abolition, as far as the Bill was concerned, only after three years. Secondly, having agreed to this radical treatment of the existing contracts, the group was not going any further and did not agree to the statutory and arbitrary restriction of remuneration.

The amendment was passed without division.

Mr. *Govinddas* (Congress) moved an amendment fixing the remuneration of managing agents at two and a half per cent of the gross premium of Rs. 24,000 yearly, whichever was less. He said that in this poor country, where the maximum salaries were being fixed at Rs. 500, the Managing Agents had no business to get staggering remunerations.

Dr. *P. N. Banerjee* moved another similar amendment with the only difference that managing agents should get two and a half per cent of "the net premium" or Rs. 24,000 whichever was less.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* said that in the average case of a small company the remuneration of Managing Agents would come to Rs. 4-8-0 per month, or at most equal to a durwan's salary if the amendments were accepted. In order to get Rs. 24,000 annually, the premium would have to be two lakhs and forty thousand which would be generally impossible for a company to accumulate. He, therefore, opposed both the amendments.

The amendment was negatived by 68 votes to 43. The House disposed of amendments to the remaining clauses up to the clause 30 and then adjourned.

21st. SEPTEMBER :—There was a lengthy debate in the Assembly to-day when the discussion on the amendments to the Insurance Bill was resumed. The clause under discussion was a new one, No. 39, which was inserted by the Select Committee, running :—

"No policy of insurance shall, after the expiry of two years from the date on which it was effected, be called in question by the insurer on the ground that the statement made in the proposal for insurance or in any report of the medical officer or referee or friend of the insured or in any other document leading to the issue of the policy was inaccurate or false unless the insurer shows that such statement was no material matter and fraudulently made by the policy-holder and that the policy-holder knew at the time of making it that the statement was false"

Mr. *F. E. James*, on behalf of the European group, moved an amendment to substitute the word 'and' by the word 'or' so as to make the last clause read "or that the policy-holder knew at the time of making it that the statement was false"

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* supported the amendment and said that insurance companies needed as much protection from policy-holders who deliberately defrauded companies as policy-holders needed from unscrupulous companies.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* opposed the amendment which would whittle down the clause. He referred to several cases particularly before the Calcutta High Court, in which criticism had been made of the present law under which trivial mistakes in statements invalidated the policy. Companies got two years in which to make enquiries about statements made by policy-holders.

Dr. *Deshmukh* pointed out that insurance companies were themselves guilty of fraud when, as usually happened, they "loaded" policies that added five or six years to the age given by a policy-holder, thereby charging more premium than was proper.

Mr. *Aney* supported the principle of the clause but thought that the condition regarding a policy-holder's knowledge of mis-statement was not essential.

Sir *H. P. Mody* declared that the section was much too oppressive on an insurer. If, for instance, a policy-holder died five years after taking out his policy, how was

the company to find out whether he knew he was making a false statement or not. The speaker did not know where the policy-holder went after death.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* objected to the amendment which calculated to make every immaterial statement an invalidating factor. He said that the clause as it stood did not add burden of proof and the amendment would negative the whole value of the clause.

Mr. *Jinnah* agreed with the leader of the Opposition that under the clause, if amended as proposed even an immaterial statement if proved to be inaccurate was a sufficient ground to resist a claim. The amendment was negatived.

Mr. *James* moved another amendment adding a proviso to clause 39, namely, that nothing in this section shall prevent an insurer from making such an adjustment in the policy in terms as may be necessary in consequence of any misstatement of age in the original proposal and further that if the policy of a life lapses and is reinstated at a later date provisions of this section shall apply from the date of the reinstatement as if the reinstated policy were a new contract.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* pointed out that the two years' time given to an insurer to verify the statements of a policy-holder was adequate He opposed to give any additional protection to an insurer against a policy-holder, The amendment was negatived.

Dr. *Deshmukh* moved insertion of an additional clause, namely, that every insurer shall publish in the policy of an insured terms of his policy, including surrender value of the policy from the second year from the date of the policy till it matures in the vernacular language of the province where the insurer is carrying on his business, and shall supply the policy-holder with a photographic copy of the statement made by him. No policy of a policy-holder shall lapse for want of payment of premium after two premia have been paid by him on his policy. The mover strongly supported by Dr. Ziauddin claimed that the system of printing surrender value on policy existed in many countries and it was more necessary in India where a majority of policy-holders were ignorant and illiterate As to what should be the surrender might be left for an open competition between companies.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* opposed the amendment which was rejected. Clauses 39 and 40 were passed.

There was a lively discussion on Mr. *A. Ayyangar's* amendment to the effect that from the tenth year of the commencement of business of an insurance company policy-holders' representation on the directorate should be increased from one-fourth to one-half The amendment was rejected by 56 votes to 46 The House adjourned.

22nd. SEPTEMBER:—The Assembly took up to-day clause 26 of the Insurance Bill relating to investment assets Sir *N. N. Sircar* moved the new clause in place of clause 26 of the Bill as emerged from the Select Committee The new clause provides that British Indian and United Kingdom Insurance Companies shall invest assets equivalent to sixty-six and two-thirds per cent of the liabilities to the policy-holders in India in the following manner One-half in Government securities and the other half in Government or other approved securities of India or United Kingdom. The foreign companies shall invest assets equal to the whole of their liabilities to the policy-holders in the following manner Thirty-three and one-third per cent in Government securities and the balance in Government or other approved securities of India or United Kingdom. Four years will be allowed to both these categories of companies to complete investment. Assets required to be invested by foreign companies shall be held in trust for the discharge of claims and shall be vested in trustees resident in British India and approved by the Central Government by the Instrument of Trust, which shall be executed by the insurer and approved by the Central Government and shall define the manner in which alone the subject-matter of the trust shall be dealt with. Sir N. N Sircar explained the provisions of his amendment and said that the ideal state of things would have been to require, if possible, that the policy-holder should be secured to the extent of one hundred p. c. instead of only two-thirds in the case of Indian companies. But this ideal was difficult of attainment for many Indian companies would be unable to comply with the requisition. He made it clear that sixty-six and two-third per cent prescribed was neither scientific nor sacrosanct, and he was prepared to accept the highest percentage that the House would agree to give. As regards non-Indian

foreign companies the provision was for hundred per cent investment, the fund not being left to their control but vested in trustees in India.

Two amendments to Sir N. N. Sircar's amendment were moved. The first of these was by *Pandit Santanam* suggesting fifty-five per cent investment, instead of two-thirds in the case of Indian companies divided into twenty-five per cent invested in Government securities and thirty per cent in Government or other approved securities, The other amendment was by Mr. *A. C. Datta* suggesting fifty-five per cent in place of two-thirds Pandit Santanam pointed out that his amendment really meant investment of fifty per cent of the reserve and the liability for the other five per cent would be covered by loan to policy-holders.

Mr. Santanam's amendment was adopted and the clause as amended was passed.

The House also passed the new clauses 26, A. B. C and D moved by Mr. *S. C. Sen* with certain amendments. The clauses as amended require submission by companies to the Superintendent half-yearly settlements showing investments made in accordance with section 26. The clauses prohibit the grant of loans except loans within the surrender value of life policies to any director, manager, managing agent, actuary auditor, or officer of a company or to any other company except a subsidiary company or a banking company. For any losses incurred owing to contravention of the above provision every director, manager, managing agent, actuary officer or partner shall be liable and assets shall not be kept except in corporate name of the company.

A proviso added on the motion of Mr *A. Ayyanger* lays down that every existing loan to officers specified above shall be repaid within one year of the commencement of the Act and of these officers defaulting shall cease to hold office from one year of the commencement of the Act.

Congress members joined the Government in voting down the amendment of Mr. *A. N. Chattopadhya* for the omission of clause 35 which prohibits payment by way of commission or otherwise for procuring business to any person except a licensed insurance agent.

Sir *N. N Sarcar* opposed the amendment and stressed the need of retention of the clause. He made it clear that men like chief agents or special agents or directors were not intended to be roped in by the clause.

The amendment was negatived by 89 votes against 18. The House adjourned.

23rd. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly devoted the whole of the morning sitting to-day to further the consideration of clause 35 which prohibits payments, by way of commission or otherwise, to any person except a licensed insurance agent.

The House accepted Dr. *P. N. Banerjee's* amendment to the effect that "prohibition of payment under the clause shall take effect after six months from the commencement of the Act (instead of three months provided for in the original clause)".

Considerable discussion arose on Mr. *F. Chapman-Mortimer's* amendment intended to secure inclusion of chief agents among persons empowered to make a commission and among persons to whom such payment is allowed to be made.

After two hours' discussion the House agreed to the addition of the following as clause 35 (2). "No insurer or any person who for purposes of insurance business employs an insurance agent licensed under section 37 shall pay or contract to pay to any insurance agent licensed under section 37 by way of commission or as remuneration in any form an amount exceeding in the case of life insurance business 45 per cent of the initial premium payable on any policy or policies effected through him and five per cent of the renewal premium or in the case of business on any other class thirty per cent of the premium provided, however, that insurers in respect of life insurance business only may pay during the first ten years of their business to their insurance agents 55 per cent of the initial premium payable on any policy or policies effected through them and 6 per cent of renewal premiums,"

Mr. *Satyamurthi*, moving the amendment for the addition of the above new clause, said that the House had generally agreed as to the limitation of the commission (cries of "no, no") and difference existed only with regard to the actual percentage and advantage to be given to young companies. A ten per cent difference in favour of young companies had been given by the clause and standing as they did for sound business both of young and old companies his party regarded this sufficient. He emphasised indispensibility of limitation of commission.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* supported the amendment and referred to certain type of malpractice prevalent in India by which agents induced a policyholder to allow his previous policy to lapse and take out a fresh policy so that the agent might get a higher initial commission.

Mr. *S. C. Sen* said that the bulk of expenses was represented by commission and the clause therefore would have a salutary effect. As regards the argument that no other country had a similar legislation, he declared that in no other country did similar appalling conditions prevail.

The amendment was pressed to a division and carried by 82 votes against 20, the Congress and Government voting for and Congress Nationalists and Independents voting against. The House then adjourned.

24th. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly having rejected Mr. *Nairang's* amendment for the insertion of a new clause after clause 35 of the Insurance Bill that no insurance against who has been "employed by an insurer, shall be deprived of or forfeit any commission or renewal commission earned on any policy or policies effected through him merely by reason of his leaving such employment of his own free will except on the ground of fraud or gross professional misconduct on the part of the agent."

The Clause 35 as amended was adopted.

Thereafter Mr. *Bajoria* moved an amendment for the omission of the entire clause 36 providing for the prohibition of rebates from commission by an insurer or his agent either directly or indirectly as an inducement to any person to take out or renew his policy. Mr Bajoria explained that the clause was prima facie unworkable as the principle of allowing rebates was an accepted business method and any attempt to prevent it might lead to corruption.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* agreed that it was in reality to fraud public to say that rates of premium were equal in all companies while behind that declaration agents of various companies paid different rates of rebates out of their commission.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* said that if they allowed freedom to agents to give rebates they would be placing those who wished to get insured in a vicious circle Any right thinking person should be opposed to unscrupulous inequity and it was their duty to prevent such an evasion of law The amendment was negatived.

The House rejected *Dr. Ziauddin's* amendment to omit the passage in the same clause prohibiting the acceptance of rebate by any person effecting or renewing insurance. Dr. Ziauddin in support of his amendment urged that if the receiver of rebate was also punishable under that section then it would be impossible to get any proof.

Clause 36 with some verbal amendments was adopted without a division.

The penalty clause provides punishment of the giver of rebate with a fine which may extend to Rs. 160 and of the receiver with a fine which may extend to Rs. 50

The House passed on to clause 37 which prescribes annual fees of Rs 3 and other conditions for licensing an insurance agent. Mr. *A. N. Chottopadhaya* moved an amendment to omit the entire clause

Sir *N. N. Sircar* asked for the President's ruling whether the amendment was admissible, seeing that the House had already passed clause 35 in which the phrase had been used namely "licensed under clause 37."

The *President* ruled that it was open to the House to negative clause 47 He therefore ruled that the amendment was not barred. The House then adjourned till the 27th.

RATIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL SUGAR AGREEMENT

27th. SEPTEMBER :—*Sir Sultan Ahmed* moved a resolution to-day recommending the Governor-General-in-Council that the international agreement regarding the regulation of production and marketing of sugar signed in London on May 6, 1937, be ratified by him.

Mr *Ramsay Scott* moved an amendment recommending that the agreement be not ratified and expressing strong disapproval of the action of the Central Government in agreeing to prohibit export of sugar by sea except to Burma for the next five years without the knowledge and consent of the industry.

The amendment further recommended the Government to explore all possible avenues for export of sugar and take such other steps for the purpose of developing export markets both by land and by sea for sugar. Mr. Scott said that the amend-

ment represented the views of sugar industries on the London convention. He strongly criticised the Government for not consulting the industry before signing the agreement and described the difficulty of selling sugar beyond land borders of India.

Mr. *Avinashilingam Chetty* strongly opposing ratification declared that unless the export market was developed for Indian sugar the price of both sugar and sugarcane was bound to decrease. He pointed out that thirteen per cent of last year's production was still unconsumed and would remain in stock adding to the quantity of surplus that would be left this year. He asked whether the effect of this accumulation would be to decrease or increase prices.

Mr. *Varma* pointed out the vast scope and possibility of the development of the Indian sugar industry and for achieving this objective, he said, India must have a fair share in the world market.

Sir *Leslie Hudson*, leader of the European Group, would not go so far as Mr. Ramsay Scott in condemning the sugar agreement and was not in favour of the amendment moved by him. (Ironical cheers from Congress benches). The European group did not agree that the sugar industry had been badly treated by the Government having regard to the history of protection. Sir Leslie Hudson proceeded that his party considered that it was doubtful whether India was in a position to export sugar. He personally preferred the door being kept open for reconsideration during the five years covered by the agreement.

Mr. *H. Dow*, Commerce Secretary, pointed out that the retail price had nothing to do with the ability of the country to export under present conditions. Mr. Dow emphasised that the danger was if India dropped out other countries would also drop out and it was almost certain that other important sugar countries would not be prepared to ratify in which case unrestricted world competition would result and at the end of five years it would not be the slightest use in India getting into the world market at all. "We are trying to get into a position where in five years' time there will be a market which India will be able to enter with some real prospect of profit to ourselves. Apart from this agreement there is no hope of any improvement."

Mr. *Gadgil* pointed out that the sugar-producing provinces had now Congress Governments which were likely to reduce the irrigation dues and which in its turn would bring down the cost of production.

Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, winding up the debate, emphasised that the question was not whether India could increase production with a view to have an exportable surplus, but whether India's sugar would face successfully world competition in a free market. If not, it was no use increasing the production. The only hope of India ever getting into the free market was by joining the convention. If the House did not ratify the convention the whole sugar market might be thrown into chaos and the only hope of India entering the free market of the world would have gone for ever.

The House divided and Mr. Ramsay Scott's amendment for not ratifying the convention was carried by 66 votes to 52 amidst opposition cheers. The House adjourned.

The Insurance Bill Debate (Contd)

28th. SEPTEMBER:—Clause 37 laying down conditions for licensing insurance agents occupied the whole morning sitting and only the first of five sub-clauses had been disposed when the House rose for lunch. The amendment moved on Friday last by Mr. *A. N. Chattopadhyaya* for the omission of the whole clause was further debated and eventually rejected.

In the course of the debate on the amendment Sir *N. N. Sircar* replying to Mr. Bajoria's observations pointed out that the clause did not require an agent to take out licenses for each company he served even as a lawyer was not required to take out licenses for each client he defended.

The House then agreed to Mr. *Essak Sait's* amendment reducing license fees from Rs. 3 provided in the original clause to Re. 1.

Sir *H. P. Mody* moved an amendment designed to make clear that firms could be licensed as at present to act as agents for non-life companies. He explained that the clause as it stood only permitted individuals to take out license and this might disturb the existing practice of firms working as insurance agents.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* pointed out that each member of the firm concerned could take out license and continue to work for insurance companies which the firm originally represented. The clause therefore imposed no hardship.

Sir *H. P. Mody* withdrew his amendment.

Mr. *N. C. Chunder* moved one of a chain of amendments intended to make licensing automatic and specifically mentioned disqualifications which automatically prevented the issue of license.

After lunch the House by 84 votes to 11 rejected Dr. *Banerjea's* amendment to provide that license should be renewed every three years instead of every year. Clause 37 was finally adopted in the following form :

"37(1)—The Superintendent of Insurance shall in the prescribed manner and on payment of the prescribed fee of one rupee issue to any individual making an application under this Section and not suffering any of the disqualifications hereinafter mentioned a licence to act as an insurance agent for the purpose of soliciting or procuring insurance business.

(2) Licence issued under this section shall entitle the holder to act as an insurance agent for any registered insurer.

(3) License issued under this section shall expire on the 31st day of March each year, but if the applicant does not suffer any such disqualification be renewed from year to year on payment of a fee of one rupee

(4) The disqualifications above referred to shall be the following :

(A) That the person is a minor.

(B) He is found to be of unsound mind by a court of competent jurisdiction

(C) He has been found guilty of criminal misappropriation or criminal breach of trust or cheating by a court of competent jurisdiction.

(D) In the course of any judicial proceeding relating to any policy of insurance or winding up of insurance company or in the course of investigation into the affairs of an insurer it shall appear that he has been found guilty of or has knowingly participated in or connived at any fraud, dishonesty or misappropriation against an insurer or assured and (5) if it be found that an insurance agent suffers from any of the foregoing disqualifications without prejudice to any other penalty whereto he may be liable, the Superintendent of Insurance shall, and if the agent has knowingly contravened any provision of this Act may, cancel the license issued to the Agent under this section.

Clause 38 was allowed to stand over till the next day pending efforts to evolve an agreed formula regarding an additional provision for the constitution of provident fund for employees of insurance companies. The House agreed to the addition of the following as clause 38-A

38-A Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the contract between an insurer and an insurance agent licensed under section 37 of the Act forfeiting or stopping payment of renewal commission, no insurer carrying on the business of life insurance in British India shall refuse payments of commission on renewal premia due to an insurance agent under the agreement between them by reason only of the termination of his agreement except for fraud, provided such agent has served the insurer continually and exclusively for at least ten years and provided further that after his ceasing to act he does not directly or indirectly solicit or procure insurance business for any other insurer

Clauses 39 to 42 having been already disposed of last week the House passed on to 43 and agreed to the addition of two new sub-clauses thereto. One provided the supply to the policy-holder on application copies of questions and answers contained in his proposal and medical report, while the other ran as follows : No insurer shall after the commencement of this Act begin or after three years thereof continue to carry on any business of insurance upon dividing principle that the benefit secured by the policy is not fixed but depends either wholly or partly on the results of distribution among policies maturing for payment within certain time-limits of certain sums . provided that in the case of an insurer who continues to carry on insurance business on dividing principle after the commencement of this Act he shall withhold from distribution a sum not less than forty per cent of the premia received during that year in three years so as to make up the amount required for investment under section 26 of this Act.

Clauses 44 to 50 were disposed of without amendment and the House adjourned.

29th. SEPTEMBER :—The President ruled to-day out of order *Professor Ranga's* amendment seeking to empower local Governments that direct provision should be made by Insurance Companies for provident fund for their employees.

The question whether the amendment fell within the scope of the Bill was argued for nearly one hour before the President gave his ruling.

Mr. *F. E. James* raised the point of order and stated that the amendment would extend the scope of the Bill. He referred to previous rulings, holding that such amendments were out of order.

Mr. *Satyamurti* contended that the amendment was in order and pointed out that the scope of the Bill was to regulate the business of insurance and this included regulating it as far as the employees were concerned. He referred to the debate on the Tariff Bill in 1934 when Mr. N. M. Joshi moved an amendment which intended to protect Labour in the industries concerned.

Mr. M. S. Aney argued that the Bill was not merely intended to consolidate but improve the insurance business. Further the Bill contained many new provisions which were not found in the old Acts such as the licensing of agents. The business of insurance could not be done with out of any consideration for employees who were as much a part of it as the employees.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* stated that modern legislation in other countries recognised, for instance, that housing accommodation for labour was a part of the conditions making for sound working of certain industries. The Government of India also acted on the principle that provision of certain amenities to officials was part of the need to ensure sound and efficient administration. The question therefore was whether the amendment before the House did or did not relate to insurance business or rather was it unrelated to it.

The *President* giving his ruling stated that the existing law relating to insurance did not contain any provisions for instituting provident fund for the benefit of employees of insurance companies. He did not say that provident fund did not have any relation to the business of insurance but the relation was a remote one and it could not by any means be said that amendments like this came within the scope of the Bill.

Mr. *James* moved the next amendment to clause 53 with a view to restrict the Central Government's power imposing reciprocal disabilities on non-Indian companies to the special requirements of the keeping of deposits or assets only. He said that the clause as now drafted would lead to unnecessary harrassment of foreign companies.

Sir *Cowasjee Jehangir* pointed out that if the powers of the Central Government were thus restricted the Government would not be able to retaliate against a foreign country in which an Indian insurer for example was prevented from employing Indian clerks and officials.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* said that it was wise to have full powers of retaliation as it could not be foreseen at present in how many other directions the Central Government might be called to act apart from the requirements of keeping deposits and assets. He therefere opposed the amendment.

The House agreed to postpone till the next day further consideration of the amendment as Sir N. N. Sircar pointed out that an agreement might be reached after informal consultations among members.

The House quickly disposed of sections up to 87, but agreed to postponement till the next day for consideration of clause 86 defining mutual insurance company and co-operative insurance society.

Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai's* amendment to extend to mutual insurance societies the provisions relating to mutual insurance companies and co-operative insurance societies was rejected.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* pointed out that if mutual insurance societies were, as the mover stated, functioning without being registered either under the Companies Act or Co-operative Societies Act, they were liable to a fine of Rs. 1,000 each. If, however, they were registered then the provision would apply to them.

Mr. *Mohanlal Saxena's* amendment urging the addition of a sub-clause 2 to clause 87 with the object of giving power to mutual insurance companies and co-operative insurance societies to issue debentures or raise loans up to Rs. 25,000 was negatived by 49 votes to 41. The Assembly then adjourned.

Indo-British Trade Talks—Adj. Motion

30th. SEPTEMBER.—After questions in the Assembly to-day the *President* informed the House of the receipt of an adjournment motion from Mr. *S. Satyamurti* regarding the refusal of the Government to give an undertaking that they will abide by the verdict of or even consult the Assembly before coming to any decisions

on the Into-British trade negotiations which are at present being carried on in London.

Sir *Sultan Ahmed* argued that the motion was not urgent as the subject matter had been before the House in the form of a question and answer for the last one year and there was even a resolution. Whether it was reached or not was not his concern. He maintained that the matter was not urgent.

Mr. *Satyamurti* urged that the matter became urgent when the Commerce Member stated yesterday that the Government had not made up their mind as to whether to consult the House or abstain from doing so. Recently there had been alarming rumours of break-down of the Indo-British trade negotiations and in view of the closing of the session and the inconclusive nature of the negotiations which were protractedly dragging on and in view also of the fact that the Assembly might not meet till the end of January next the matter was most urgent.

The *President*, *Sir Abdur Rahim* ruled the motion out of order as the question had been before the House in some form or other since September last year and all that happened yesterday was a reiteration by the Commerce Member that the Government had not come to any conclusion whether to consult or not to consult the Assembly and, furthermore, constitutionally they were not necessarily bound to consult the House.

THE INSURANCE BILL DEBATE (CONTD.)

Clause 86 relating to the definition of Mutual Insurance Company and Co-operative Insurance Company or Society which stood over from yesterday was passed to day with the proviso moved by Mr. *Thirumal Rao* that Co-operative Life Insurance Societies in existence at the commencement of this Act should be allowed a period of one year to comply with the provisions of the Act.

The House agreed to the addition among miscellaneous provisions of a new Clause 97-A laying down that save and except where it was instituted by the superintendent of insurance no proceedings under this Act against an insurer or any director, manager or other officer of the insurer should be instituted by any person unless he had obtained the previous sanction of the Advocate-General of the province where the principal place of business in British India of such insurer was situated

The House transacted business after lunch quickly and disposed of up to clause 102.

On the motion of Mr. *Anantasayanam* the following new clause 100A, was added. "Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this Act, an insurer carrying the business of life insurance shall be at liberty to declare an interim bonus or bonuses to the policy-holders whose policies mature for payment by reason of death or otherwise during the inter-valuation period on the recommendation of the investigating actuary made at the last preceding valuation."

The House passed another amendment of Mr *Anantasayanam* to clause 101 providing that rule or rules made by the Governor-General in Council shall have force of law unless the same are previously laid on the table of both Houses of the Indian Legislature for a period of a month for modification in such a manner as it may think fit.

Mr. *Satyamurti*, supported by Mr. Zafarali, said that the Government had ample time between now and the Delhi session, when the Bill would come back from the Council of State, to frame these rules and place them before the Legislature.

Mr *Sushil Sen* moved that the addition of the new clause be inserted after clause 102, namely, that the Central Government may by notification in the official gazette exempt any insurer, constituted, incorporated or domiciled in an Indian State, from the provisions of section 6 relating to deposits, or from the provisions of sub-section (1) of section 25 relating to the keeping of assets in British India either absolutely or subject to such conditions or modifications as may be specified in the notification He said that this provision was essential to protect British and Indian companies doing business in Indian States.

Mr. *Anantasayanam* urged that the Government should take care that companies were not started in Indian States with a view to evading insurance law in British India.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* having agreed that clause 103 delegated too wide powers to officers in provincial Governments, the House accepted Mr. *L. K. Maitra's* amendment deleting the following Clause "the superintendent of insurance may delegate all or any of his powers and functions under part three to the officer appointed by

the Central Government to exercise in a province powers and functions of the Superintendent of Insurance in relation to provident societies"

At the suggestion of Mr. *S. C. Sen* and Mr. *B. Das* respectively the House agreed to the insertion of the following new clauses: "Nothing in this Act shall affect the liability to an insurer being a company to comply with the provisions of the Indian Companies Act. 1913, in matters not otherwise specifically provided by this Act.

"Nothing in this Act shall apply to any trade union registered under the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926".

"Each insurer registered under this Act shall deposit and keep deposited with the Superintendent of Insurance copies of all forms of policy contracts issued by him in India."

Mr. *Satyamurthi* withdrew his amendment seeking to lay down that all central and provincial governments, public bodies, etc, should insure with the Indian insurer on Sir N. N. Sircar informing him that the Central Government did not insure its property and local Governments were always at liberty to insure wherever they liked.

Mr. *Satyamurti* next moved that all protected and subsidised industries should place every class of insurance business other than life under the Indian insurer.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* opposed it on the ground that the Bill was not even remotely connected with the protection of Industries.

The President promised to give a ruling on the next day and the House adjourned.

1st. OCTOBER :—The President ruled out to-day *Mr. S Satyamurthi's* new clause to provide that no firm or company, foreign or Indian, shall be eligible for the benefit of any bounty, grant or subsidy payable out of the Central or provincial revenues or of protection in any shape or form unless such firm or company agrees to place every class of insurance business other than life with Indian insurance companies registered under the Act.

The *President* pointed out that the existing insurance law contained no provision akin to this and the Bill had nothing to do with the question of what class of insurance business was placed with a particular class of insurers. A provision like this did not come within the scope of the Bill.

The *President* ruled out of order Professor N. G. Ranga's new clause to provide that employees of the Government, municipalities, Local Boards and public utility companies, should place their insurance only in provident fund societies and mutual or co-operative insurance companies.

Prof Ranga moved an amendment that nothing in the Act should prevent any provincial Government undertaking insurance business on permission and subject to such conditions as might be prescribed by the Governor-General-in-Council He urged that provincial governments should undertake on the contributory basis various kinds of insurance so that the State might gain the necessary experience and create a sufficiently large clientale so that in course of time the idea of insurance might spread throughout the country paving the way for complete nationalisation of insurance. This was essential because instead of huge profits insurance business was accumulating in the hands of a few individuals. They might accrue to the State.

Dr. *Ziauddin* heartily supported the amendment and said the State was the proper authority which ought to bear losses of individuals by under-taking insurance.

Sir *N N. Sircar* said that he would have no objection if provincial governments conducted insurance business as provided in the India Act of 1935, but that for Governor-General-in-Council to prescribe the method of business to be conducted by provinces was unthinkable.

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* and Mr. *Aney* opposed while Mr. Santanam supported the amendment which was eventually negatived.

On Mr. *Satyamurti's* motion the House passed the following proviso to sub-clause one of clause three : "Provided that nothing in this Act shall apply to any insurance business carried on by the Government of Governors' provinces.".

The House also accepted on Dr. *Deshmukh's* motion a new clause after clause one hundred to the effect that in cases where a definite number of premiums is payable the policy of life insurance on which all premiums have been paid for three consecutive years shall acquire a guaranteed surrender value and notwithstanding any

contract to the contrary shall not lapse by reason of non-payment of further premiums, but shall, notwithstanding such non-payment, be kept alive to the extent of its paid-up value.

An explanation defines paid up value and mentions the exceptions to which the clause shall not apply.

The House then passed rapidly through all the remaining amendments and concluded consideration of the Bill clause by clause and then adjourned.

SECURITIES ACT AMEND BILL

2nd OCTOBER —*Sir James Grigg*, Finance Member, moved to-day that the Bill for amending the Indian Securities Act be taken into consideration. Sir James explained that since the inception of the Reserve Bank there had not been full time work for the Controller of Currency and hence the decision to transfer the whole of his work to the Reserve Bank. In fact, since the Reserve Bank had started functioning the Controller of Currency had been engaged in the process of transferring his duties to the Reserve Bank.

Mr *K Santanam* pointed out that if the post of the Controller of Currency had been abolished a year ago the Indian Exchequer would have saved a lot of money. The Government had unnecessarily delayed the matter

Mr. *Sriprakasa* wanted the Reserve Bank to continue to keep money on the same terms as the Controller of Currency who gave interest without extra charge in the shape of commission

Mr *B Das* wanted to know whether the Annual Report published by the Controller of Currency, which gave valuable information regarding Government's financial operations, would continue to be published and also whether the Finance Member and the Government would continue to have an adequate control over the Reserve Bank's activities

Mr. *N G Ranga* associated himself with the demand of Mr. B. Das that the annual report should continue to be published. He was not in favour of transferring so much power to the Reserve Bank, over which the Government did not have complete control.

Mr *Avinashilingam Chetti* wanted to know when the amendment to the rules would be carried out. He hoped it would be done soon as otherwise the public would be put to great trouble

Sir *James Grigg* gave an assurance that the Government of India would have control over the Reserve Bank's functions in the matter of currency and credit and proposed to regulate them by an informal agreement with the Bank. He hoped that would reassure the members who thought this Bill meant the lessening of control of the Central Government The Bill merely transferred certain routine functions regarding certain aspects of management of the public debt to the Bank The Reserve Bank would issue an annual report on matters of interest in connection with currency and credit during the year They had in fact already started doing so.

The House accepted Sir James Grigg's motion and passed the Bill.

THE INSURANCE BILL DEBATE (CONTD)

Before the House took up the third reading of the Insurance Bill, Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly, asked for permission from the Chair to rectify what he described as an inadvertment omission yesterday during the discussion on the amendments to move one relating to schedules for providing in the case of an insurer having his principal place of business outside British India, the expenses of management of total business need not be split up into several sub-heads if they are not so split up in his own country.

The *President* ruled that it was too late for any amendment of this kind to be moved then.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* then moved without a speech that the Bill be passed.

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* pointed out that the impression conveyed by the Law Member that Indian general insurance companies were prosperous was incorrect and said that they were not doing well at all and as things stood there was little prospect of any great movement in their position. He referred to the considerable uneasiness existing among important insurance circles at the acceptance of the definition of chief agents, which nullified the effect of the provision limiting commission of insurance agents. If this definition stood it was certain that the Bill would be amended very soon. He paid a tribute to the Leader of the House

who had displayed great patience, great sense of justice and on the whole remained a "stout Indian" and steered the Bill through when he was not in his health

Sir Leslie Hudson said the Bill in broad outline was a sound measure. It would certainly serve its main purpose, namely, of cleaning up the unsound and even dangerous position to which Indian insurance had reduced itself. It should also go far to ensure that, in future, insurance in India would develop on sound lines, but while the general structure was good it contained defects. It was inevitable where an attempt was made to reconcile two conflicting systems of legislation, namely, the Canadian and the English. He referred to many amendments which were at variance with sound insurance practice and of which further consideration was essential. He paid a tribute to the Law Member, about whom some hard things had been said (a voice: none in this House) but who had himself some hard words to say not only about mismanaging agents but about critics in almost every quarter of the House. "But let me say at once that we of this group recognise that even where he gave us his hardest knocks he did so in what he sincerely believed to be in the best interests of India and Indian insurance and we accept them in the same spirit, for we have no right to expect nor do we expect special treatment or favours at the hands of the Government, since we do not spare the view of some members opposite that the Government of India seeks only to defend European interests at the expense of Indian interests. All we did expect to receive from the Law Member was fair hearing and equitable treatment and I say unhesitatingly we received both (cheers) and that not only from him, but from other members of the House." He also paid a tribute to Mr. Sushil Sen.

Mr. *Satyamurti* referred to the difficulties under which the House worked, particularly the absence of any procedure whereby copies of the Bill with all the amendments incorporated, could be made available to members so that they might have a whole conspectus of the measure. He suggested improvement of procedure to secure this end. He passed on to pay unstinted tribute of admiration to the great ability and industry of the Law Member. The Law Member had employed the dictum that ability was character, for he could not do anything wrong consciously "More than that I was pleased, here on the floor of the House, when he spoke as any Congressman would have spoken on protection of Indian rights against non-Indian rights. I trust it was not a lapse on his part, but I believe profoundly it was a genuine expression of feeling in his mind that as he sees day after day the inner workings of the Government of India, his heart is becoming changed and he realises that if the best interests of the country are to be served, they should be served by Indians first and Indians last" He paid a tribute to Mr. Sushil Sen and said if he could give a chit regarding the future Superintendent of Insurance, he would give it to Mr. Sen. He also spoke appreciatively of some members of the Congress Party, particularly "the three Mukheteers", Messrs. Anantasayanam Iyengar, K. Sanatanam and Sami Venkatachellam Chetti He referred to the Congress Party's acceptance of Clause 26, in which they put the most objectionable part of the Government of India Act, namely, that Britishers should be treated as Indians. It was a bitter pill to his Party to swallow, but they swallowed it because the Law Member had stated more than once that under the Government of India Act, if any doubt arose regarding attempt to define Indian, non-Indian or United Kingdom insurers, it would be reserved for His Majesty's assent. The Party thought that the good features of the Bill were such that they ought to eat the bitter pill, but he reminded the European Group that Section 113 of the Government of India Act was not going to be permanently on the Statute Book if the Congress Party had their way and he would ask the European Group to take advantage of the friendly section of 118 and not rely on the broken reed of section 113.

Continuing Mr. Satyamurti said he had nothing to say with regard to managing agents beyond this that if after the abolition of managing agents, insurance business flourished in India, nobody would be happier than himself The success or otherwise of this legislation would however depend to a large extent on the Superintendent of Insurance and he therefore hoped the best man would be appointed without regard to racial and communal considerations.

Sir *H. P. Mody* said that this Bill had been wonderful from many points of view. Young or old, Indian or foreign, weak or strong companies alike had reasons to complain in the manner they had been dealt with. He did not know whether such damage was intended to be done to managing agents as had been done. He heard an insurance company was named the Genuine Insurance Company, whose Managing Agents were

a happy company but after the passing of this legislation there would neither be a Genuine Insurance Company nor happy managing agents (Laughter). He was going to advise all his insurer friends to close their shops and become policy holders (Laughter), He paid a warm tribute to Mr. S. C. Sen and Sir N. N. Sircar for producing this legislation and said he had not seen Sir N. N. Sircar with a cap, but he had certainly added another feather to his cap (Laughter).

Mr. *M. S. Aney* thought that the measure might need radical modifications but deserve to be given a fair trial Hard things had undoubtedly been said in the course of the debate particularly about "the unholy alliance" between the Congress and the Government on occasions but they had been forgotten now. They only indicated how strongly the members felt. He himself was not afraid of joining hands with the Government if he thought it right, but the sight of the Congress and the Government voting together was startling enough. He paid a tribute to the Law Member in whom the House felt it had a real Indian sitting on the Government benches He also paid tributes to Bengal Members of his Party and Messrs. Anantasayanam Iyengar, K Santanam and S. Satyamurti. The Law Member last year expressed some doubt whether policy-holders were sufficiently organised to represent their standpoint but the speaker thought the Law Member himself had shown great regard for policy-holders and was their strongest supporter.

Mr *Bhulabhai Desai* thought that it might be felt the Bill would have been better if the views of each member had prevailed. Yet he thought the House had secured the common maximum and on that he tendered his felicitations to the Leader of the House He paid a tribute to Mr. Sen and to the Secretary of the Assembly and the staff who helped smooth working by efficient collation of 2,000 odd amendments. As regards the charge of the Congress Party combining with the Government, Mr Desai said that he was not afraid of making combination with anyone if he agreed with him. He confessed his sense of disappointment that he was unable to contribute as much as he could have done if the House had been a sovereign legislature. He declared he was a pro-Indian first and last and if he spoke bitterly of Section 113 of the Government of India Act it was because it prevented him from being pro-Indian to the fullest extent He did not make any apology for it Who did not discriminate in his own interest, he asked ? Who would not feel bitter if his right to legislate in his own country should be restricted in the manner that Section 113 sought to do ? He quite appreciated the European Group's partiality for the principle of maximum publicity and no restrictions, but that was a principle which could be acted upon if Indian insurance had all the experience and resources that British business had built up India, dominated and impoverished, could not accept it He had learnt that in all legislative measures of this kind and in other things too, life was a matter of compromise. In that spirit they had worked on the Bill and in that spirit he commended it to the House.

Sir *N N. Sircar* acknowledged the kind words said about him and said the most prominent feature of the nineteen days' debate was the agreement regarding section 113 of the Government of India Act He had explained his difficulties to the House and appealed to them to postpone the struggle over that section for other occasions as he did not want to wreck the Bill which was so necessary for placing Indian business on a sound footing and getting control over business of foreign insurers. Many members had a hard struggle to give up the point of view on which they held strong views, and while he was glad his appeal had succeeded he recognised the sacrifice which had been made for saving the situation. The Law Member referred to the fear expressed by the European Group that the necessity of showing the life fund of Indian business would lead to British companies being compelled to use only the Indian fund for bonus to Indian policy-holders. That apprehension was unfounded and if in future an attempt was made to amend the Act so as to place such a restriction the Government would have no hesitation in opposing it. There was nothing to prevent foreign companies treating all policy-holders alike and declaring such bonus as was justified by their total life fund and not only the life fund in India. Such bonus would not amount to dumping as it had been interpreted. Proceeding to deal with conflicting interests, namely, well-established Indian Companies, young companies, United Kingdom and non-United Kingdom Companies, Sir N. N. Sircar explained that each had gained some advantages and lost some demands. The well-established companies gained in the shape of control by registration, licensing and powers of investigation given to the Superintendent, protection by prevention of entry of new foreign companies for twenty years, and powers of

retaliation against foreign countries. Young companies gained by the reduction of initial deposits from one lakh to fifty thousand and nine years for subsequent instalments of deposit, exemption of the existing companies, provision regarding the working capital and allowance of extra ten per cent in the matter of maximum commission. As regards the policy-holders the benefits conferred on them included insistence on working capital to prevent policy-holders' money being utilised for expense, deposits and life funds made absolute security for policy-holders, fifty-five per cent liabilities to policy-holders to be invested in gilt-edged and trust securities, high remuneration to managing agents barred, prevention of frivolous objections by insurance companies after two years and non-forfeiture of policies after two years and non-forfeiture of policies after premiums had been paid for three years.

The House agreed to the third reading amidst cheers and adjourned till the 5th.

MINES ACT AMEND. BILL (CONTD.)

5th. OCTOBER:—Sir *Thomas Stewart*, Commerce Secretary, moved to-day that the Mines Act Bill, as reported by the select committee, be taken into consideration. He explained the principal changes made by the committee and assured the House that the rules proposed to be made were matters of technical detail and did not constitute any invasion on the legislative powers of the House He suggested that the Bill should be expeditiously passed as the regulations were meant to save human life and that any avoidable delay in passing them was undesirable from the point of view of safety. He repeated the assurance that, as far as possible, the committee which would set up to administer the rescue stations would consist of one member of the mines inspectorate, two members representing the colliery owners, two representing the managers and two representing labour interests As regards the cost of the administrative machinery, the initial expenses for the building and apparatus would be Rs 95,000 and a recurring expenditure of Rs 35,000. The first year's expenditure would be Rs. 1,35,000. The cess of two pies per ton proposed to be levied, therefore, was most reasonable. He also reiterated the assurance that this Bill did not represent the sum total of the Government's decisions on the report of the Coal Mining Committee.

Professor Ranga, supporting the motion, asked for an assurance that, in case the representation of mine-owners and managers increased, a proportionate increase would be made in the representation of miners also. He also asked that the rules made under the Act should be placed on the table of the House for opinion to be expressed thereon. He wanted the House to guard against a repetition of the experience of the Tea Cess and Coffee Cess Committees on which members of foreign experts were appointed.

Sir *Thomas Stewart* assured Mr. Ranga that the Government had in mind the question of choosing of representatives of Labour for the Rescue Station Committee in the same way as for the Mining Board. The rules made under the Act would be published in order to elicit public criticism and the views of the interests concerned.

The motion was passed and the House took up the amendments.

Mr. *K. Santanam* moved an amendment to provide that "the central rescue stations shall have an adequate representation of workers in the mines concerned." He said that the Industries Member had already accepted the principle and assured the House that two Labour representatives would be appointed, but the speaker wanted a specific statutory provision in this matter.

After some discussion which was continued informally during the luncheon interval, Mr. *Santanam* withdrew his amendment and agreed to the amendment moved by Mr. *Ranga* to the effect that the authorities charged with the management of the central rescue stations should include representatives of owners, managers and miners belonging to the mines concerned. The House accepted the amendment.

Another amendment moved by Dr. *P. N. Banerjee* to reduce the Cess from six pies to three was negatived. Mr. Banerjee urged that the initial expenses should be incurred from Government revenues and only the recurring expenditure from the cess, which in that case could be easily reduced.

Sir *Thomas Stewart* explained that six pies was the upper limit which would not be enforced uniformly in all the areas. At present only two pies would be charged in the Jharia and Raneegunj areas.

Mr. *Ramnarain Singh* moved an addition to the proviso that the rules made under the Act shall not come into force until they have been placed on the table of

both the Houses of the Central Legislature at least for a month while they are in session and have been approved by resolutions of both Houses".

Mr Abdul Quaiyum, Mr. Ghiasuddin, Mr. Thirumal Rao. Mr. Gadgil, Mr. Aney and Mr. George Joseph supported the amendment

Sir *Thomas Stewart* opposed the amendment, pointing out that the rules were mainly of a technical nature and were not likely to trench on the powers of the Legislatures.

The amendment was pressed to a division and rejected by 49 votes to 44.

Mr *Bhulabhai Desai*, speaking after Sir Thomas Stewart on Mr. Ram Narain Singh's amendment, referred to Lord Hewart's dictum that the Civil Services and permanent services were getting too much power and getting too fond of exercising that power They were also getting fond of anybody who supported the exercise of that power and disliked those who wished to restrict the exercise of such unrestricted power He said that the House had no alternative but to support the amendment. The Bill was finally passed.

PATNA UNIVERSITY ACT AMEND. BILL

Sir *G. S Bajpai* then moved consideration of a Bill to further amend the Patna University Act (1917) with a view to rectifying certain anamolies resulting from the separation of Orissa. Section 11 of the Patna University Act as adopted by the Government of India (Adaptation of Indian Laws) Order (1917), had the effect of extending the jurisdiction of Patna University to the whole of Orissa as it stood on April 1, 1937 and consequently removing jurisdiction of Andhra University over the areas which were transferred to that province from the Madras Presidency

Mr *B Das* urged the establishment of a separate Orissa University.

Mr. *S Satyamurti* raised a constitutional point, namely, the jurisdiction of the Assembly to amend the Patna University Act, and for nearly an hour several lawyer members of the Assembly, including Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Sir N N Sircar, Mr. Asaf Ali and Mr. Sanatanam, discussed the point. The House then adjourned.

6th. OCTOBER —Sir *G S. Bajpai*, Education Secretary, made a statement regarding his motion for consideration of the Patna University Act Amendment Bill. Sir *Girijasankar* said that the Government did not now consider the view they had taken in regard to the Bill to be right and that therefore they had decided to withdraw it The House granted leave to withdraw the Bill.

MILITARY MANOEUVRES BILL (CONTD.)

Mr *Sriprakasa*, resuming his speech on the Military Manoeuvres Bill providing facilities for Military Manoeuvres and for field firing and artillery practice, pleaded that the legitimate rights and privileges of landlords be adequately protected He hoped that the Bill, when enacted, might improve the relations between the military and the civil population and would angur a happy day when the army in India, instead of being regarded as an army for terrorising the people, might be regarded as an army for the protection of the people

Mr *A Ayyangar*, on a point of order, argued that further progress of the Bill was barred by the fact that the sanction of the Governor-General under the new Act had not been obtained He pointed out that sanction had been obtained under the old Government of India Act when the Bill was introduced in the last Simla session, but since then certain specified parts of the new Government of India Act had come into operation, requiring the Governor-General's sanction for any measure like the present dealing with compulsory acquisition or modification of rights of land

Mr. *G H. Spence*, Legislative Secretary, stated that no compulsory acquisition of land was involved. He contended that sanction was required only when the Bill was introduced, and Mr. Ayyangar had admitted that such sanction had been obtained No further sanction was needed now for the further stages of the Bill.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* argued that the Governor-General's sanction under the old Act did not cover all the stages or all the provisions of the Bill. He declared that it did not cover compulsory acquisition of land which the Bill entailed. He pointed out that the Privy Council had recently held that any interference with land, such as contemplated by the Bill, was certainly tantamount to a modification of the rights over land.

The *President* upheld the contention that the sanction obtained at the time of introduction was sufficient and that no fresh sanction was necessary. He did not

like to go into the larger question, important though it was, whether the Bill was one which modified the rights of property in land.

Mr. *Desai* rose to a second point of order and argued that the Central Legislature had no power to enact any law modifying rights in or over land situated in provinces and the Bill was therefore 'ultra vires' of the House.

Mr *G. H. Spence* submitted that this point had been considered by the Chair and was covered by the ruling given on the previous point of order.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* and others declared with considerable heat that the point was not covered by the ruling. Mr. Desai explained his point of order once more and added that two ways were open to the Government to deal with the Bill, namely, split it into two, the first regarding the field of manoeuvres and the other regarding land. He had not concluded when at 4 o'clock the House took up the adjournment motion.

Protest against Dumping of Europeans

The adjournment motion of Mr. *Shamlal* regarding the appointment of Mr. S. P. Chambers as Chief Commissioner of Income Tax in India on a monthly salary of Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 3,000, was carried by 59 votes against 42 amid loud cheers.

Mr *Shamlal*, in course of his speech, said that Mr Chambers was at present getting in England only £400 (about Rs. 500 monthly) and he asked what was the justification of appointing him on such a huge salary Quoting the duties of the officer he mentioned the income tax report and emphasised that several officers were available in India itself to perform such duties which was in no way of a technical character The fact that the finances of eleven huge Indian provinces were now administered by Indian Ministers drawing a much lower salary was in itself a good reason to believe that a suitable officer was available in India itself. He made an emphatic protest against the exploitation of India in such a manner and the dumping of Europeans at every conceivable opportunity

Sir *James Grigg* intervened in the debate early He was constantly interrupted and the Chair had to warn members several times not to interrupt him. Sir James Grigg said that one of the disadvantages of dealing with the motion which was based on information obtained from illicit sources was that the information was not quite accurate. Continuing, the Finance Member explained that the Government, as the House was already aware, were engaged on the task of overhauling the income tax machinery, both as regards law and as regards administration Their objects were to make the law fairer as between the tax-payer and tax-payer and as between the poorer and the rich and diminish, as far as possible, the opportunity for illegal evasion which now existed The second object was to increase the yield of income tax. He hoped their efforts would result in a considerable yield so that they might be able to allot to the provinces substantial grants as recommended by the Niemeyer Award.

The Finance Member wished to assure the House that this had all along been one of the main motives in his mind, and it was an extremely thankless task. It had been a matter of common admission that the Indian income tax machinery had not kept pace with the growth of and complexity of the task thrown upon them and its structure bore obvious traces of provincial origins The Government thought that their object could best be achieved by appointing on a temporary basis an officer with experience of the English income tax system which was certainly the best in the world. Sir James said that the Government discovered, after an exhaustive review of the field of appointment in India, that they could not discover in India an officer with the requisite qualification. If there had been such an officer, he would have been appointed.

Sir *James Grigg* said that he had personal knowledge of Mr. Chamber's work both in England and India and he could say that no better person could be found for the work. He was satisfied that they were offering to pay no more than it was required as his taking up the appointment in India would interrupt his career in England, entailing loss of pension and other considerations in England. At the end of three years (not five years as stated in the motion) the provinces could be getting substantial and enhanced allocation of funds. One of Mr. Chamber's main task would be to train a successor to himself in India. Concluding his speech Sir James Grigg referred to what he called "unauthorised and premature leakages of information through the disloyal and despicable habit of some Government servants." He said that the information on which the resolution was based must have been derived by an unauthorised source, and the Finance Member wished to make a personal appeal

to honourable members not to countenance "this disloyal and despicable habit on the part of a minority or some of the Government servants.

On the conclusion of Sir James Grigg's speech. Mr. *Shamlal* explained that he did not get this information from any Government servant.

Sir *James Grigg* said that he was making no reflection nor accusing the Hon'ble Member What he said was that information could only have been derived in the first instance from disclosures by Government servants. The House then adjourned.

MILITARY MANOEUVRES BILL (CONTD.)

7th. OCTOBER —The Assembly adopted to-day Mr. *Ogilvie's* motion for consideration of the Military Manoeuvres Bill and agreed to take up the amendments during the Delhi session Regarding the point of order raised by Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* that the Bill was ultra vires, the *President* ruled there was nothing in the provisions of the Bill which could be said to be ultra vires. but that the question as to how far he was the called upon to decide whether certain provisions were within competence of the legislature, was one which he would consider on further material being made available to him.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION AMEND. BILL

Sir Thomas Stewart moved that the Bill amending the Workmen's Compensation Act be referred to a select committee

Mr *Gadgil* wanted that the scope of the Bill should be extended to other small industries, such as ferry workers and elephant catchers. He suggested deletion of the clause by which a workman before getting compensation was to get himself examined by a medical man of the employer He suspected that these doctors would give biassed opinions in favour of employers.

Sir *Thomas*, in reply, said that the points raised would be discussed thoroughly in the select committee. He assured Mr Gadgil that the Bill already covered both ferrymen and elephant-catchers

The motion for referring the Bill to a select committee was passed.

DRUGS IMPORT REGULATION BILL

Sir *G S. Bajpai* moved that the Bill to regulate the import of drugs and medicine be referred to a select committee Sir G. S. Bajpai explained briefly the main plan of the Bill. It was intended to license importers of drugs and prohibit the import of certain drugs and regulate the import of other drugs. It was not the intention to interfere with the legitimate trade in drugs.

Mr. *Boyd* (European, elected) expressed satisfaction that the step to implement the recommendations of the Drugs Enquiry Committee was being given effect to He hoped that the Government would not leave the question of regulation of the manufacture of drugs to provincial Governments who were liable to lose uniformity essential in the matter

Sir *G. S. Bajpai*, in reply, informed Mr. Boyd that the Central Government had no power to regulate manufacture which lay entirely with provincial Governments, but hoped that uniformity would be attained by provincial Governments by legislating for manufacture and distribution after consultation with the Central Advisory Board. The motion was thereupon passed.

RAILWAY LIABILITIES

Sir *James Grigg* next moved a resolution that "the Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that railway revenues be declared not liable before April 1, 1940, or before fixation under Section 187 (1) of the Government of India Act, 1935, of the sum therein referred to whichever is earlier, to repay to the depreciation reserve fund maintained for Indian State-owned railways the balance outstanding on April 1. 1937, of loans taken from the fund to meet railway deficits or to pay to general revenues any contributions due under the resolution of this Assembly of September, 1924, in respect of the period beginning April 1, 1931, and ending March 31, 1937."

Sir *James Grigg* stated that judging from the amendments moved to the original resolution, proposing to wiping off both sets of arrears to the depreciation fund and to general revenues, two lines of action emerged. The first was Mr. Satyamurthi's proposal that only the debt to the depreciation fund should be cancelled and the second, the European group's proposal, to leave the depreciation fund arrears not

only outstanding but as a first charge on any surplus which arose. The resolution was an attempt to steer the middle class between the Scylla and Charibdes of these two suggestions. The effect of the resolution was to declare a moratorium of three years for both the arrears. He understood that the resolution was acceptable to all parties.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* said that the Opposition could not highly look upon the proposal that the federal railway authority should commence its operations having got rid of its obligations so far as 60 odd crores of arrears were concerned, or that this authority should be able to say with diminished capital that they were working very well indeed It was much better that the railway authority should accept the the position so far as capital valuation was concerned, including these two items of arrears, so that their career of extravagance might to a certain extent be checked The Opposition mentioned that whenever an adjustment took place, neither of these items should not be omitted. Moratorium had become the order of the day and the resolution in effect came to a moratorium for railways, but it was understoood as part of the resolution that contributions to the province should be paid, and he hoped that when amounts to the provinces were paid, these two items of debt would be acknowledged as a proper debt owing.

Mr *M. S. Aney* referred to the circumstances under which the House had reluctantly agreed to the separation convention and said that one of the reasons which had weighed with the House was that a certain amount was fixed as contribution to the general revenues. The proposal to wipe off the arrears of these contribution only meant that the mistakes made by those in charge of the railways were to be paid by the tax-payer He contended that the resolution before the House was an attempt untimely to wipe off these liabilities and he was not prepared to give his consent to it

The resolution was passed.

Economic Adviser's Appointment—Adj. Motion

The Assembly carried, by 33 votes to 45, Mr. *Satyamurthi's* adjournment motion regarding the appointment of Prof. Gregory as Economic Adviser to the Government of India. Mr. Satyamurthi said that he sought to raise the question of policy and personal fitness of Prof. Gregory. He declared that it must be a weak and demoralised Government which handed over functions to experts and it must be a poor expert indeed who consented to help the Government of India "If Prof Gregory is very good, let him stay in his country and help her in her present difficult position" (laughter) Mr. Satyamurthi quoted one of Prof. Gregory's writings in which he spoke of the "danger of uncritical acceptance of economic planning" The speaker asked if these were views acceptable to Sir James Grigg. Furthermore, Prof. Gregory had many friends among the magnates of Manchester, the one enemy of India. "With Grigg-Gregory combination God save India" exclaimed the speaker He asked why Sir James Grigg was trying to handicap the future Federal Ministers with experts of his choice . Of foreign experts the country had enough experience . If Prof. Gregory had intellectual honesty and if on a study of Indian condition he prescribed one shilling four ratio all that would happen would be that he would fall ill ane be asked to take leave "If you want an economic expert go to Shegaon". said Mr Satyamurti, "who can solve the poverty of the country" (cheers). Finally an English expert was bound to be against India. The economic interests of England conflicted in every stage with those of India and no English expert could be otherwise. He appealed to the House before it dispersed to register another vote of censure and thus do its duty.

Sir *James Grigg* explained the functions of experts and referred to Mr. Gregory's qualifications' He said that the Government had come to the conclusion that men with these qualifications were not available in India at the present moment. Apart from Prof. Gregory's qualifications the Government contemplated that he should create in this country a small economic department of the Government which would be staffed by young Indian economists, who would be trained by him in economic research. He hoped that once Indian economic ability was directed to practical problems, there would be no need ever again to appoint a non-Indian. The Assembiy then adjourned *sine die*.

The Bengal Legislative Assemly

Budget Session—Calcutta—29th. July to 30th. September 1937

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1937-38

The Budget Session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly under the new Constitution, which commenced in Calcutta on **29th. July 1937**, had an exciting start. When the Finance Minister, the Hon. Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarkar* rose to present the Budget estimates, Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, the Leader of the Opposition, raised a point of order, taking exception to Mr. Sarker "inflicting a written speech on the House."

Mr. Bose held that such a practice was contrary to the standing orders and rules under the new Constitution and also against the convention obtaining in the British Houses of Parliament which deprecated reading a written composition.

The Speaker, *Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque*, while unwilling to encourage such a practice generally, ruled the Minister to be in order, stressing that a distinction should be made between an ordinary speech and a financial statement

In the course of his budget speech, Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarker* said: "The decision of the Congress to accept office in six provinces has indeed come at a crucial moment. At a time when nervous hesitation or unhelpful opposition might have robbed the country of a great opportunity, the premier political party in the country has shown that it prefers to be on the side of service and constructive endeavour. It would have been disastrous if the Congress had not risen to the occasion through wise statesmanship and political sagacity. The remedy for deficiencies in our Constitution lies not in keeping at arm's length but in discovering and removing the obstacles that appear in our task of mass uplift. To-day, I am happy to feel that all over India urgent problems of national reconstruction are being essayed by popular Ministries in full enjoyment of the support and inspiration of popular assemblies. If all of us now move in step undaunted by the heavy task that lies ahead and determined to grapple the problems that confront us, I feel sure that we shall not only succeed in achieving something for the economic welfare of the people but also make considerable progress in our march towards our political goal".

"The problems that loom very large in our national economy to-day are to no small extent the result of inadequate attention given to them in the past, although the benefit of past wisdom and past endeavour is always present in some measure. As the problems all over the country are similar and equally onerous, I look forward to the prospect of a constant interchange of ideas among the responsible Ministers of different provinces This will not only be a great help in finding solutions for some of our problems but will also pave the way for an effective tackling of many of our wider problems of an all-India character by the Government at the Centre when Federation becomes an accomplished fact. I personally feel that it is in the broad national interest that an attempt should be made as early as possible by nationalist parties of every shade to get down to brass tacks, to turn from the familiar methods of agitation and accusation to genuine introspection on a national scale, to examine our resources in men and material and to marshall them for the achievement of our common aim."

Continuing, the Finance Minister said. "On 1st April there occurred not only a vital change in the constitutional position, but also considerable changes in our financial position and prospect. We have to a large extent gained financial autonomy vis-a-vis the Government of India. Our control over the finances of the province has greatly increased and the actual financial position at which the new regime commences is better than it has been for many years. It is an auspicious omen that the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy in this province coincides with the emergence for the first time after ten years, of an appreciable surplus of revenue over current expenditure. The extent of the improvement that has occurred in our financial position as a result of the constitutional changes will be better understood if we compare our present position with that during the last sixteen years under the Meston Award."

Continuing, he said: "With the inauguration of the new Reforms, however, the situation has undergone a considerable change. Our debts to the Centre amounting in total to eight-crores and forty one lakhs of rupees, inclusive of deficit borrowings as they stood on 31st March, 1936, were cancelled on the basis of the Niemeyer report. This has reduced our annual expenditure on interest alone by Rs. 23 lakhs. And our share of the jute export duty has been raised from 50 to 62 and a half per cent, resulting in increasing our immediate resources by about Rs. 45 lakhs. The Niemeyer settlement is no doubt a great improvement on the Meston Award in providing the much needed financial relief to Bengal. Even so, it has not met in full the legitimate claims pressed by her for distribution of the whole of the net proceeds of the jute duty among the jute-growing provinces. We shall, of course, continue to press for the whole and, under Section 140 of the Act, the whole can be given to us either by order of His Majesty in Council or by an Act of the Federal Legislature."

After referring to certain other changes in the financial position by the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, Mr. Sarker said. "That any part of the public revenues should be kept outside the control of the Legislature is doubtless a qualification of the principles of representative Government and particularly of popular control over the public purse. For a removal of this qualification we must await the realisation of full self-government, to which the present Reforms are admittedly but a step. But it serves no useful purpose to exaggerate the practical significance of this limitation."

Continuing, the Finance Minister said: "There is one more financial implication of the constitutional change that occurred last April. In pursuance, again, of the Niemeyer proposals the Government of India placed at our disposal Rs. 98 lakhs to start with as our opening balance for specific purposes. In the first place, Rs. 25 lakhs were placed to our credit in the Reserve Bank, this being the minimum balance we are required to maintain in the Bank. Secondly, we have been given Rs. 24 lakhs in cash in treasuries, this being the amount of loose cash outside our banking account which has been estimated to be required for working purposes, in the tills, as it were, of our treasury officers. Thirdly, we have been given an unspent balance amounting nearly to Rs. 48 and three-fourth lakhs, of funds created and of grants obtained for specific purposes. The House will, therefore, notice that the whole of opening balance of Rs. 98 lakhs is earmarked for specific purposes."

"The year 1935-36, according to the budget estimates, was to have closed with a revenue deficit of about 98 lakhs. Actually it closed with a deficit on revenue account of 4 lakhs. Expenditure was below estimate by 19 lakhs, while receipts were 45 lakhs above estimation and 44 three-fourth lakhs above those of 1934-35. "Stamps" contributed 10 lakhs of this increase, Betting and Amusement taxes, one lakh, Electricity Duty and Tobacco tax, 16 lakhs, Jute Duty, 9 lakhs. The improvement was due partly to the new taxation measures adopted in 1935, but mostly to economic recovery."

The Finance Minister said that the revised estimate of receipts on revenue account for the year 1936-37 was higher than the estimated figures by Rs. 44 half lakhs and that the revised estimate of receipts on capital account was Rs. 42 lakhs lower than the original estimate

Coming to the budget estimates for 1937-1938, the Minister said "On the receipts side we expect a total revenue of twelve crores and fifty-five lakhs of rupees This marks an improvement of Rs 60 lakhs over the revised estimates for the previous year. Forty-five lakhs of rupees out of this are due to increase in our share of the export duty on jute. As for the remaining Rs. 15 lakhs, the estimate has been framed on the basis of expectation of larger yields from stamps, excise and land revenue. It is hoped that the economic recovery which was visible last year will maintain its progress throughout the current year and enable these heads of revenue to make a better showing. An improvement of three lakhs of rupees has been provided for under stamps; another three lakhs of rupees under excise. Under land revenue we expect our improvement to be six lakhs of rupees owing to heavy settlement recoveries."

Referring to proposals for expenditure, the Minister said, "We provide for expenditure on revenue account of twelve crores and twenty-one lakhs of rupees, which is Rs. 39 half lakhs more than the revised estimates for 1936-37. This, however, does not fully indicate the improvement on the expenditure side. The revised estimates for last year embrace items of expenditure which do not recur in this year's expenditure. Most important of these are Rs. 12 lakhs for reduction of debt, Rs. 39 lakhs

for interest charges and Rs. 8 half lakhs for the last general election.. If due allowance is made for these, it will be seen that we propose to spend on revenue account Rs. 89 lakhs more than what was spent last year under normal heads."

"A special reference may be made to such increases in expenditure as have been entailed by the constitutional changes. The enlargement of the legislature and the addition of an Upper Chamber have involved an additional expenditure of 1 and half lakhs and the setting up of the Public Service Commission, 1 lakh. The new reforms have also imposed on the provincial revenues a liability for expenditure to the extent of 16 lakhs on account of interest charges on State Provident Funds".

Proceeding, *Mr. Sarcar* said . "The estimates contemplate that the year will close with a surplus revenue account of nearly Rs. 34 lakhs this year. And if we take into account the opening balance of Rs. 98 lakhs, the increased expenditure of Rs. 89 lakhs and the surplus itself, it will be seen that the improvement in our finances though not, of course, in our recurring income, may be computed at over two crores of rupees. This is a position from which the Government, circumstanced as we are, should feel happy to make a start.

"It is no small advantage that we are now starting with a clean slate, with no loans outstanding and no interest charges forming part of our normal recurring expenditure. As soon as we are assured of an adequate and recurring surplus revenue account, we shall be in a position to raise loans of some magnitude to finance comprehensive schemes of national welfare"

Mr. Sarker also hinted at the renewal of five taxation measures, which were adopted in 1935 and which are due to expire in 1938.

The Minister said that a scheme for setting up a machinery for conducting educative propaganda amongst the masses were receiving very careful attention from the Government and it was proposed to set up a commission to go thoroughly into the various aspects of the question of the land system in Bengal, such as the effect of the system of sub-infeudation of economic holdings, the incidence of rent payable by the agriculturist, the narrowing down of intermediary interests, the possibility of methods of State acquisition of proprietory interests through the grant of compensation, and various other allied questions and a sum of fifty thousand rupees had been set apart for the purpose.

After outlining his budget proposals, Mr. Sarker made a few observations relating to the general position of the province and the problems facing it. "It will be generally agreed that in all the ameliorative measures which the Government of the Province will take in hand, the main, if not the sole, objective should be the betterment of the condition of the masses. Let me and in fairness that in making the masses the beneficiaries of Government's solicitude. the classes will be showing not so much a selfless altruism as an enlightened self-interest. For, whether in the political or economic or cultural sphere, our progress is hampered by the fact that our national life is muddled and poisoned at its fount by the backward conditions of the masses The need then is to resurrect the average man who in this predominantly agricultural country is a cultivator."

"Though agriculture is the mainstay of our people, the cultivator too often finds his occupation unremunerative under present conditions The cultivator is in fact the weakest link in the economic chain. And due to this penurious state of the workers in the biggest industry of the land, the co-operative movement, which depends primarily on the credit-worthness and solvency of the cultivator, has made conspicuously little headway. Nor have industrial and commercial activities provided the much-needed relief against the uneconomic pressure on land. This has been due to a large extent to a traditional preference for investment in land on the part of those who by virtue of their resources should have taken the initiative in industrial and commercial enterprise. The opportunities of industrial development have therefore been more readily seized by more enterprising immigrants from other provinces. Even so, there is still a conspicuous lack of balance between agriculture and other aspects of our economic life. This lack of industrial enterprise has necessarily narrowed the scope for employment, particularly for the educated middle-class.

"The primary condition of our economic progress is the restoration of the cultivator to the position of an efficient and solvent factor of production. The efficiency depends on the extent to which we are able to release him from his present handicaps and to better equip him for the improvement of his condition. And his solvency can only follow the provision of adequate relief from the various burdens weighing on him."

Turning to the problem of educated middle-class unemployment, he said: "The Government by the expansion of their beneficent activities according to their resources can no doubt give employment to some of the employed but not to an extent likely to absorb unemployed educated youth. The expansion of governmental activity in any direction must necessarily mean more employment. Thus if free primary education is introduced or technical education extended or public health organisations extended, this will in every instance mean the employment of a fairly large number of young men. Apart from such direct help, however, the Government can also help to enlarge the avenues of employment by undertaking public works on a larger scale. As a matter of fact the Government are considering many such schemes. But while this would undoubtedly lead to better opportunities for employment, there should be in the Province an adequate machinery through which the expansion of State activity would be reflected in benefits accruing to our unemployed young men. If, for instance, the Government decide to build a number of bridges or construct more roads, buildings and canals, etc., the full benefit will not accrue to us if the award of the contract has to go to any firm outside Bengal, or if we have to get our labour from one province, our skilled artisans from another and other employees from somewhere else. I may mention in this connection that there is too often an unreasonable prejudice in the minds of our people against certain classes of work. One has only to think of the many avenues of employment even in the existing conditions which Bengal has virtually thrown away to the people of other provinces to realise how our whole attitude to work needs a speedy and a radical revision. I may tell the honourable members that the Government are considering the appointment of an officer to investigate thoroughly into the question of the opportunities offered by the various channels of employment which are now occupied by men from other provinces and to see what help the Government can render to gradually fit our young men for such occupations. The Government can also help to widen the scope of employment by stimulating industrial and trade activity. Ultimately the solution for unemployment must lie in an expansion of the economic activities of the country."

The Governor's Address

In the course of his address to the joint session of the Legislature, *H. E. Sir John Anderson*, the Governor referred to the question of detenus and stressed the Ministers' and Governor's responsibility in this matter. He did not expect any conflict of policy and went on to say .—

"But you are entitled to know what would happen in case this kind of conflicts which, in spite of all efforts on both sides proved irreconcilable, were unfortunately to arise. In that unhappy event, which I refuse to contemplate as within the region of probability, the Governor's view would undoubtedly prevail, subject to his ultimate responsibility to Parliament. The Ministers would thereupon become entitled to make a public statement of their position showing the extent of the conflict and how it had arisen. That is a state of things, which arising on an issue of such intrinsic importance I should regard as a great public misfortune and which I would certainly strain every effort to avert. It would be a misfortune in its constitutional reactions. It would be no less a misfortune I would venture to observe, from the standpoint of all those of whatever political persuasion, who are anxious to see normal conditions restored as speedy as possible throughout the Province.

"For it is clear that a sustained and reasoned policy involving no independent action by the Governor and no divergence of opinion between Ministers themselves—a policy, moreover, in pursuit of which, the Ministers, in the discharge of their duty to the Province, may justifiably appeal for the co-operation of prudent men among all sections of the community—it is clear that such a policy can achieve far more and achieve it more swiftly, more successfully and without the risk of adverse reactions than would be possible, if an attempt at appeasement were so far to miscarry as to be itself a cause of tension and discord.

"I will not elaborate further. I plead for goodwill and sympathetic understanding on the part of all who may be called upon to pronounce responsible judgment in this grave matter. I would only add with all earnestness and humility that I should be a happy and proud man, if after five and a half strenuous and difficult years, I could leave the shores of India with the confident belief that the time was not far distant when this Province of Bengal would no longer present any of the unenviable features which for more than one generation has distinguished it from other Provinces in India."

Referring to the profound changes which have come across his status in all matters, His Excellency said, "Hereafter, the Ministers will be solely responsible to the representatives of the people for every legislative measure that may be submitted by the Government for enactment in either Chamber assembled here to-day. That statement, which I make without qualification, I believe to be absolutely true and it is in my view an accurate index of the extent to which responsibility has been transferred from the Governor to the representative Ministry."

Referring to financial matters, Sir John Anderson said, "Under the present Constitution, responsibility for Finance vests in the Ministers. Formerly the Governor, in exercise of his personal responsibility, gave or withheld his prior consent to every measure introduced by any member of the Legislative Council which affected the finances of the Province. In now giving or withholding that consent, the Governor personally has no greater voice than he has in the initiation of the policy for which expenditure is to be provided.

"I know of no financial provision likely to be laid before you for which the Governor in his discretion is responsible other than that required for certain salaries provisionally fixed, pending their determination by the Legislature, for the administration of the Chittagong hill tracts, for the Public Service Commission and for the conduct of my own Secretarial business matters which, under the Constitution, fall outside the range of Ministerial responsibility. There are, it is true, items of expenditure charged on the revenues for which the Ministers, equally with the Governor, are bound to make provision. The obligation may arise either from the Constitution Act itself or from the legislation that you yourselves may pass, but in respect of those matters, unless and until the contrary is stated, the Governor has no responsibility separate from that of his Ministers."

Inviting the attention of the House to the change in the rules and standing orders relating to financial procedure, by which 15 days are set apart for discussion on demands for grants and two days' maximum time for discussion on any one grant, the Governor said, "The change is intentional and the modified procedure represents a fairly close approximation to the practice of the House of Commons It has been adopted in the hope of facilitating that responsible and discriminating criticism which, in relation to the business of supply, is one of the most important functions of a constitutional Opposition."

Continuing, His Excellency said, "There is one further matter which it may be worth while to mention. It is not, I think, without constitutional interest and significance. Under the new Act, the Governor, as the representative of the Sovereign, becomes for the first time himself a part of the Legislature There is in fact a new legislative partnership established here to correspond with that already existing in the United Kingdom and in every one of the great overseas Dominions of the Crown between the Sovereign and the two Chambers of the Legislature. It is in this capacity, I believe, and not in his capacity as the titular head of the Executive Government, that the Governor is entrusted with certain of his discretionary powers and it is in this capacity that the Governor when assenting to legislation will do so in His Majesty's name There is one departure, however, from the model of Westminster, which may be noticed and which perhaps is more significant because it is a departure also from the scheme of the previous Act. In England, the Speaker, upon his election, submits himself for the approbation of the Sovereign."

After saying that a similar provision under the old Act now no longer existed, His Excellency observed that in practice it made little or no difference, for it was difficult to conceive of circumstances in which that approval would be withheld. For, in England, during the course of several centuries, there was, he believed, only one such instance. "Nevertheless I feel tempted to recall the fact that at Westminster the newly-elected Speaker invariably takes the occasion, after receiving the approval of this appointment, to address to the Sovereign, on behalf of the Commons, a plea in words that have history behind them but nonetheless retain significance in modern days 'that the most favourable construction shall be put upon all their proceedings. Recalling this time-honoured formula, I cannot help feeling a twinge, perhaps purely of sentimental regret, that an occasion for such an utterance and acceptance of the plea should not have been provided here. The formula seems to me to sum up the relationship of mutual respect and understanding upon which the foundations of democratic Government have been laid. But whether we utter that formula or not, surely it is not too much to hope that the relations between the various organs of State in an Indian Province and between community and community and class and class may some day be governed in the spirit of that formula

by a readiness on the part of each to place the most favourable construction upon the proceedings of the others."

Concluding, His Excellency said, "We are engaged in making a great experiment in democracy, an experiment in which many of us place high hopes. If the spirit to which I have referred prevails, I feel sure that sooner or later the experiment will be acknowledged to have been completely successful I am, on the other hand, equally sure that democracy nourished on envy, hatred, malice or any other form of uncharitableness can never thrive in any part of the world."

PRESS OFFICER'S BAN—ADJ. MOTION

2nd. AUGUST.—An adjournment motion in the Assembly to-day sought to discuss the situation arising out of the letter of warning issued by the Press Officer of the Government of Bengal to the Editors of Calcutta newspapers drawing attention to the Government notification of 17th May, 1935, prohibiting the publication of all information relating to the Detenue Day. The mover, Mr. *N. N. Chakravarti* (Congress), speaking in Bengali, observed that the letter only helped to remind the people that the old order of things was continuing under a new garb.

Seconding the motion, Mr. *B. P. Pain* (Congress) characterised the ban as an act of shameless Ministerial enormity.

Sir *George Campbell* said that Government had to see that the release of detenus did not interfere with the liberties of millions of people in the province. Government, he thought, had a duty to the people, but at the same time they also had a duty towards civilisation as against chaos and anarchy

Mr. *Syama Prasad Mookerjee* (Independent) reminded the Prime Minister that the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, under which this notification was issued, had received the strongest condemnation from Mr. Fazlul Huq, when it was placed before the old Council in 1934.

The *Prime Minister* assured Mr. Mookerjee that he would not go back upon the words he uttered in 1934. He repudiated the allegation of being a communalist and said, while the present Ministry was sympathetically considering the question of the release of detenus, in certain cases they were released on his own responsibility. He pleaded for sympathy, support and co-operation, adding that he did not look upon a detenue as a Hindu or a Muslim, but as a Bengali.

The Home Minister, Sir *K Nazimuddin* said that the Government had informed their policy on the question of the release of detenus and he would take an early opportunity to announce it before the Legislature.

Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, Leader of the Opposition, said if the present Ministry took responsibility for this notification, he would characterise its action as an act of administrative lawlessness of the worst type

Muslim members of the Proja Party also spoke in favour of the motion, which was ultimately talked out and the House adjourned

The Assembly, earlier in the day, held a general discussion on the Budget.

ANDAMANS HUNGER-STRIKE—ADJ. MOTION

4th. AUGUST.—The motion for the adjournment of the House to discuss the Government's attitude toward the hunger-strikers in the Andamans was lost to-day by 150 votes to 75. Moving the motion, Mr. *T. C. Goswami*, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly, appealed to the Treasury Benches to take a serious view of the situation and asked the Government to tell the House whether they were prepared immediately to take steps to improve the conditions of life of those prisoners or repatriate them to their own Province.

Mr. *Abul Hashem* (Muslim League) suggested that all politicals and detenus now outside the Province should be brought back to Bengal.

Sir *K. Nazimuddin* declared that the Government were not prepared to consider the demands of the prisoners as long as they were on hunger-strike nor could they consider the question of their repatriation to Bengal so long as the hunger-strike continued as administration would be impossible if the Government surrendered to such demands. He, however, announced that the Government had decided to bring back to Bengal all Bengal prisoners under Regulation Three of 1818 and detenus as soon as arrangements could be made. He added that, if after the detenus and Regulation Three prisoners had been brought to Bengal, the Government found that there was a spirit of co-operation and support from the public and that conditions were favourable and there prevailed an atmosphere of goodwill and sympathy and

there was no risk of a recrudescence of trouble, the government would then consider the question of bringing back the Andamans prisoners to Bengal.

Sir *K. Nazimuddin* said that so far as the present stage was concerned, the question of the merits of the demands of the hunger strikers could not be considered at all. The Government were looking at the whole matter as a question of principle. Any Government worth the name would crumble to pieces if it were to show its weakness by surrendering to demands put forward at the point of the bayonet. The Minister suggested that grave calamity could yet be averted if instead of indirectly encouraging the hunger-strikers, the people would sympathise with them, but at the same time make it clear that such an unreasonable attitude on the part of political prisoners would receive no countenance from them. The Government of Bengal, he repeated, would do nothing which would create a feeling among the political prisoners now on hunger-strike and also among the hundreds of other classes of prisoners in the Province, that all that they had to do to have their demands acceded to was to go on a hunger-strike. He wanted the House to realise that such a weak and vacillating attitude would go against the very fundamentals of government. The Home Minister announced that the Bengal Government had decided to bring back to Bengal all persons now detained under Regulation III of 1818 as well as all detenus at present confined in jails and detention camps outside Bengal. As far as the political prisoners in the Andamans were concerned, the Home Minister said that so long as they continued the present hunger-strike the question of their repatriation would not be considered. But if they gave up the hunger-strike and an assurance was forthcoming that there would be no recrudescence of political crimes and terrorist outrages, they might be brought back to Bengal

Mr. *Shayma Prasad Mukherjee* said that there was a confusion of ideas on the part of the Home Minister , for the question was whether the Andamans should continue as a penal settlement. He said that the prisoners did the only thing possible for drawing the attention of the people of India to the terrible state of affairs prevailing in the Andamans. He said they were not suggesting that these prisoners should be released, but only that they should be brought back to Bengal. Mr. Mukherjee quoted Sir William Vincent, a former Home Member with the Government of India, who said that the Andamans Penal settlement must be abandoned as an act of humanity and asked the Home Minister of the Government of Bengal to come forward and declare that this settlement would be closed at least so far as Bengal was concerned.

Several non-Congress Muslims and Nationalist Hindus, in addition to the Congress Party, supported the motion while the European Group opposed it

SAXENA—LINLITHGOW CORRESPONDENCE

In this connection it would be interesting to read the following correspondence between Mr. *Mohanlal Saxena*, and *His Excellency the Viceroy* regarding the Andamans hunger-strike. The following is Mr. *Saxena's* letter :—

"I hereby desire to draw your attention to the tragedy that is being enacted in the Andamans and seek his Excellency's personal intervention to avert it. At the outset I may state that I consider the action of the hunger-strikers to be untimely and have appealed to them to suspend the hunger-strike for the present. Still I do not think that the responsibility of the Government of India is anyway less for it.

"I know that his Excellency is fully aware of the history of the Andamans as a convict settlement ; still I deem it necessary briefly to recapitulate to you some of the relevant facts. The Government of India abolished it as a convict settlement on the recommendations on the Indian jails committee. It was only after a break of several years that the Government of India again decided to send revolutionary

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While Mr. Goswami was moving his motion over two thousand students of different Colleges in Calcutta marched in procession to the Assembly for expressing sympathy with the Andaman politicals and attempted to enter the premises, when the gates thereof were closed by the police. The processionists then moved to the Maidan, shouting the slogan, "Down with the Huq Ministry." The procession which paraded the streets of Calcutta demanding the release of political prisoners terminated at the Maidan, where a meeting was held under the presidency of Mr. Soumendranath Tagore. The meeting passed a resolution, protesting against the attitude of the Bengal Government in regard to the hunger-strike by political prisoners in the Andamans and expressing "no-confidence" in the present Ministry.

prisoners to be kept in the cellular jail at Port Blair. Surely it did not require much imagination to foresee that the place which was considered unhealthy and wholly unsuitable for ordinary prisoners who were kept in the open and allowed greater freedom of movement could not be a proper place for confinement in the cellular jail of revolutionary prisoners who were admittedly used to a higher standard of life than ordinary criminals. But notwithstanding adverse public opinion and protests of revolutionary prisoners, they were sent to the Andamans. It was the duty of the Government to have meted out such treatment to them as would have made their life easier and thereby compensated a little for complete isolation and confinement in the far off island which had not been considered as a suitable place of abode even for ordinary criminals. But that was not to be and jail life in the cellular jail there was in certain respects even worse than in Indian jails.

"Petitions and representations for relief were of no avail and officials on the spot dealt with them at their sweet will. In 1933 the prisoners had perforce to resort to hunger-strike, in the course of which three of them succumbed to death. Since then the question of the Andamans prisoners has been constantly before the Government in one form or another. No doubt certain concessions have been made in the matter of treatment but the fact remains that the confinement of prisoners in the cellular jail in the Andamans had resulted in very great hardship and suffering to the prisoners. Time and again they sent memorials and petitions for repatriation and more human treatment but to no effect. Their complaints have been suppressed. If only your Excellency could see them they would reveal their pitiful tale of woe and misery. They made representations to the Government of India and the Bengal Government through officials and non-officials who happened to visit the Andamans during this period but even they remained unheeded. Non-official members of the Legislative Assembly who were deputed to visit the Andamans after considerable agitation in the public, visited the islands and the jail nearly ten months ago and submitted to the Government their impressions and suggestions but no action seems to have been taken thereon as appears from Raizada Hansraj's appeal for their repatriation issued only a few days before the hunger-strike commenced.

"I put it to your Excellency, after all this, is the Home department justified in saying that the Government are not going to be influenced by mass petitions from prisoners, specially in matters on broad policy?

'Long before the aforesaid petition, their demands has been pressed on the attention of the Government from numerous quarters—legislatures, public associations, the press, eminent Indians including Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. but the Government showed no signs of response. It is no exaggeration when I say that scores of inmates have fallen victims to insanity, tuberculosis and other wasting diseases and they are repatriated to India only in an advanced stage of their disease. Even in the cellular jail itself, I am informed that no less than 80 persons are on invalid diet Hospital registers and their weight charts will also show how unhealthy the climate of the Andamans is.

"A hunger-strike is always a risky game involving one's very life and is not and cannot be resorted to lightly. It is more so in a malarious and far-off lying island with very few means of communication with India. As I said before, during the last hunger-strike in 1933 several of them developed malaria and pneumonia within a short time and three of them even died. That being so the Home department should not have dealt with the petition in the manner it has done. It should have at least made information public on July 20 when they received notice of the hunger-strike and given a chance to friends and relatives of prisoners to dissuade them from resorting to hunger-strike. But nothing was done in this direction.

On the other hand, I am pained to write to you that I have been reliably informed that a most provoking display of preparedness for all eventualities was made by the authorities in the Andamans. Not only were the prisoners informed that the Government would not yield even if all of them died, but a show of preparations for the cremation of their dead bodies was also made. I understand that it is this provocation which was principally responsible for swelling the number of hunger-strikers from four on July 24 to 187 on July 28. Such conduct on the part of the authorities, if true, can in no circumstances be justified and deserves severe notice. I trust that your lordship will agree with me that whatever the responsibility of the local Government may be in the matter of the release of prisoners, the Government of India is entirely responsible for their confinement in the Andamans and as such it cannot be absolved of its responsibility in allowing things to

have taken a tragic and ugly turn. The poet truly voiced the feelings of every patriotic Indian when in the course of a speech at Calcutta he held the Government of India responsible for the Andamans tragedy. Even now, if the Government agreed to repatriation, the hunger-strikers may be persuaded to give up the hunger-strike.

'And I ask your lordship to tell me in all fairness why it should not be possible for the Government to do so. Whatever little justification there might have been for their deportation to the Andamans in the past, there is none in view of the changed conditions in India and also in view of the radical change that their own opinions have undergone in the matter of terrorism as a means of the political and economic emancipation of India. Again the Government of India should not ignore the fact that whatever the nature of their offences, however much people may disapprove of them, they cannot help admiring their courage and patriotism and sympathising with them in their sufferings. It is for this reason that all shades of public opinion have supported the demand for the grant of amnesty to them and, pending their release, for their repatriation.

'In the end I may tell your lordship that during recent times nothing has moved people so much as the question of the treatment and release of political prisoners. And if the Government persist in their heartless and callous attitude in the matter, people shall never forgive those who are responsible for the silent and painful death by inches of the brave countrymen of theirs, and it is needless to say that the tragedy is bound to have great reperoussions on the future course of events and is likely to widen the existing gulf between India and England.

'I hope your lordship will take all these facts into consideration and order the repatriation of political prisoners as soon as possible to avoid any tragic development and consequent bitterness.

The Viceroy's Reply

Writing from Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on Aug. 13, *His Excellency the Viceroy* replied as follows —

Dear *Mr. Saxena* —'I am obliged to you for your letter of the 7th instant which I received on the 11th. I and my Government fully share your desire to avert a tragic end to the hunger strike in the Andamans which has caused us real and deep concern but I shall endeavour to explain why we do not feel that acceptance of the demands of the hunger-strikers is the method to adopt for this purpose.

'Your letter suggests, however, that there is some misunderstanding as to the true position on certain points and I will, in the first place, endeavour to deal with these.

'It will take first your reference to the report of the Indian jails committee Confinement of prisoners like those now in the cellular jail is in no way contrary to the recommendations of their committee, and you will remember that the committee in paragraph 566 of the report recommended the retention of the Andamans as a place of deportation for a small class of selected prisoners whose removal from British India is considered by the Government concerned to be in public interest. Your letter rather suggests to me that you consider that prisoners at present confined in the Andamans should not fall within the category for which the jails committee recommended confinement at Port Blair. As to that, let me say at once that they would not have been sent there, had not their crimes been crimes of deliberate, (sometimes desperate) violence and (in many cases) their conduct in Indian jails such as to leave the Government with no choice but to make special provision, however, reluctantly, for their safe custody. Everyone of these prisoners has been convicted by courts after a due process of trial About a hundred of them were convicted of dacoity including dacoity with attempt to cause death and conspiracy to commit dacoity. Of the remainder, over 60 were convicted of murder, attempt to murder or conspiracy to murder. Of the remainder a majority were convicted of illegal possession of arms and explosives or of waging war against the King.

"You speak in your letter of "the radical change" which the opinions of the prisoners "have undergone in the matter of terrorism." I do not, of course, know your authority for this supposition : I can only say that information available to me (and deeply concerned as I am that no injustice should be done, I have made a most careful and anxious enquiry) has satisfied me, to my regret, that

prisoners have given no sign whatever of any such change : and that indeed so far from this being the case, their attitude had on a number of occasions indicated the same defiant and violent spirit which led them to commit crimes for which they have been sentenced.

'You refer to the unhealthiness of the Andamans and I welcome the opportunity of dealing with this allegation which has, I know, frequently been made but for which, in fact, there is no solid basis. Measures taken at considerable cost since the Jails committee reported 16 years of more ago, have resulted in so great an improvement in Indian conditions that the cellular jail so far from being unhealthy, has a record with which few jails in India con compare. In the last two years, of which figures are available, the death rate among the Andamans convicts, taking both terrorists and volunteers together, was lower than the average death rate in jails in India—a state of things which, you will agree, does not lead to the conclusion that the islands themselves are unhealthy : while the health record of prisoners confined in the cellular jail is remarkable. The two most prevalent diseases are malaria and influenza. But for the last three years the latest figures show, the admission rate for malaria has fallen by about 60 per cent and that for influenza by about 75 per cent. There have been only three cases of insanity or melancholia. Of these one had a history of hereditary insanity before he arrived at Port Blair and another who has recently been repatriated for melancholia was apparently suffering from that disease when he left India. All terrorists who have been returned to India had histories of bad health before they arrived in the Andamans. Three terrorist prisoners died in the Andamans during the hunger-strike of 1933. With that regrettable exception, no terrorist prisoners has at any time died in the island.

'I am glad to see from your letter, the moderate and balanced character of which I must appreciate, that you recognise that the lot of prisoners has been ameliorated in some respects in the last few years That is, indeed, the case and in a marked degree : and the prisoners now receive a number of privileges which they would not receive in any Indian jail Let me mention the following Class C prisoners are allowed the same privileges as class B prisoners as regards newspapers and lighting of their cells. (Cells are lit till 10 p. m.) Except at night they mix with class B prisoners. Both classes have the same meals : they are allowed to choose their own menus and to supervise their own cooking : and to play games such as volleyball.

"I would like too to deal with the allegation that no action has been taken on the suggestions made by the two members of Legislative Assembly who accepted the Government's invitation to visit the Andamans last year Among the suggestions that were accepted are the following.—

"Prisoners are now allowed to write to friends as well as to near relatives and no police officer is now present at their interviews.

"The medical examination of prisoners before they are sent to the Andamans is now more strict.

"And the Bengal Government have recently sanctioned the construction of a swimming bath.

'There were, in fact, new suggestions affecting the treatment of terrorist prisoners in the Andamans which were not met.

'You complain that the Government delayed the publication of the news of the threatened hunger-strike The threat was to go on hunger-strike on July 24 if by then the prisoners received no reply to the petition. This threat was known to the Government on the 20th—the day the petition was received. Orders were passed at once ; and in view of the terms of the threat the Government had not sufficient reasons for assuming that it would be carried out on the 24th. When the news of the strike was received the Government lost no time in making it public after consultation with the Bengal Government.

'You further mention your information that the provocative attitude of the Andamans authorities was responsible for the number of strikers rising from four on July 24th to 187 on July 28th. I assume that that information must be based on statements by some prisoners recently released but I believe it to be incorrect. The information received by the Government is that two prisoners had gone on hunger-strike before July 24th ; that a great mass of prisoners had threatened to

go on hunger-strike on the 24th if by that time the Government of India's reply to their mass petition of the 9th had not been received ; that on the 23rd the orders of the Government of India were communicated and the prisoners were warned in their own interests of the consequences of carrying out their threat ; and that on the 24th 175 prisoners actually started a mass hunger-strike. I would remind you that the 24th was the day fixed for demonstrations in Bengal for the release of prisoners.

I now turn to the method which you suggest for inducing the prisoners to give up the hunger-strike—namely, the Government shall surrender to their demand for repatriation. You ask why it should not be possible for the Government to do so. In reply to this I will not stress the fact that the Government of India are not the only Government concerned. But I would emphasise the obligations of the Government to the community to protect it against violent crime and I would ask you whether, however great one's anxiety to see a happy termination to the hunger-strike, it is not clear that surrender to this demand would encourage, and with reason, these prisoners to believe that any demand—even demand for release—could be enforced by similar method and would equally encourage any other determined body of convicts in a belief that they could suecessfully follow the same methods.

I have been concerned to reply at such length to your letter because I appreciate the motive behind it and the sincere and disinterested anxiety felt by you and no doubt by many others that what you call a "tragic end" should be averted. Whatever differences there may be between us in other respects in our estimate of the position on this point I and members of my Government have no reservations. The decision we have most reluctantly felt obliged to take, is based on the conviction that the sooner this decision is recognized by the prisoners as definite and final the more hope there is that they will give up this violent attempt to dictate terms of their confinement. Were Government to give way, the gain would be illusory and momentary the device of hunger-strike would be established as one to be adopted on any occasion , more prisoners might be tempted to follow this example (even as it is, the example has already been followed in other jails) with the result that when authority had in the end to be asserted, the consequences might be tragic not only to those now acting in defiance of it but also to many others.

As the matter is of great public interest, I assume you will have no objection to the publication of your letter and of my reply and I propose accordingly to release them to the press once my reply has had time to reach you

Notice on Workers Withdrawn

5th. AUGUST —Another adjournment motion which was sought to be moved on behalf of Labour was disallowed by the Speaker to-day One of the issues to be discussed was the notice under the Public Security Act served on over 106 jute mill workers, including 14 women in the Hooghly District. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* Labour Minister, informed the House that the Order had since been withdrawn. The other issue, namely the promulgation of an order under Section 144 Cr. P. C in the Serampore Sub-Division, especially against Mr. *Zaman*, Labour leader, in his own constituency, was characterised by the Speaker as not of so great an importance ae to be allowed to disturb the normal business of the House.

General Discussion of Budget

The general discussion of the Budget concluded to-day. Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, the Leader of the Opposition, said that the Budget disclosed bankruptcy of imagination and statesmanship. He made it clear that the Congress Party would be no party to a renewal of taxation measures. He added that the Budget really showed there was no genuine endeavour to place before the Province plans of rural reconstruction, economic reconstruction ann social reconstruction as adumbrated in the Congress programme.

Mr. *N. R. Sarkar*, Finance Minister, replying to the debate, admitted that sufficient money had not been provided for nation-building departments, but he would like the House to realise that before money conld be provided for, a scheme had to be drawn up, but during the short period they were in office it had not been possible to draw up a scheme.

RELEASE OF DETENUS

9th. AUGUST :—After over five hours' debate to-day, the Assembly accepted by 139 votes to 85 the Moslem Coalition Party members' amendment to the Congress resolution urging the immediate release of detenus. The resolution, as amended, was thereafter put to vote and carried by 141 to 85 votes.

The amendment wanted that all detenus and Regulation Three prisoners should be released and all restrictions placed on the liberties of others, under various other legal enactments, removed at the earliest possible time in so far as the orders were consistent with public safety.

The Congress party's resolution demanded the immediate release of these prisoners and also the removal of all restrictions forthwith.

Rai Harendranath Chowdhury, mover of the resolution, declared that the Congress Party did not move the resolution as a vote of censure against the present Ministry, but wanted to test the sincerity of the professions of the Prime Minister who had more than once favoured the release of detenus.

Replying to the debate, *Sir K. Nazimuddin*, the Home Minister, adumbrated the Government's policy, which would be to "go to the farthest limits consistent with public safety. They would give effect to the policy by a gradual, though not an unduly dilatory, process so that at each successive stage they may be guided by the experience of the immediate as well as the more remote past Until it is clear that terrorist methods have been abandoned for the future, the Government must pay due heed to the experience of the past, but the process of release can be accelerated in proportion to the co-operation and support given to the Government by the public in rallying opinion against terrorist methods and preventing the recrudescence of terrorism and other violent and subversive movements"

The Minister, detailing the policy, said that barring exceptional cases, all detenus who had been in home domicile for three months or more would be released either unconditionally or on parole and all who had been in village domicile for over three months would be sent for home domicile Sir K Nazimuddin added . "We have decided to reduce with all possible speed the number detained in camps and jails. We will bring to the Province all detained under Regulation Three or the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act outside Bengal as soon as we make arrangements to receive them" The policy of the Government, said Sir K. Nazimuddin, was the release of the detenus as rapidly as possible, consistently with public safety and ensuring as far as they could that those released had an opportunity of settling down to the normal life of useful citizens Since April 1, he declared, the Government had decided to allow some form of relaxation in about a thousand cases and the number of detenus in Jail-camps and village domicile had fallen by about 325. About a hundred more would be shortly transferred to the training camps with a view to their being unconditionally released on the completion of their course of instruction. In accordance with the policy enumerated by him, he hoped that orders for the release of about 250 now in home domicile, would be issued very soon.

"I can assure the House and the people of Bengal that one of the direct consequences of the policy of the present Government has been definitely to expedite the process of the release of detenus. The present Government is not vindictive to the detenus and they are anxious to put an end to the condition which is causing suffering and hardship to such large numbers of parents in this Province. Not a single detenu will be retained a day longer than is absolutely necessary in the interest of public safety. But I would like again to emphasise the fact that the process of release will depend largely on the co-operation and support that the Government receive in favour of the policy announced and in creating an atmosphere which will prevent young men taking to subversive activities. Congress leaders can help a great deal in creating a favourable atmosphere."

As regards the demand that the system of detention without trial should be ended as soon as possible, the Home Minister observed that there were very few of any community or any grade of society who would not echo that wish from their hearts.

Over 2,000 students crowded the main stairs of the Town Hall and its approaches, a stone's throw from the Assembly Chamber, where a public meeting for the celebration of the Andamans Prisoners' Day was held in the evening. They were shouting various slogans such as "Down with the Ministry" and "Release the Andamans prisoners." The Police were standing by but there were no untoward incidents.

These men, however, were detained without trial because they were believed to have set themselves deliberately to undermine by the use of force in its most detestable form the whole structure and order of the Government and the ordinary processes of criminal justice upon which alone could rest the rule of law to which they now appealed. Moreover, not only did the terrorists set themselves that task but they deliberately counted on the liberality of the ordinary law to assist their design. Referring to the contention that the detenus must be presumed to be innocent because they had not been convicted in an open court, the Home Minister observed that in times of great emergency neither individuals nor the Government would survive if they were to regulate their conduct by the presumption that men were not only innocent but also harmless until convicted by the processes of law. In this connection, Sir K Nazimuddin informed the House that a man like Sir N. G Chandavarker and justice C P Beachcroft, both High Court Judges, supported the conclusion that the revolutionary conspiracy in Bengal could not be checked by the ordinary processes of law. The system, he asserted, was such that the chances of innocent persons being detained, were extremely remote Referring to the issue that terrorism was now dead and that therefore there was no danger in releasing all detenus, the Home Minister said with full responsibility that it was not so. Terrorism had undoubtedly been brought under control, owing largely to the admittedly drastic measures that the Government had to take, but it was by no means dead There were still people all over the Provinces trying to reorganise terrorist groups, secure recruits and collect arms for nefarious purposes The wholesale release of all detenus without discrimination had been ordered on two previous occasions but on each of those occasions, within a period of a year or two, terrorism broke out afresh and with renewed violence

The policy outlined by the Home Member was as follows —

(a) To release all detenus who have been in home domicile for three months or more, either unconditionally or subject to reporting their movements, unless there are exceptional circumstances which leave no doubt that it would be unsafe to allow them their liberty ;

(b) To send from village domicile to home domicile those who have been in village domicile from three to six months unless the Government are satisfied in exceptional cases that it is undesirable that this should be done until a further period has elapsed ,

(c) To reduce with all possible speed the number detained in camps and jail ,

(d) To bring back to the Province all persons detained under Regulation III or the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act outside Bengal, as soon as the Government can make arrangements to receive them.

(e) To give suitable allowances for a limited period to the released detenus whose family circumstances make it justifiable to incur this expenditure from public funds so as to give the released detenus the opportunity of setting down to some occupation , and

(f) To subject to an examination the cases of all detenus, whose health is a cause of anxiety to their relations, and to take steps with regard to the nature of each case.

Mr. *T C Goswami* (Congress) remarked that the Home Minister's speech was not only disappointing, but positively mischievous

The Prime Minister, Mr *A. K Fazlul Huq*, said so long the policy of the Governments had been detention whereas the policy of the present Government was the release of such persons. The Prime Minister impressed on the House that a considerable change had come over the administration since the advent of the present Ministry Where formerly it was a policy of detention, now it was a policy of release. He also informed the House that out of about 16,000 detenus, more than 1,000 had either been released or the restrictions on them had been partially withdrawn. And if circumstances were favourable, practically all the detenus might be released by September next. The Premier said that what had been done by them during the last four months should be regarded as a guarantee of what they were going to do in the future

Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, Leader of the Opposition, observed that the Home Minister had repeated the same old and stale argument that had been adopted by former Home Members of the old Bengal Council.

Replying, Sir *K. Nazimuddin* said that the policy which the present Government had decided to pursue on the question of the release of detenus would ensure

given the co-operation and goodwill of the members of the House and the public, the release of all detenus within a year and a half (Cries "Oh, oh," from Congress benches). Sir K Nazimuddin referred to the speeches made by the members of the Opposition in support of the original motion and said the speeches delivered with equal passion had been heard on the floor of the old Bengal Council early in 1930 when the Government, relying on those arguments and sentiments expressed by the non-official section of the House, had withdrawn all repressive laws. But what was the result? Within 18 days of the lapse of these repressive laws came the Chittagong Armoury raid.

The decision of the House to accept the amendment was greeted with cries of "Shame, shame," from Congressmen.

BENGAL MINISTERS' EMOLUMENTS BILL

10th. AUGUST:—The Finance Minister, Mr. *N. R Sarkar*, introduced and moved to-day for consideration of the Bengal Ministers' Emoluments Bill

The Bill provides for a monthly salary of Rs 3000 for the Chief Minister and Rs. 2,000 for each of the other ten Ministers In addition to the salaries, the Chief Minister will receive Rs 400 and others Rs 300 each monthly as house allowance while all will have a motor car allowance of Rs 100 each.

Mr. *Pramathanath Banerjee* (Congress), moving an amendment, urged that all Ministers, including the Chief Minister, should have a salary of Rs. 500 each monthly. He referred to the cases of the Congress majority provinces where the Ministers had agreed to accept Rs 500 only. Mr Banerjee added that he wanted to do away with the distinction between the salaries of the Chief and other Ministers and instanced the amounts drawn by the Prime Minister and other Ministers in Japan and also by Mr. De Valera and other Ministers in the Irish Free State.

Mr. *Abul Fazl* (Proja) moved an amendment that each Minister should draw Rs. 1,000 monthly and Mr. *Hajibuddin Tarafdar* (Proja) moved amendments suggesting that the Chief Minister should get Rs. 2,500 and other Ministers Rs. 2,000

The House had discussed the Bill and the amendments for nearly three hours when a Congress member wanted to move for closure, which the Speaker declined to accept, pointing out that the matter had not been sufficiently discussed and he would not like to put a closure to-day

11th AUGUST:—The Assembly to-day rejected by 177 to 53 votes the Congress amendment to the Bengal Ministers' Emoluments Bill, seeking to fix the salaries of Ministers at Rs. 500 monthly.

The Assembly rejected by 157 to 75 votes the Proja Party's amendment fixing the Ministers' salary at Rs. 1,000 monthly

Thereafter, the House passed without division the Official Bill fixing the Chief Minister's salary at Rs 3,000 and the others at Rs. 2500 each.

The *Finance Minister* said that if a lawyer in this country could earn Rs. 15,000 a month, a businessman Rs. 10,000, a doctor Rs. 5,000 and a professor Rs 1500, Rs 2,500 was not a phenomenal figure for Ministers "The example of Madras has been frequently cited," said Mr. Sarker "That is a very good example, no doubt. But may I ask whether the Congress leaders in this Province are inspired by the ideals of Mr. Rajagopalachariar? It is of no use bringing in venerable names when we cannot conform to their standard We, ordinary mortals, have decided to act according to our own standard. We have come here to serve the country in our own way. (Cries of "Question, Question" from Congress benches) You may question, but I would like to remind you that charity begins at home. Let all of you be inspired by the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru and then come to deride us"

"If the Congress could convince all non-Congress Muslims and non-Congress Hindus that it was in the interests of Islam and the country to join the Congress, then he would be prepared to accept Rs 100 only." This statement was made by the Premier, Mr. *Fazlul Huq*, replying to the Opposition Leader, Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, who declared during the debate that if all non-Congress Hindus and Mahomedans joined the Congress tonight and helped to make the Congress the majority party in the House, they would accept office on Rs. 500 a month.

The passage of arms started over a suggestion by a Muslim Member that though the Congress Ministers accepted Rs. 500, they were receiving more 'by the backdoor in the shape of allowances and cars." He doubted if the Congress ever tried to reduce the salary of the officers of the Corporation of Calcutta when the

Congress was in power. A Congress retort followed, after which the Finance Minister replied as above.

12th. AUGUST —The consideration of the Ministers' Emoluments Bill having been resumed to-day, the *Prime Minister* informed the House that the Government had decided, in deference to the wishes of the members of the Assembly, to drop the clauses relating to the house and other minor allowances. Following the announcement, the entire bill (the major clauses of which were passed yesterday) was passed without a division.

LEGISLATIVE OFFICERS' SALARIES BILL

The Assembly next took up for consideration the Bengal Legislative Officers' (President, Deputy President, Speaker, Deputy Speaker) Emoluments Bill The Finance Minister announced that the Government had decided to withdraw the clauses of the Bill relating to House, motor-car and travelling allowances.

The Assembly thereafter passed the Bill, without a division, fixing salaries as follows . President Rs. 1,500 monthly, Deputy President Rs 2,000 yearly, Speaker Rs 2,000 monthly, and Deputy Speaker Rs 3,000 yearly.

MEMBERS' SALARY BILL

13th AUGUST —By an overwhelming majority, to-day, the House rejected the Congress amendment suggesting that Members of the Legislature should take no salary. Thereafter, the House passed without a division the amendment of a Member of the Coalition, urging that instead of Rs. 125 monthly as suggested in the Official Bill, the members should receive Rs 150. The Government voted for the amendment.

During the discussion on the Congress amendment, Mr *Baroda Prasanna Pain* (Congress) significantly remarked that if the salary proposed in the Bill was going to be foisted on them, they were going to take it and if they pooled it together, the Congress members would have about a lakh of rupees as salaries and then those who were foisting this salary on them might be hoist with their own petard ; for with brains in their heads, money in their pockets and determination in between, they (the Congress) might be able to replace the present Ministry by another.

The Congress group contended that by acceptance of salaries, members would be perpetrating a crime not only on the poverty but also on the ignorance of the electorate.

POLICE LATHI CHARGE—ADJ MOTION

16th AUGUST —All the Congress members of the Assembly attended the day's session with National Flags in their buttonholes as a mark of protest against the lathi charge on Saturday's procession

Dr. *J M Das Gupta*, acting President of the B P C. C moving the adjournment motion, said that lathis were indiscriminately used, the charges with which were so severe that the streets were littered with the shoes left by the processionists He characterised the conduct of the police as "an uncultured, shameful piece of violence." He added that the Deputy Commissioner of Police, who was present on the spot, told Mr. Das Gupta that his orders ware definite and that he would not allow the processionists even singly to go through the prohibited area to the Town Hall with flags flying or return to the City in that fashion

Sir *K. Nazimuddin*, the Home Minister, defending the police action, said that the police first tried to persuade the processionists to disperse when brickbats and soda-water bottles were thrown on the police, seven of whom were injured as a result All efforts at persuading the crowd to disperse having failed, the police used force The Minister quoted the Prime Minister of Orissa, who told men the other day that as long as they did not interfere with the maintenance of law and order, the police would not interfere with their activities. The Calcutta Police took action because there was interference with the maintenance of law and order. He added that it was unfortunate and against all conceptions of Indian civilisation that women should have been utilised in this fashion and brought in to such processions when the organisers knew that there was every likelihood of a breach of the peace.

The Premier, Mr. *Fazlul Huq*, said that he and his colleagues in the Cabinet regretted Saturday's incidents and denied that the Ministry was run on communal lines. He appealed to the Opposition to co-operate with the Ministry and advance the best interests of the Province.

Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose* described the incidents as "disgraceful" and said he hoped that the Premier would assure the House that even if the guardians of law and order broke the law, they themselves could not expect to escape from the clutches of the law Such an assurance could bring forth the co-operation of the Opposition. He urged the Premier not to allow Bengal to be made another Ireland by an error of judgment or by placing much reliance on the police.

Mr. Bose struck the right note when he said that he did not look upon the Ministry as composed of so many Hindus and Muslims, but of brother Bengalies, and it was in that spirit that he appealed to them to safeguard the fundamental rights of the people and that if they failed in that, they would stand condemned in the eyes of Bengal

The adjournment motion was pressed to a division and declared lost, 72 voting for and 135 against

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND BILL

17th. AUGUST :—The Government accepted a number of Congress amendments to an official measure, namely, the Bengal Famine Insurance Fund Bill.

The Bill provides for the establishment of a Famine Insurance Fund and, accepting the Congress Party's amendment, the Government decided to make an initial contribution of five lakhs to the Fund instead of making a start with a sum of three lakhs thirty-nine thousand handed over to the Provincial Government by the Government of India out of the old Famine Relief Fund.

The Government also decided in response to a Congress amendment to make an annual contribution of two lakhs to the Fund till it reached the maximum of twelve lakhs, instead of making an annual contribution of one and a half lakhs, as originally provided.

The Bill, as amended, was passed without a division

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

20th. AUGUST :—Mr. *Shibnath Banerji*, President of the All India Trade Union Congress, moved an amendment refusing the entire grant for the Labour Department. Mr. Banerji accused the Government of not implementing the terms of settlement on which the strike was called off.

Mr. *Suhrawardy* denied that there were any terms of settlement on which the Jute mill strike near Calcutta had been called off in May last He said that certain assurances had been given by the Prime Minister which had been amply implemented. The Minister added that he was making an enquiry into the conditions of labour in the jute mills at present.

Mr. *Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar* pleaded for a Labour Department democratically controlled by the representatives of Labour. Mr. *C. G. Cooper* thought that strikes were engineered by Communist leaders and held that it was in the interest of employers to see that a happy relationship existed between employers and employees and that the staff remained contented Mr. *D. P. Khaitan* pointed out the sufferings of the poor workers caused by strikes and the huge financial loss to the employers.

The amendment for the refusal of the grant was negatived without a division

23rd. AUGUST —The entire European group refrained from participation in the voting to-day when a Proja Party member moved a token cut in the Land Revenue demand, urging the reduction of the excessive rates of rent by amending the Bengal Tenancy Act. The motion was, however, rejected despite the support of the Congress Party.

24th. AUGUST :—Replying to a cut motion sponsored by a member of the Congress Party with a view to criticising the policy of the local Government's interference with legitimate and peaceful demonstrations and meetings of different organisations, Sir *K. Nazimuddin*, Home Minister, incidentally referred to the suggestions made by the Opposition about reducing the strength of the Intelligence Branch as the same was inconsistent with the advent of Provincial Autonomy. He regretted his inability to comply with his request, for, he thought that at a time when the Government were contemplating the release of detenus in large numbers, it was all the more necessary to maintain an adequate strength in the Intelligence Branch of the police in order to watch the situation. He further argued that it would not be consistent with the interest of public safety to do so in view of the past history of the terrorist movement in this province

25th AUGUST :—The Assembly to-day voted the entire demand of Rs. 76, 27, 000 under the head "Administration of Justice" without a cut and without a division. During the debate the *Finance Minister* remarks that Congress Ministries would not be able to overhaul the system overnight and the only retrenchment that they would be able to effect would be to substitute caps for pugrees gave rise to a point of order, the *Speaker* intervening and asking the House to refer to the Ministries in other Provinces with due courtesy and regard. The Finance Minister explained that no disparaging spirit had actuated him in making his remarks He had only wanted to show the difficulties experienced by Ministries in general.

Earlier the House sanctioned without a cut the Police demand of Rs. 209,68,000. Concluding the debate on the demand the Premier Mr. *A K Fazlul Huq* remarked that instances of police oppression of the people were becoming rare and that the morale of the police force had considerably improved with the recruitment of educated and cultured young men

Winding up the debate, the Home Minister Sir *K Nazimuddin* said that there might be a few black sheep in the police force, but they would not be justified in condemning the whole service for the faults of a few. He also admitted that there was room for improvement in the behaviour of the police towards the public and assured the House that every instance of police excess would be severely dealt with in future. Referring to the criticism about the heavy police budget, the Home Minister opined that barring the exceptional expenditure which the Bengal Government had to incur in suppressing terrorism the police expenditure here compared very favourably with that in other Provinces

Calcutta University's Emblem

26th AUGUST —The Calcutta University's emblem, the *Sree* and the lotus, formed the subject of a heated debate on a cut motion to the Education demand in the course of which Calcutta University came in for a good deal of castigation at the hand of Muslim members Mr. *P N Banerjee*, a member of the University's Syndicate, asserted that the emblem had been selected after consultation with the architect of the Government of Bengal, the London School of Heraldry and well-known artists He pointed out that Muslim rulers like Muhammed of Ghori and Sher Shah had such symbols on their coins Mr. Banerjee invited the members to meet the Syndicate and discuss the question Mr *A. K. Faxlul Haq*, the Premier, who holds the education port-folio, announced that he would convene a conference of M. L A's and University representatives to discuss the question, whereupon the cut motion was withdrawn

Death of A Detenue

27th AUGUST —Mr *Sarat Chandra Bose* to-day walked out of the House as a protest against "the Government's callous indifference towards human life" The walk-out was a sequel to the reported death of Sudhendu Das of Mymensingh, one of the hunger-strikers in the Andamans

The *Prime Minister* said he had also heard such a rumour and had sent an urgent message to the Chief Commissioner of the Andamans for correct information

Mr *Sarat Chandra Bose*, who made a statement on the floor of the House, said that he had received information that one of the strikers in the Andamans had died and as far as he had been able to make enquiries from non-official sources, he had found that the information was correct In view of this sad news, the Congress Party, said Mr Bose, were in no mood to continue their work in the House. He, therefore, decided to withdraw his Party from the House for the day as a protest against the callous attitude of the Government of Bengal against what the Congress Party thought to be the reasonable demands of the Andamans prisoners. In withdrawing from the House, Mr Bose wished to make it clear that they meant no disrespect to the Chair He further told the House that for the last few days, he had been trying to obtain confirmation of the news from the Treasury Benches but had received no reply

The *Home Minister*, who was not present in the House when the Congress members walked out, appeared immediately afterwards and made the following statement "The Government have received a telegram handed in at 12-30 p. m in which no deaths are reported, but three are in the seriously ill list '

Jail Administration Criticised

30th. AUGUST —The narration of their jail experiences by several members of the Congress Party, with special reference to what was characterised as the "dehu-

manising aspects" of the jail administration in this Province, was the principal feature of to-day's debate on the Budget demand under the head 'Jails'.

Replying to the debate in a good humoured speech, Sir *Khwaja Nazimuddin*, the Home Minister, admitted that all was not well with the jail administration. The greatest problem was over-crowding. Most of the jails were constructed long ago and as such were unsuited to modern standards of prison life. But improvements in these directions depended on favourable financial conditions, which, he regretted, were sadly wanting. Repudiating the charge levelled by several members of the Opposition that a majority of the prisoners found themselves in shattered health on their release after serving long terms of imprisonment, the Home Minister opined that the statistics of the health of the inmates of the jails prepared for 1936 showed that it was much better than that of the people outside. According to these statistics, only 16 per cent of the jail population recorded loss of weight while, of the rest, more than half gained weight. The entire demand was thereafter passed without a division.

1st SEPTEMBER:—There was a sudden flare-up in the House when the *Prime-Minister*, intervening in the debate on a cut motion on the Agriculture Budget, observed that during the last few days false propaganda was carried on outside the House against the supporters of the Government and attempts were being made to hold them up to ridicule. The Premier had to face angry interruptions from several members of the Congress and Proja Parties, who simultaneously rose in their seats on points of order.

The *Speaker* observed that he was prepared to hear these points when the simultaneous outbursts and shouting ceased.

The cut motion on the Agriculture Budget, moved by a member of the Proja Party, urging the restriction of jute cultivation and fixing the minimum price of Jute, was lost by 124 votes to 73.

Mr. Bose's Call for Decorum

2nd. SEPTEMBER:—Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, the Leader of the Opposition, voiced a complaint to-day regarding the language of certain remarks made by the Premier yesterday against a member of the Proja Party and said that the tone and manner in which they were made were hardly in consonance with parliamentary decorum The Leader of the Opposition appealed to the Leader of the House in order that in his cooler moments he might consider whether of all persons in this House, it was not his duty as well as the duty of the Leader of the Opposition to say nothing which might ruffle the temper of members Mr. Bose also pointed to certain observations of the Speaker who had characterised a point of order as "frivolous". This, he said, had given rise to a certain amount of sorrow, and he added that so long as a point of order, whether sound or frivolous, the ruling of the Chair had to be given. He thought it was his duty as the Leader of the Opposition to bring this matter to the notice of the Chair and also of the Leader of the House in order that the proceedings of the Assembly might be carried on in calm and with as much decorum and dignity as possible.

Replying, the *Premier* said that he sincerely appreciated the spirit in which Mr Bose made these remarks and reciprocated the feelings of friendliness He also extended to Mr. Bose the hand of co-operation for the future with a view to preventing any incident of any kind, which might lead to unpleasant remarks being made by one member against another. "If in the heat of the moment I have been led to use language which might have hurt the feelings of my friends, I can only say that I am sincerely sorry."

In conclusion, the Premier said that he was looking forward to the much happier days ahead as the result of the conference which was soon going to be held regarding the repatriation of the Andamans prisoners. "Let us hope that we shall be able to meet in perfect friendliness and with the sole object of serving the cause which now turns out to be absolutely national. With that end in view, I greatly welcome the remarks that have been made by my friend, the Leader of the Opposition

The *Speaker* welcomed the frank expressions of view and the friendliness between the Leader of the Opposition and the Leader of the House and appealed to all sections of the Assembly to lend their help and assistance in the discharge of his duties as the Speaker in a proper manner.

Mr. *Bose* added that some members of his side of the House had been treated like school boys. Mr. Bose assured the Speaker of the House that on his part he

was anxious that the debates in the House should be conducted in such a manner that they might set up an example to the other Indian Legislatures and he hoped that the Leader of the House would respond to his appeal in this behalf. Mr. Bose, rising again after the Premier's response to his appeal, assured him that "though we may fight our battle inside the Chamber, we will remain friends, as we have been outside."

4th. SEPTEMBER .—The declaration that not only was total Prohibition the policy of the present Government of Bengal but that they were also trying to make experiments in this respect in important, specific areas following the example of the Prime Minister of Madras, was made in the Assembly to-day by the Premier, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, in the course of the debate on the Excise budget. He added that he could give this assurance to the House that the present Cabinet was trying its very best to carry out the policy of total Prohibition during its term of office.

All the cut motions, including one from the Congress Party, urging the adoption of the policy of total Prohibition, were withdrawn in view of this declaration by Mr. Huq.

6th. SEPTEMBER —After 15 days' discussion, the Assembly disposed of the Budget which, as presented by the *Finance Minister*, was voted without a single cut. A hundred and five members participated in the discussions.

Earlier, the *Premier* referred to the charge frequently made against the members of the Cabinet that they had broken their election pledges. He remarked : "At the time of the elections the Congress gave a solemn pledge in their manifesto that they were going to wreck the Constitution, but they have taken the oath of office and are enjoying the sweets of power and even Mr. Gandhi has found something good in the much-maligned Constitution If the Congress could modify its opinion, the Coalition Party (the supporters of the Ministry in Bengal) could also modify their views"

During the discussion on the Labour Budget, several Labourites criticised the Labour policy of the Government and alleged that the Government were trying to throttle the Trade Union movement. Mr Suhrawardy, Labour Minister, declared that the Government were determined to give a fair deal to Labour. He added that Communism was Public Enemy No 1 of the social and economic structure.

RAJSHAHI COLLEGE INCIDENT

8th. SEPTEMBER —Mr. *Surendra Mohan Maitra* (Congress) moved to-day an adjournment motion to discuss the Rajshahi College incident. The motion was rejected without a division after two hours' heated debate

"If the Government had not taken steps in time, the streets of Rajshahi would have been deluged with blood," declared the Premier and Education Minister, the Hon Mr. *Fazlul Huq*, justifying the order closing the College. He had evidence that the students were preparing for a homicidal fight between themselves. The order did not mean the closing of the College for all time but only till the situation returned to the normal in order to afford an opportunity to the leaders to compose their differences

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Leader of the Opposition, accepted the Premier's suggestion to go to Rajshahi along with another prominent Congressmen who was also a Syndic of the Calcutta University and try to arrive at an amicable settlement of the affair Mr Bose told the House that he had in his hands photographic copies of two telegrams sent from Calcutta to the Muslim students of the Rajshahi College Hostel, one in the name of the Premier assuring his "abiding solicitude for their welfare" which Mr. Bose believed, had resulted in increasing the tension.

Most of the speakers on the motion, including Mr. *W. W. Wordsworth*, the Leader of the European Group, and Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, Leader of the Opposition, regretted the action of the Government in this direction, although they did not approve of the conduct of the students of Rajshahi, particularly the hunger-strike which was resorted to by the Hindu students

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose declared that narrow orthodoxy whether it be Hindu or Muslim made no appeal to him. All the same he thought that the differences between the two sections of the students of Rajshahi could have been solved by the Government with a little amount of tact, reasonableness and vision. He regretted

the communal turn which had been given to this pretty incident and said. "Let not the profane hand—either of the Hindus or of the Muslims—ever touch the educational institutions of our Province, which should be allowed to remain as sacred temples of learning."

The Hon Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, who made a very conciliatory speech, appealed to the Leader of the Opposition to go to Rajshahi and settle the matter in a manner satisfactory to all parties concerned Mr. Fazlul Huq announced that any decision that Mr. Sarat Bose might arrive at in this connection would be accepted by him for he looked upon such a solution as affording a test of their fitness for solving communal problems in this Province.

BENGAL TENANCY ACT AMEND. BILL

10th SEPTEMBER.—The Revenue Minister, the Hon Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy* introduced and moved to-day the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill, the object of which was to amend some existing provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act which had been found to operate rather harshly on the cultivators, for the purpose of giving immediate relief to them.

The Minister explained that the Bill did not attempt to bring about a radical reform in the existing system of land tenure by a comprehensive amendment of the Act. The Bill provided for the abolition of landlords' transfer fee and right of pre-emption.

The Premier, the Hon. Mr *A. K. Faxlul Huq*, told the House that the Government had originally decided to refer the Bill to a Select Committee but some mischievous persons outside the House had carried on propaganda in the country that the Government were going to shelve that Bill.

Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, the Leader of the Opposition, said that the Bill did not contain any provision for the amelioration of the conditions of the real tillers of the land

The entire European Group and eight Hindu members, representing the landed interest supported Sir *George Campbell's* amendment, while the opposition included the Coalition Group, the Proja Party and the entire Congress group, excepting one who did not vote. Sir George, speaking on his motion, said that the Bill aimed at giving a definite blow to landlords to the verge of expropriation and affected their property rights. Referring to the Instrument of Instructions, he said that it was perfectly clear from the nature of the Bill that it must go to the Viceroy

The Revenue Minister, the Hon Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy* opposing the motion for circulation, said that the Bill only sought to remove certain specific grievances of tenants, for which there had been agitation in the last seven years.

The House rejected Sir George's Amendment by 182 to 36 votes.

13th SEPTEMBER.—Violent denunciation of the provisions in the Bill which were calculated to deprive landlords of the existing right to get the transfer fee and also the right of pre-emption, by several members of the European group (who had so long been among the staunchest supporters of the Government) formed the principal feature of to-day's proceedings of the Assembly.

It was even suggested by a member that the Revenue Minister, Sir *B P. Singh Roy*, who was himself a representative of the landholders' constituency, had ventured to sponsor a measure of such a definitely expropriatory character as the one before the House because he knew full well that this Bill, even if passed by the Bengal Assembly, could not receive the sanction of the Governor-General in view of the restrictions contained in Section 229 of the new Government of India Act

The Hon. Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, Minister for Revenue, replying to the debate, said that this Bill was designed to give financial relief to the agriculturists It would moreover produce a tremendous psychological effect among the masses and remove the tension between landlords and tenants. "It cannot be denied," said the Minister, 'that there is an insistent demand for the abolition of landlordism." The Minister in conclusion said that the present Bill offered a solution by steering a middle course.

PUBLIC DEMANDS RECOVERY ACT AMEND. BILL

16th SEPTEMBER:—The Assembly had the unique experience of having its sitting adjourned by the Hon. Mr. *Speaker* for half an hour as the sequel to the failure on his part to restore order in the midst of continual and rancorous inter-

ruptions between the members of the Ministerial and Opposition benches in the course of the debate on the non-official Bill to amend the Public Demands Recovery Act.

Moulvi *Abdul Bari* of the Muslim Coalition (Ministerial Party) was criticising the sponsor of the Bill, who happened to have seceded recently from the Ministerial group and joined those members of the Krisak-Proja Party, who have been acting in alliance with the Congress Opposition, as being too anxious to play to the gallery and earn cheap plaudits as the only real friend of the much harrassed tenantry in the Province This expression provoked a storm of protest and retorts from the Opposition benches and for a time the interruptions seemed to drown the efforts made by the Speaker who was calling the members on both sides to order.

The hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, Prime Minister, intervening at this stage, accused the members of the Opposition of lack of manners in as much as they were preventing Mr Abdul Bari from continuing his speech This accusation by the Prime Minister was taken serious exception to by the Congress members, who asked him to withdraw the expression

At this stage, the Speaker again made repeated endeavours to call the members to order but not meeting with success, threatened to adjourn the House As things did not improve even after this, he abruptly adjourned the House for half an hour and left the Chamber

BENGAL TENANCY ACT AMEND BILL

21st SEPTEMBER —The Assembly, to-day, passed the provision of doing away with the landlords' right of pre-emption and conferring such right on the co-sharer of the tenants under certain circumstances.

22nd SEPTEMBER —The Congress Party's amendment to the Bill, seeking to provide a suspension of enhancement of rents in the case of ryots as provided in the Bill, was rejected by 86 votes to 72

The Hon Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, the Minister for Revenue, explained that the case of under-ryots would be dealt with in the more comprehensive Bill which the Government proposed to introduce after receipt of the report of the proposed commission of enquiry into the land laws of Bengal

24th SEPTEMBER —Scenes of intense excitement were witnessed in the Assembly to-day at the time of voting on the Congress Party's amendment seeking to fix the rate of interest payable by a tenant to a landlord on arrears of rent at five per cent as against the Government's proposal to reduce the rate of interest from 12 and a half per cent to 6 and a one-fourth per cent The amendment was rejected by 116 votes to 69

Before announcing the result of the division, the Speaker drew the attention of the Leader of the House to the "most unseemly conduct" on the part of certain members of the House while the members were proceeding to the lobbies He expected the Leader to take the necessary steps in the matter so that there might not be any repetition of such incidents, requiring the Speaker's intervention. The Speaker added that he noticed that while members were going to the lobbies, one member had been dragged by another to the Coalition lobby and despite the fact that the Speaker had warned the member concerned and also sent the Secretary to ask him not to persist in that conduct, the member in question had persisted in dragging another member to the lobby of his party The Speaker announced that he had expunged the vote of the member who was being dragged in the above manner

30th SEPTEMBER —The following statement was made to-day by the hon. Mr. *A. K Fazlul Huq*, Prime Minister, speaking during the debate on the third reading of the Bill amending the Bengal Tenancy Act The Premier added . "If in course of time you can show that the Congress Ministers in Bihar, the United Provinces and Orissa have done more for the ryots than we have been able to do, then, indeed, we shall stand self-condemned." He repudiated the criticism that the Bill did not confer any real benefit on the tenants in Bengal and also repudiated the claim of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose that the Congress Party had materially improved the Bill. He denied the charge that the Bill was hypocritical but admitted that it had been rather hastily framed and this, he said, had been due to the fact that circumstances had

made it necessary that the Bill should be carried through in the present session. (Voice from the Congress benches "Why ?") The Premier retorted : "Because you desired to take credit from the masses and we wanted to stop it." (Laughter).

The Premier said that the Congress was actuated by no other principle than that of mere obstruction for obstruction's sake and was out to win cheap praise as a benefactor of ryots. He appealed to the Congress Party in the Legislature to give constructive suggestions and co-operate with them in order to bring about a proper solution of the problem of the land laws in the Province which would lead to contentment and tranquillity among the masses of this province

Mr. *J N. Basu*, Leader of the United Nationalist Party, reiterated his conviction that such a Bill should not have been rushed through without an exhaustive enquiry

Mr. *W. C Wordsworth* said that the European Group had not been pettily contentious or unsympathetic or dominated by self-interest He said the present Bill was hastily decided and represented a certain amount of class prejudice. It created one more class of intermediary and put the landlord in a new and inferior position in relation to his environment They had been called eminent European exploiters, said Mr. Wordsworth, who added jocularly that he now spoke not only as a European but as an imperialist, a capitalist, a tyrant, an oppressor, a parasite and a bloodsucker. (Laughter). Strangers hearing these words, he said, might conclude that the European Group were not loved. They themselves did not draw that inference, for hard words broke no bones and politics would be boring if its vocabulary were feeble and many in his Group felt thrills of ecstasy when they were taken for capitalists.

Mr. *Wordsworth* said that there was unreality about everything, the attitude of the Congress Party over the measure, the 1,700 and more amendments to the Bill. and the attitude of the Proja Party in regard to the Bill. He said that the Province deserved something better than the Bill and its handling had neither convinced their intelligence nor uplifted their emotions It had not made them think of Ajax defying the lightning or of Horatious keeping a bridge or of brave men dying in the last ditch for their conscience and their ideals It had made them think of two homelier characters, namely, firstly, of the brisk criminal judge who always pronounced a sentence after hearing the prosecution because if he listened to the defence as well, he only got confused, and secondly, of the Colonel who always marched behind his regiment and, when asked, explained, "Was not he their leader and should he not follow them wherever they wanted to go ?"

Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, Leader of the Congress Party, criticised the Bill and said that it did not go as far as the Congress wanted to. Explaining the position of the Congress *vise-a-vis* landlords, Mr. Bose said that the Congress was definitely not in favour of the perpetuation of landlordism The Congress did not look upon their rights as something which could not be touched but, at the same time, it discouraged any attempt on the part of any section of the people to describe another section as exploiters. Mr. Bose added that the Congress believed that by adopting the formula of co-operation between all sections and classes of the people, it was possible for them to remove once for all the distinctions that unfortunately existed among the different classes of the people.

After the Prime Minister's speech the hon. Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, Revenue Minister, who had been elected from the Landholders' constituency, said that he had mixed feelings of satisfaction and disappointment regarding the Bill There were certain clauses which he considered to be of an expropriatory nature, infringing the valuable rights of landlords, and as such they did not meet with his personal approval. But he had agreed to introduce the Bill with those clauses in the hope that they might bring about a better understanding between tenants and land lords. He said that the Bill was not comprehensive but only sought to remove some of the pressing grievances of the ryots. He asked the landlords to read the signs of the times and try to adjust themselves to the changing circumstances, for there alone lay their safety. He said that it was true that landlords had been called upon to make valuable sacrifices but he hoped that those sacrifices would have a salutory effect on the relationships between landlords and tenants. He asked landlords not to be shortsighted in these matters

The third reading was carried amidst jubilation The Bill was passed by 110 against 27 votes and the House was prorogued.

The Bengal Legislative Council

Budget Session—Calcutta—30th July to 16th August 1937

ADDRESS TO GOVERNOR—QUESTION OF PROCEDURE

The Budget Session of the Bengal Legislative Council commenced in the Council Chamber, Calcutta on the **30th July 1937** to have the Budget for the year 1937-38 presented by the Finance Minister As many as three points of order were raised and these held up the proceedings of the House till 7-45 p m. Mr. *Satyendra Chandra Mitra*, President, was in the chair

The first point of order before the House was whether it was competent to discuss His Excellency the Governor's Address to both Houses of the Legislature on July 29th. The question arose out of a notice of a motion given by Rai Bahadur *S. N. Sinha*

The *President* called upon the members to express their opinion on the question of presenting an address to the Governor.

The *Hon Sir K. Nazimuddin* said that under Section 63 of the Government of India Act, His Excellency had been given the right to address both Chambers and that address was given at the discretion of His Excellency and that any resolution that was to be moved in connection with anything that related to any action of the Governor at his discretion required the previous assent of the Governor. Continuing, he said that in that case it was necessary that sufficient notice should be given so that His Excellency might either give his assent or refuse it Moreover, he said, under Section 17 of the Rules, before any member of the House could move an address to the Governor it was necessary that a day should be allotted for the purpose Further, Sir K Nazimuddin said that an address could only be moved by means of a motion and that if it was to be moved by a non-official member, it could only be done on a day set apart for non-official business Above all, that day's sitting had been set apart for Government business, namely the presentation of the Budget.

The *President* said that the mover did not claim it under the rules but in pursuance of parliamentary practice and that he merely said that under rule 56 an address should be presented to His Excellency The President desired to know if it was claimed as a privilege of the House.

Sir K Nazimuddin said that the question of privilege did not arise as under Section 118 an address from the Council to the Governor must be presented after a motion had been carried to that effect in the House according to the procedure laid down Further the motion for which notice had been given could not be moved because it infringed Section 19 of the rules of business.

The *President*, intervening, said that the mover did not claim it as an ordinary motion but in pursuance of parliamentary practice and that it was not a resolution but a motion connected with the privileges of the House.

Sir *K. Nazimuddin* observed that the English precedent did not apply in the present case because it differed from the practice at Westminster on account of statutory provision For, according to British Parliamentary practice, the Cabinet was responsible for His Majesty's Address. In India the Governor addressed the legislatures at his own discretion for which the Ministers were not responsible and therefore the two cases were not identical

The *President* observed that in the Dominion Parliaments such addresses were presented and that he wished to know whether this House also wished to create such a convention

One of the members Mr. *Kamini Kumar Dutt* said that they should not drag in parliamentary practice by straining the law and that on principle they should not introduce any thing in the Bengal Council for which there was no provision in the rules. He said that in the rules of business it was definitely stated that an address could be presented to the Governor only after a motion had been made and carried under the rules and that it would not be right to follow practices in vogue elsewhere or to bring in the question of creating a convention

The *President* then said that the matter was of such constitutional importance that it should be thoroughly discussed He said that it was true that theirs was a written constitution and their rules and regulations were not definite on the point but at the same time he said that the House had certainly the right to create conventions. He said that he did not for a moment wish to convey the idea that they should necessarily copy all the conventions even of the British Parliament if these did not suit them. But, at the same time, he said the mover had raised a very important question. He, therefore, advised the mover not to press the motion that day but informed him that he would permit the member to raise it on some other day after giving due notice to the members 'I may say that the House has almost been taken aback by the motion'

The mover then withdrew the motion

PRESS OFFICER'S NOTICE—ADJ. MOTION

2nd. AUGUST :—The adjournment motion on the Press Officer's notice to Calcutta newspapers, prohibiting the publication of news about the Detenue Day proceedings was taken up to-day. Lively discussion took place, but it was defeated when a poll was taken by 32 votes to 12.

Mr. *Kamini Kumar Dutt*, Congress member, who initiated the debate, made an interesting analysis of the consequences of the Press Officer's notification and revealed how such an order undermined the fundamental civil liberties of the people Several members participated in the discussion

Dr. *Radhakumud Mukherjee*, Leader of the Opposition, made a scathing condemnation of the policy of the present Ministry in Bengal and asked the Ministers to look at this picture in Bengal where liberties were being continued to be encroached upon and the other picture in the six Congress provinces which contained about 65 per cent of the population of British India, where a vigorous and progressive policy was being pursued by the Congress Ministers within so short a time after their taking office After referring to the effects of such an order as that issued by the Press Officer as "shaking the entire structure of the primary civil rights of the citizens of Bengal", he said that the Ministry should not have allowed an "underling" who was only a Deputy Secretary in the Home Department, to have issued such an order without an express order from the Home Minister and that the Minister must be held responsible for the consequences

Sir *K. Nazimuddin*, Home Minister, in an elaborate reply, said that the Press Officer was merely carrying out his duties and that the order issued by him was quite legal and within his bounds Such warnings issued by the officer in question must be appreciated by the Press, for the Government, had it only willed, might have reframed from giving such notice, which was, after all, only a reminder of the order issued in 1935 and which continue to exist until it was cancelled, and might have prosecuted the papers who published such news The Ministry was as anxious as anybody else to protect the liberties of the Press and after the legislature had discussed the questions about detenus and other allied matters shortly, he would personally go into the question of the need for the retention or otherwise of the order passed regarding the Detenue Day proceedings

Before replying to the debate, Mr *Kamini Kumar Dutt* desired to know whether the Home Minister had anything to add to what he had already spoken. The Leader of the Opposition desired to know the exact significance of the Minister's words But the Home Minister said that he had nothing more to add to what he had already spoken. The motion was pressed and lost

BENGAL COUNCIL LEADERSHIP

9th. AUGUST .—An important ruling which may have the effect of including in the Bengal Ministry a member of the Upper House, was given by the Hon. Mr *S. C. Mitra*, the President of the Bengal Legislative Council, to-day, on a point raised by Dr Radhakumud Mukherjee, Leader of the Congress Party in the Council, who sought to know whether a non-member could take upon himself the position of the Leader of the House. The President ruled that the Leader of the House must be a member of the Council and in this view of the matter, the Prime Minister, who claimed to be the Leader of the House in the Upper Chamber, would not be able to function as such. Elaborating his point, the Hon. the President observed that it was not inconceivable that in future both the Houses might be sitting simultaneously and it was natural that the Prime Minister and his colleagues would have

ordinarily to attend the Lower House of which they happened to be members. Thus, unless an elected member of the Upper House was declared as the Leader of the House, the work of the House would be impeded.

IMPROVING THE RIVER COURSES

11th. AUGUST —On the motion of Dr *Radha Kumud Mukerjee* the Council adopted the following resolution to-day :—

"This Council declares that it is of opinion that a committee of seven members, to be chosen in equal numbers from the two Houses of the Legislature, and the Minister in charge of the Irrigation Department (Agriculture and Industry) as the Chairman, and with power to co-opt additional members as experts, be formed for the purpose of the utilisation of the hydrographic resources of Bengal and to regulate irrigation and the courses of water channel and improve sanitation of public health, with particular reference to the following amongst other approved measures

(1) Flush irrigation in the alluvial portion of Bengal where the delta has been raised to the same flat level
(2) Storage of rain water in suitable reservoirs
(3) Construction of dams and reservoirs provided with sluice-gates and distributaries
(4) Irrigation by electric power from rivers and tube-wells on the model as in the United Provinces
(5) Construction of canals and cuts without dislocating the natural drainage levels
(6) Harnessing of waterfalls for generating cheap electricity for the countryside (on the lines of the United Provinces hydro-electric grid system)
(7) Establishment of a river-training laboratory at headquarters.

16th AUGUST —The Congress adjournment motion to discuss the situation arising from the police lathi charge on the 14th August was negatived without a division to-day

RELEASE OF DETENUS

Earlier, the House discussed the resolution moved by Mr. *Moazzemali Chaudhury* urging the release of all politicals, detenus and internees but the House being prorogued before the debate concluded, the resolution was taken as talked out

In the course of the debate Mr *J. A McKerrow* made the following observations May I envisage in the future the happening of a most untoward event, the murder —after the release of these detenus—the murder of one of our most respected Ministers ? Now on that day—if we project ourselves into the future—I would say this "For this foul, utterly senseless, utterly useless and utterly inexcusable murder the persons who are responsible are not those young detenus who have been caught or who have committed suicide to the grief of their parents, but those members in this House who voted in favour of this resolution "

The House at this stage was prorogued

RAJSHAHI COLLEGE INCIDENT

The next meeting of the Council commenced on the **11th. September** The adjournment motion regarding the closing of the Rajshahi College, of which notice had been given by Mr *Lalit Chandra Dass* was not moved

In answer to the President (the Hon Mr *S C Mitra*) Mr Das said that in view of the fact that Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the Congress Assembly Party, and Mr. *P. N. Banerji* had agreed to enquire into the matter with a view to bringing about a settlement, he did not propose to move the adjournment motion.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

13th. SEPTEMBER —Four non-official Bills were discussed to-day Three on them—the Relief to the Poor and Unemployment Bill, the Fisheries Bill and the Municipal Act Amendment Bill—were circulated for eliciting public opinion The Cruelty to Animals (Amendment) Bill was under consideration when the House rose for the day.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF BILL

The Bengal Relief to the Poor and Unemployment Bill, introduced by *Khan Bahadur Muazzamuddin Hossain*, was first considered The Bill sought to help

labourers and poor agriculturists with short-term loans and the indigent with doles to tide over temporary difficulties. The Bill, as stated, was circulated for eliciting public opinion.

Fisheries Bill

Mr. S. C. Chakravarti's Fisheries Bill was also circulated for eliciting public opinion The Bill sought to safeguard the rights and interests of fishermen, who, it was stated, were subjected to various exactions at the hands of their immediate landlords, but more particularly from those of the middlemen.

Municipal Amendment Bill

Mr. Nur Ahmed's Municipal Amendment Bill which sought to do away with nominated blocks from Municipal bodies, introduce adult franchise and make it compulsory for those bodies, to spend ten per cent of their income on primary education, was also circulated for eliciting public opinion.

Cruelty to Animals Bills

Mr. Lalit Chandra Dass's Bengal Cruelty to Animals (Amendment) Bill, the object of which was to put an effective check on the phooka evil was under discussion when the House adjourned.

Privileges of the Council

14th. SEPTEMBER:—When the Council met to-day, Dr. *Radhakumud Mukherjee*, Leader of the opposition, stated that "a process of slow and steady deterioration of the status and privileges of the Council" had been going on. The responsibility for this, he maintained, developed solely on the Government The second chamber was taken by Government in the sense that it was "like the second fiddle in producing our legislative music." It was, he said, a gross misconception of the scope and functions of the second Chamber.

This Council was practically an elected body, barring only its nominated element of one-tenth The Government did not realize that they were "violating the Constitution and wrecking the Act," by not allowing the Council to function as it should They had not yet given to this House a Leader The business of the House was in a muddle. He wished that Government had taken a leaf out of the book of the Congress Government in Madras giving to the Upper House at once a Minister and a Leader.

Giving "a catalogue of our disabilities and the means of removing them," Dr Mukherji emphasized the need of a separate chamber for the Council to conduct its business in "absolute freedom" Pending a separate building, he suggested that the days of the week should be divided between the two Houses of legislature for their respective use of the Legislative Chamber on the prescribed days allotted to each The Council, he concluded, was now placed in a position in which it could not function as it should under the Constitution

The President, Mr. *Satyendra Chandra Mitra*, said that the point raised by Dr Mukherji could be discussed in the House only if it came in the form of a resolution.

Cruelty to Animals Bill

The House then resumed discussion on the Cruelty to Animals (Amendment) Bill

Speaking on the proposed measure, *Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin* said that Government had every sympathy with the sponsor of the motion Government were quite aware of the evil practice of *phooka* and fully realized the necessity of putting a stop to it.

After some discussion the Bill was referred to a Select Committee with instructions to submit their report by November 30 The Council then adjourned

Solving Unemployment Problem

15th. SEPTEMBER:—The gravity of the problem of unemployment in Bengal was emphasized to-day when Mr *Kamini Kumar Dutta* moved a resolution to the effect that a special department in charge of one of the Ministers with a board of experts to help him, should be established immediately to deal with this problem. Mr Dutta remarked that to suggest that Government had no responsibility in the matter was to go against the doctrine accepted in all civilized countries. He said that one of the methods by

which Government might solve the problem of unemployment was by helping in the development of industries which would give employment to a large number of people. He explained that by his resolution he did not contemplate the appointment of an additional Minister One of the existing Ministers might be entrusted with the administration of the proposed department.

Mr *Lalit Chandra Das* moved an amendment suggesting that a committee under the Finance Minister, consisting of experts and some members of the Council and Assembly, should be immediately formed with a view to devising means to solve the question of unemployment and with that end in view among other things to open small and middle-sized industries in different parts of the Province.

The Finance Minister Mr *N R Sarker* said that there was no difference of opinion regarding the gravity of the problem of unemployment and also as regards the proposition that it was the duty of Government to help in the solution of the problem Mr Dutta had raised the question of State aid to Industries The Government had been helping the industries by giving protection in the shape of tariffs and bounties, and also in various other ways Recently the Government of India gave a good impetus to the sugar industry by introducting high tariffs, but unfortunately Bengalis had so far done nothing for the revival of the sugar industry in this Province

Dr *Radha Kumud Mukherji* said that the problem was a vast and fundamental one, affecting the fabric of society, and so it could not be dealt with piecemeal In order to solve this problem they must first tackle the question of primary education, and, secondly, improve the condition of the peasantry The agriculturist must be given a fair price for his produce If agriculture could be made profitable, the problem of unemployment would be solved automatically

Mr *E C Ormond* said that the question of unemployment cut across every department and affected the work of every Minister to some extent Referring to unemployment among lawyers Mr Ormond said that steps should be taken to prevent so many young men from taking up a profession which could not give them proper occupation The debate had not concluded when the House rose for the day.

16th SEPTEMBER —Mr. *Hamidul Huq Chowdhury* said that apart from the unemployed middle class there was the larger body of unemployed agriculturists. Any scheme that they might formulate would be of no effect unless they had increased the productivity of the soil and provided better marketing facilities for agricultural products

Rai Bahadur *Keshab Banerji* stressed the necessity of collecting statistics with a view to having a correct idea of the extent of unemployment

Mr *Humayun Kabir* said that the creation of an employment portfolio of the appointment of a committee of experts was nothing but tinkering with the problem they had to face They must have a bold and comprehensive scheme to tackle the problem in all its aspects

The *Maharaja of Santosh* said that the people themselves were to a large extent responsible for this unemployment It was a pity that their educated young men often showed lamentable apathy towards vocations which were other than literary or clerical They often refused to recognize the dignity of labour. This particular mentality must be changed

Replying to the debate the Hon *Nawab Khwaja Habibullah* Bahadur of Dacca said that he fully realized the gravity of the problem and was trying to do his level best to tackle the problem Although new in office, he had already formulated a five-year scheme for the industrial development of Bengal This was now awaiting the consideration of the Finance Minister and other members of the Cabinet The Hon. Minister informed the House that under the old Government, 'middle class unemployment' was in charge of the Minister for Industries Now that the department of Industries was in his charge, he was also in charge of middle clas unemployment and therefore of the portfolio of the whole problem of unemployment The resolution was withdrawn. The Council then adjourned

MINISTERS' SALARIES BILL

17th. SEPTEMBER —*Mr. N R Sarkar* moved to-day that the Ministers' Salaries Bill as passed by the Assembly (Lower House) be taken into consideration.

Rising on a point of order, Dr. *Radha Kumud Mukerjee*, Leader of the Opposition, challenged the right of the Minister, who was not a member of the House, to

move for the consideration of any Bill. Dr Mukerjee held that, according to the Government of India Act, a non-member Minister was entitled "to speak in, and otherwise take part in the proceedings of" the House, but this could not be construed to mean that he could initiate proceedings by moving the consideration of a Bill or a resolution.

After a prolonged discussion the acting Advocate-General, Mr *S. M. Bose* gave his opinion which was to the effect that Mr. Sarker was in order.

The President, the Hon. Mr. *S C. Mitra*, concurred, and the House proceeded to consider the Ministers' Salaries Bill.

A motion for the circulation of the Bill for public opinion was lost

Mr. *Humayun Kabir* (Proja) moved that each Minister should receive Rs 1,500 a month, with a sumptuary allowance of Rs 1,000 for the Premier Mr. *Satish Chandra Chakravarti* (Congress) sought to reduce the Premier's salary from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 750, and the salaries of the other Ministers from Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 750.

Mr. *Moazzamali Choudhury* proposed that the Premier should be paid Rs. 2,500 and the other Ministers Rs 1,500 each.

The other proposals were under discussion when the House adjourned.

18th. SEPTEMBER —Questions of privilege and prestige, which appear greatly to concern the *amour-propre* of some of the members of Bengal's Upper House again loomed large in the discussion of that body on the Ministers' Salaries Bill to-day

There were several amendments aiming at lower scales of salaries than those proposed in the original Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly Arguments advanced for and against were similar to those put forward in the Lower House

All the other amendments were lost.

The House was considering the last motion, namely, that the Bill be passed, when the meeting was adjourned.

20th. SEPTEMBER .—The Finance Minister, Mr *Nalini Ranjan Sarker*, threw out a challenge to-day to the Congress members to sacrifice their income to the service of the nation and to take lessons in simplicity Lower salary for the Ministers and the officers of the Government would, no doubt, he said, mean a lot of saving in the nation's budget, but if it was a question of competition and not mere playing to the gallery, he was quite prepared to take up the Congress challenge. He would not accept a farthing as salary (Congress cries of hear, hear), provided those who were shouting 'hear, hear' were prepared to give up their earnings and utilize them for the service of the nation As regards simplicity, he yielded to none in that respect

The Ministers' Salaries Bill (as settled in the Lower House) was then put to vote and passed without a division

PRESIDENT'S AND SPEAKER'S EMOLUMENTS BILL

The Council then proceeded with the consideration of the Legislative Chambers (President's and Speaker's Emoluments) Bill Several amendments were moved Some of them (by Congress and Proja members) were for reducing the salaries of both the President of the Council and the Speaker of the Assembly and their deputies, while there were others which aimed at either reducing the salary of the Speaker and his deputy or increasing that of the President and his deputy so as to make the rate of their salaries uniform The general consensus of opinion was that no distinction should be made between the President and the Speaker in respect of their salaries when their duties and responsibilities were the same and their salaries should be the same

Mr *Humayun Kabir* proposed a salary of Rs 1000 and an establishment allowance of Rs. 500 per month each for the President of the Council and the Speaker of the Assembly, in place of a salary of Rs 1,500 and Rs. 2,000 respectively, provided in the Bill; and a salary of Rs. 1,000 each per year for the Deputy President and the Deputy Speaker in place of Rs 2,000 and Rs. 3,000 per year respectively. This was lost.

Mr *Srish Chandra Chakravarty* (Congress) moved for reducing the salary of both the President and the Speaker to a uniform rate of Rs. 750 per month. The House negatived the proposal by 41 to 9 votes.

Mr. *Moozzamali Chowdhury* sought to reduce the salary of the Speaker to Rs. 1,500 per month and that of the Deputy Speaker to Rs. 1,000 per annum. Both the amendments were rejected.

Mr *J A. Mckerrow* by another amendment sought to raise the salary of the Speaker to Rs 2,500, while *Khan Bahadur Ataur Rahaman* wanted to fix the salary of the President at Rs. 2,000

The House by 37 to 12 votes accepted the proposal to fix the salary of the President at Rs 2,000, thus making it uniform with that of the Speaker.

The House adopted without a division another amendment by Khan Bahadur *Ataur Rahaman* suggesting a salary of Rs 3,000 per annum for the Deputy President (as in the case of the Deputy Speaker)

The President's and Speaker's Salary Bill as amended, was passed by the House without a division. The Council then adjourned.

Members' Emoluments Bill

21st. SEPTEMBER —Various attempts to modify the Bengal Legislative Chambers (Members' Emoluments) Bill, as passed by the Assembly, were defeated in the Council to-day In the first place Mr *Humayun Kabir* sought to disqualify "the holder of any office of profit under the Crown in India carrying a fixed salary that is already in existence or may be created hereafter" from the salaries and allowances fixed for the Council and Assembly members

Then followed *Begum Hamida Momin* who would have deprived the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly and the Deputy President of the Council from drawing salaries and allowances as members of the respective Houses

More drastic was the proposal of Mr *Nur Ahamed* who would have abolished the Bill's salary clause altogether. Mr *Humayun Kabir* would have been content with a reduction of salaries from Rs 150 to Rs 100 a month while Begum Hamida Momin preferred a scale of Rs 125

All but the last amendment were lost, and the House adjourned

Removal Of Disqualifications Bill

22nd SEPTEMBER —Two Bills—the Bengal Legislative Chambers (Members' Emoluments) Bill, and the Bengal Legislature (Removal of Disqualifications) Bill—were passed by the Council to-day after which the Council was prorogued

Various amendments which aimed at reducing the salaries and allowances of members were defeated by large majorities.

Begum Hamida Momin moved that members salaries be reduced from Rs. 150 to Rs 125, the daily allowance from Rs 10 to Rs 5 and travelling allowance from first class to second class

There were two other amendments in the names of Mr Humayun Kabir and Mr. Mozzemah Chaudhury seeking to fix the daily allowance at Rs. 6 and Rs 7-8 respectively All the amendments were lost

In connexion with the second Bill there were four amendments to Clause 2 which provided for the removal of certain disqualifications for membership The amendments were negatived The House was then prorogued.

THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

(Continued from Volume I Page 165)

THE PREMIER'S STATEMENT

1st JULY —The Opposition members were in their seats when the Assembly met this morning and *Dewan Chamanlal* entered the House later

Before questions were taken up, the Speaker, *Sir Shahabuddin*, said that he had received a long letter from the leader of the Opposition, Dr Gopichand Bhargava In order to deal with that statement he said he would have to consult certain volumes of the proceedings and certain books on the constitution. Therefore he would deal with that statement later

He understood that there was some resentment against the appointment of a police officer as Marshal and promised that the post will be filled by a retired Military Officer as soon as one was available As to the duties of the Marshal he said that neither the Government nor he had considered that question but he presumed they will be the same as the Marshal of the Central Assembly and if those duties were considered to require modification, such modifications will be made by the House

After questions the Premier. Sir *Sikandar Hayal Khan* made a statement concerning the walk-out of the Opposition members

He said "I am glad the Hon'ble friends opposite have come back (Ministerial-cheers). You, Sir, were pleased to make a statement this morning to the effect that there has been misunderstanding and that so far as the present Marshal is concerned it was only a temporary arrangement I venture to make a suggestion that with regard to the functions of the Marshal concerned, if you be pleased to appoint an informal committee of this House to advise you, I think that would go a long way to meet the wishes of the Opposition and that the proposals of the Committee will be brought before the House for ratification Secondly, the Premier added, as the Hon members opposite have taken some exception—it may be against the principle of appointment—that the present Marshall, I venture to suggest, if it does not mean any great inconvenience to you pending the appointment of a permanent incumbent, you may be pleased to dispense with his services" (Opposition cheers)

Proceeding, *Sir Sikandar* said "Without being presumptuous, may I make a suggestion very respectfully to my honourable friend the Leader of the Opposition that if in future in any such matters where there is a likelihood of grave misunderstanding arising that they might first try to remove it in chamber privately, I may request him to make representation to the Speaker and to me privately so that we can meet quietly to see whether that matter is possible of solution A great deal of sensation was created among the public and the press unnecessarily on the present occasion and I would request you to make this position clear so that there is no bickering of heart on any side of the House" (cheers)

Dr. *Gopichand Bhargava*, Leader of the Opposition, said —"The step we took the day before yesterday was only to show our resentment from the constitutional viewpoint because we felt that it was an encroachment on the rights of the House and that was why we were compelled to take the course we did I can assure you, Sir, we have nothing personal and we thought better to bring to your notice as the custodian of the rights of the House As for the Premier's suggestion on behalf of the Opposition, I can assure him and the House that I am prepared to meet you and the Leader of the House to settle privately any such grave matters in which there was misunderstanding" (applause).

Diwan Chamanlal wanted to know in view of the suggestion made by the Premier whether the Speaker would dispense with the services of the present Marshal forthwith.

The *Premier* explained : "My suggestion did not mean forthwith The Speaker may be pleased to dispense with his services as early as possible without inconveniencing yourself."

The *Speaker* agreed to the proposal for the appointment of the committee of the House for determining the function of the Marshal and promised to dispense with the services of the present Marshal as soon as possible.

With this assurance the House passed to the consideration of the demands for grants under the head general administration

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

5th. JULY —An appeal to members not to put questions touching communal issues combined with the threat that should members not resist this temptation he would be obliged to decline to answer them in the interests of the public was made by the Premier Sir *Sikandar Hyat Khan* in the Assembly to-day

The appeal arose out of the persistence of two Sikh members who, not satisfied with questions about the use of Jhatka meat in police lines and jails, moved for permission to bring up adjournment motions on the subject The Speaker ruled out both motions

The demand for an increase in police constables' salaries next came under discussion and an interesting episode in the debate was the tribute paid by *Lala Duni-chand*, deputy leader of the Congress Party to the work done by the police constables for whom he asked a salary of at least Rs 30 a month He also suggested that police officials be deputed to London to learn Scotland Yard technique and manners in dealing with the public. Lala Dunichand however had a tilt at the higher officers in the force as being overpaid

Dr Bhargava argued that the Budget did not permit an increase in the pay of constables and pleaded for more time for the Ministry to remedy the situation

Mr *Muhammad Hussain* made wild, sweeping allegations against magistrates and police officers and the Premier raised a protest

Sir *Gocul Chand Narang*, ex-Minister, asked how redress should be obtained and the Speaker warned Mr. Muhammad Hussain that the Chair would not be able to give him protection if he persisted in such sweeping charges.

6th JULY —The main criticisms against the Police grant to-day were that the Police Department was steeped in corruption and bribery and that their behaviour towards the public was most uncivil. The extortion of confessions from ignorant and poor people was, it was alleged, rampant, with the result that people were generally afraid of the police and respectable people were unwilling to appear before them because of bad treatment

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan the Premier, winding up the debate, said that he had heard very little constructive criticism There had been the usual charges of corruption, bribery and incivility towards the public After replying to various minor criticisms, the Premier gave figures to show that the amount spent on the gazetted ranks was only about Rs 7 and a half lakhs as against an expenditure of nearly Rs 70 lakhs on other ranks As for recruitment the Premier pointed out that gazetted officers were formerly recruited by the local Government but in future this function would be discharged by the Public Service Commission

On the general charge of corruption, Sir Sikandar pointed out that this malady existed everywhere even the Congress was not immune from it The only remedy was to educate the public and make them as incorruptible as possible. The Congress might occupy the Government benches to-morrow and Sir Sikandar asked, "would it be honest for the members sitting opposite to-day, to try to inculcate the spirit of lawlessness in the public ?" The Premier continued "I may remind them that it has been an established practice in every civilized country to let the executive to function undisturbed and the Congress would be committing a great mistake when in charge of the Government if they tried to interfere with the executive in its day-to-day administration"

Lala Dunichand's motion was put to vote and was defeated by 80 votes to 32

9th JULY —The Assembly discussed for two days the Opposition cut motion relating to the educational policy of the Government Members generally urged the speedy introduction of free and compulsory education and vocational education in all schools.

The *Minister of Education*, replying to the debate, said the Government were committed to the encouragement of girls' education. This was evident from the fact that in the new education budget 80 per cent was allotted for girls' education

as against 15 per cent in the previous budget. Experiments were in progress in certain centres on the system of introducing general literacy for the masses. Government had received the report of the Committee for revising the history text books. The Committee had suggested expunging certain historical facts which caused disunion among various communities Government were carefully considering the recommendation The cut motion was rejected and Education demand was voted. The House then adjourned

CENSURE MOTION RULED OUT

12th. JULY :—Mr *Sriram*, a Congress member of the Assembly attempted to-day to move an adjournment motion to protest against the answer given by the Premier to a supplementary question concerning certain remarks made at a zamindars' meeting by Sir Chhoturam, Minister for Development Mr. Sriram said that the Premier had supported, on behalf of the Government, the speech of Sir Chhoturam in which the latter had said that if a Congressman persisted in abusing the Government, the Zamindars should 'push him out of the village."

The *Premier* protested against attributing to him something which he had not said. He referred to the actual wording of the question and said that the whole Government was with the Minister when he warned the speaker against the use of abusive language against the Government

Dr *Gopichand*, Leader of the Opposition, said that if the interpellations were read the Premier's answer distinctly implied that the Government approved the pushing out of a Congressman from a village.

The *Premier* pointed out that when, during interpellations, it was pointedly asked of him whether he endorsed the whole speech of Sir Chhoturam, his reply was that he was not present when the speech was made. Therefore, the inference was wrong.

Mr. *Sriram* said that what he objected to was that if the Premier's reply meant the actual policy of the Government then there would be no freedom of speech because it meant the resort to violence by people against Congressmen.

The *Premier* said that a member of the Opposition had on the same day stated that there were many black sheep in the Unionist Government yet nobody on the Government benches had attempted an adjournment motion

After further discussion, the Speaker held the motion out of order. As it sought to discuss the policy or conduct of a member, it could only be moved as a substantive motion.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

13th. JULY .—The Assembly concluded consideration of the Budget to-day At 3-30 p. m the Speaker applied the guillotine and all demands for grants numbering thirty were passed The House spent to-day discussing Congress Party's cut motion relating to the policy of the Department of Agriculture. Opposition criticism embraced a wide range of the Department's activities

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr *Gopichand Bhargava* assisted by Mr *Krishnagopal Dutt* and others urged the Government to take steps to inculcate in the peasantry a spirit of co-operative farming, fix the minimum price of staple commodities, improve livestock and introduce subsidiary industries to augment the income of the peasants

Mr. *Ghaznafar Ali* voiced the plight of the agriculturists living in Khewra, the sale range of whose lands was damaged by the salt water spreading the surrounding areas.

Mr. *Krishnagopal Dutt*, Whip of the Congress Party, asked what was the use of the Opposition making constructive suggestions when the Minister would brush them aside with the excuse of lack of funds. The considered opinion of the Opposition was that so long as the Currency and Exchange policy of the Government of India was unchanged there could be no improvement in the condition of the peasantry in India.

Sir *Sundersingh Majithia*, Revenue Minister, and Sir *Chhoturam*, Minister for Development, spoke on behalf of the Government. The former assured Mr. Ghaznafar Ali that the Punjab Government was alive to the plight of the peasantry in Khewra salt area and action on the reports of experts with a view to ease the situation would not be delayed unduly. Sir Chhoturam gave an account of the

achievement of the department in various directions especially in introducing improved varieties of crops and last year the agriculturists profited to the extent of six crores of rupees out of three staple crops, namely, cotton, wheat and maize. After describing the improvements effected in various crops, Sir Chhoturam concluded by saying that in the face of these results the charge of neglect on the part of the department towards peasantry was unfounded and unjustifiable.

The cut was rejected and the demand passed. The House adjourned till July 15.

MEMBERS' ALLOWANCE BILL

15th. JULY —The *Premier* introduced and then moved that a bill fixing members allowances (Rs. 20 per day allowance and Rs. 2-8 per day for conveyance) be taken into consideration at once.

Mr. *Chamanlal* moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee owing to the great importance of the measure.

Dr. *Gopichand*, Leader of the Opposition, supporting the amendment suggested that the matter be delayed in order to find what other Provinces would pay.

The *Premier*, opposing the motion, wanted the Punjab to lead other Provinces even in this matter. The motion was rejected

Mr. *Hari Singh* (Opposition) next moved an amendment to the effect that the Parliamentary Secretaries should not be given any allowance. He said the House had already sanctioned Rs. 50,000 for the salaries of Parliamentary Secretaries and therefore they should, in the matter of daily allowance, be treated like the Ministers.

The *Premier*, opposing the amendment, said if this allowance was cut off for Parliamentary Secretaries the Government would have to give them more salaries.

Mr. Manilal, Mr. Ghulam Hussain, Dr. Gopichand, Mr. Sumair Singh, Mr. Kartar Singh, Mr. Abdur Rahman, Mr. Lalsingh, and Mr. Deshabandu Gupta supported the amendment.

Mr. *Bhagatram* supported the motion of Mr. Chamanlal. He pointed out that Ministers in Madras were going to get less than what the Unionist Government proposed to pay its Secretaries He had opposed even payment of salaries to Secretaries but the present proposal giving them daily allowances in addition was preposterous

The *Premier* repeated the same reply, namely, if the Secretaries were paid daily allowance their salaries would be smaller. The motion was defeated by 87 votes against 33.

Mr. *Mohd. Akram* moved another amendment which was passed, whereby a member was given the option of not taking the allowance.

Mr. *Chamanlal* opposing, protested against what he called an unnecessary amendment merely for the sake of causing a laugh at the expense of the opposition.

Mr. *Dunichand* (Congress) next moved that the daily allowances be reduced to Rs. 10. He said if Rs. 20 were paid then each member would get nearly Rs 600 monthly during the period of the Assembly session. Mr. Dunichand declared that the proposals contained in the Bill were legalised robbery and extortion."

Mr. *Ghulam Hossain* considerd that the allowance of Rs. 12 drawn by the members of the old Council should continue.

Mr. *Ghaznafar Ali* said the proposal of Mr. Dunichand was intended to get cheap popularity with the Congress press and public and there was no sincerity behind the amendment as Mr. Dunichand himself, as a member of the Central Assembly, had been drawing Rs 20 plus Rs. 5 conveyance for a long time.

Sir *Gokulchand Narang* wished to view the Government proposal not from a momentary point of view but from a moral point of view. Members got elected spending thousands of rupees. Therefore an allowance of even Rs. 25 daily has no compensation. But perhaps there was more important consideration, namely, members were pledged to the electorate that if elected they would strive to bring about economy. Now, with what face would they meet the electorate when they wanted to raise the allowance from Rs. 12 to Rs. 22-8-0 per day. If Ministers really claimed they had reduced their pay by 33 per cent, then was it reasonable to raise the allowance by about 70 per cent?

Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan* said the Government proposal was reached after careful consideration so that members, while attending the session at great personal sacrifice, might not be out of pocket. None could deny that the standard of living had risen considerably.

Mr. *Bhargava* asked that in view of the Congress Ministers receiving reduced salaries whether the Punjab Ministers would follow the example.

Sir Sikandar declared, we are not going to follow what other provinces would do but we are going to lead the other provinces (Ministerialist cheers). If the Congress Members opposite did not wish to draw the maximum allowance fixed, they could draw less.

Mr. *Dunichand's* amendment was negatived without a division. There was considerable excitement when the Congress whip and the members of the Opposition challenged a division on the amendment.

But the Chair solemnly said it did not hear the challenge and, as it had already called on the next amendment to be moved, he could not go back.

A few Congress amendments were moved without speech and negatived. All amendments having been disposed of, the Premier proposed that the Bill, as amended, be passed.

Mr. *Bhargava*, Leader of the Opposition, in a forceful speech opposed the entire Bill, declaring that Rs. 22-8 per day was excessive and their object was to see that the Government under the new Act was not made top-heavy.

The bill, as amended, was passed by 83 votes to 27.

Resentment over minister's Remarks

16th. JULY :—After questions to-day, proceedings in the Assembly warmed up over two motions for adjournment. The *Speaker* informed the House that he had received motions for adjournment signed by eleven persons to discuss a matter of urgent public importance, namely, the serious repercussions that the recent report of the Palestine Royal Commission will have on the people of the Punjab He said that the Governor, under rule 35, had decided in his discretion that the motion could not be moved.

Mr. *Ghaznafar Ali* asked whether the matter was referred to His Excellency by the Speaker or the Government.

The *Speaker* : "Under the rules it is the duty of the Speaker to bring the matter to the notice of the Governor. The Speaker further pointed out that the subject matter of the motion for many other reasons was not competent to be moved before the House and in this particular matter the Governor had a special responsibility as it refers to the relations between His Majesty's Government and a foreign State."

Diwan Chamanlal : "Palestine is not a foreign State but part and parcel of the British Empire and governed under a mandate. Moreover the Royal Commission could have no power to visit a foreign state and the British Government have the right to issue passports to Palestine. The particular objection pointed out by the Speaker does not apply to it.

In reply to *Begum Shah Nawaz* the Speaker inquired in what respect the motion concerned the administrative responsibility of the Punjab Government

Mr *Ghaznafar Ali* : Serious repercussions that it might inevitably have on the vast masses of the Punjab.

The *Speaker* felt the motion was clearly out of order and as for serious repercussions in the province as a result of the recommendations of the Commission, the Chair considered that that was a matter for argument and could not form a substantial reason for allowing the motion.

Mr. *Krishnagopal Dutt* enquired if, before disallowing the motion, the Governor had consulted the Government. The Speaker disallowed the question.

When Mr. *Chamanlal* moved the next adjournment motion relating to the utterance of the Minister, Sir Chhoturam, at a recent meeting characterising Congress members of the Opposition as "mad dogs", the atmosphere in the House was tense and there were many angry exchanges between Ministers and members of the Opposition. The Speaker had to intervene many a time with a stern hand to keep order.

Mr. Chamanlal moved a motion "to discuss a matter of urgent public importance" namely, the serious situation created, which may result in a breach of the peace, by the speech delivered by a responsible Minister, Sir Chhoturam on Wednesday July 14, at Kharar while taking part in an election meeting on behalf of Sardar Gurbakh Singh, candidate for the Punjab Assembly.

Mr. Chamanlal said that his motion was based on a telegram from Mr. Sampurna Singh, a member of the House, which read as follows : "Sir Sundar Singh Majitha did not speak. Extracts from Sir Chhoturam's speech are as follows : 'We both have come to help Sardar Gurbakh Singh because we are sure he will join our party which is for the benefit of the Zemindars. When we replied to Dr. Gokul-

chand Narang's motion (in the Assembly) about the Land Alienation Act Congressmen rushed upon us like mad dogs. Look at the appearance of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru ? What can we expect from them ? We can never expect help from the Congress people." Mr. Chamanlal urged that the matter was of very great importance seeing that those words were uttered by a responsible Minister.

Sir *Sikandar Hyat Khan*, the Premier, said.—"I have no doubt that my colleague will protect himself but the mover (Mr. Chamanlal) will forgive me if I say that people outside are merely trying to malign the Government in order to gain cheap notoriety and publicity. I would ask if the Hon'ble Member is justified in moving an adjournment on the basis of a telegram sent on heresay without himself attempting to verify it from the Minister concerned.

Mr *Chamanlal* explained that it was not a telegram sent by any irresponsible person but by Mr Sampuran Singh, a prominent Opposition member of the House and he had no doubt as to the veracity of the report.

The *Speaker* · "As far as the motion referred to the conduct of Ministers, it cannot be moved except through a substantive resolution. If the Hon' Minister wishes to make a statement I have no objection.

The *Premier* . My Hon'ble colleague will certainly make a statement.

Sir *Chotturam* then said that the gentleman who sent the telegram was not at all present at the meeting. "My speech extended over an hour. I went there specially to help Mr. Gurbakh Singh's candidature A few words distorted from my speech can mean anything. As for the objectionable words I did use the words "mad dogs". It was not in connection with the motion made by Dr. Narang regarding the Land Alienation Act. My reference was to a scene in the House in which three or four members were standing up interrupting the proceedings constantly"

This reply from the Minister was the signal for considerable excitement and there were catcalls and cries of 'Order, Order', when the Speaker had to intervene.

Mr *Chamanlal* sprang up and declared that despite the moral indignation shown by the Premier, the Hon. Sir Chhoturam had corroborated every word contained in Mr Sampuran Singh's telegram "The Hon. Member sits over there and laughs instead of being ashamed of himself", he exclaimed.

The *Speaker*, upholding the original ruling, that the conduct of Ministers cannot be discussed except by a substantive motion, passed on to the next business on the agenda.

Mr. *Chamanlal*, amidst Ministerial cries of 'order, order', again stood up. He said, "I have no intention of questioning your ruling. But the fact remains, and has been admitted by the Minister himself, that he called the members of the Opposition "mad dogs" I ask you, Sir, if it is Parliamentary"

The *Speaker* : It is a very important matter and I will consider it and give my ruling later." The House thereupon passed on to consider legislative business.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

There was an interesting debate over the constitutional point, whether the majority party in power had a right to oppose leave to introduce a Bill by an Opposition member. The question arose when *Diwan Chamanlal* tried to introduce an Unemployment Insurance Bill.

Discussion ranged over a wide field and conventions and precedents of the British Parliaments, Dominion Parliaments and Indian Legislature were frequently quoted. It was argued on behalf of the Opposition that asking leave of the House to introduce a Bill was the formal stage of any measure and it had always been allowed unopposed by the majority party. The *Premier*, supported by the Advocate-General and others, contended that the convention in the House of Commons was based on the merits of each Bill and generally the Opposition sought to introduce a Bill with the consent of the party in power. Legislation was primarily the function of the Government in power and if leave was given to introduce a Bill to which they could not give effect, they would be abdicating their right.

The *Speaker* said that the rules and standing orders in all legislatures were identical in this respect and there was no imperative provision on the point. It was merely a question of give and take between the Government and the opposition. The speaker thereupon called upon Diwan Chamanlal to move the motion to introduce the Bill which was opposed by the Development Minister and ultimately thrown out by 71 to 26 votes.

The House agreed to the introduction of **Mr. *Maqbool Mahmud's*** Moslem Auqaf Bill and adjourned till the 20th.

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

20th. JULY :—In an atmosphere of tense excitement and galleries packed to suffocation the Assembly discussed a non-official resolution urging the release of all political prisoners in Jail.

The Premier Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan* spoke for an hour explaining the Government attitude towards this vexed question. He said the Unionists did not make any spectacular election pledges as the Congress did that they would, as soon as they assumed Office, release all political prisoners whatever be their offence. They had approached the electorate with a simple promise of working the Act to whatever benefit, fully knowing its limitations, despite the charges of reactionarism. Soon after assuming power the Unionist Government had ordered the release of all Martial Law prisoners and the gradual release of political prisoners after a careful periodical examination of each case. The Government would pursue this policy in future also. In considering the cases of political prisoners, the Premier appealed to the House to make a distinction between political murderers and political patriots. In several cases he was prepared to admit political prisoners were misguided and he asked whether it was not their duty to see that patriotism was not misguided in that manner. The Premier refused to agree that Baber Akali prisoners were strictly political offenders. The Premier announced that the Government had decided to remove the ban on the entry into the Punjab of Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan forthwith. As for Mr. Teja Singh, M. L. A., who was detained without trial, Sir Sikander said he had examined his case from an absolutely detached view and felt his release was not advisable at present. The Premier added that all Martial Law prisoners were free and one of the two Lahore Conspiracy Case prisoners would be released shortly. Three out of six State prisoners would also be released straightaway. The cases of all those convicted under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, about 20, were also under examination and the Premier said before long they would also be released. Sir Sikandar made the position of the Government quite clear that, if those released again indulged in any subversive activities, the Government would not hesitate to put them in jail. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan appealed to the Opposition members to co-operate with him and make the Government's task easy for working for the common progress of the Province.

The resolution was pressed to a division and was rejected by 27 against 97 votes.

REMOVING COMMUNALISM BY LEGISLATION

22nd. JULY :—The Assembly adjourned *sine die* to-day in an atmosphere of cordiality when the Premier, *Sir Sikander Hayat Khan* made a statement in the course of which he said that throughout the session the House had raised many points of order, but did not mean any disrespect to him. Whatever they did was done to vindicate the rights and privileges of the members.

Earlier, an important debate took place on the resolution urging the Government to adopt an effective measure for stamping out communalism from the Province and taking immediate action by means of legislative enactment or otherwise to make the recrudescence of communal disturbances impossible. All members who participated in the debate stoutly supported the resolution.

Sir *Sikander Hayat Khan* thanked all sections of the House for the cordiality with which they supported the resolution. While on this question, he would urge the House to face facts as they were. After tracing the history of the communal problem the Premier said there was no use crying over spilt milk and he appealed for the support of every section in a fresh attempt. He uttered a stern warning to all communalists, high or low, official or otherwise, and also to the communal press, that they would not be spared if they indulged any longer in infusing communalism. If they could solve the communal problem in the Punjab they would solve the problem of India and that would be doing the greatest service to the Mother-land.

The resolution was unanimously adopted and the House adjourned *sine die*.

The Madras Legislative Council

President :—THE HON. MR. U. RAMA RAO

Deputy President .—M. R. RY. K. VENKATASWAMI NAYUDU GARU

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2 ABDUL WAHAB BUKHARI, SYED
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4 ALAGANAN CHETTIYAR, RAO SAHIB A. S
5 BHEEMA RAO, B
6 BIRLEY, SIR FRANK
7 DAIVASIGAMANI MUDALIYAR, RAO BAHADUR K
8 GANGA RAJU, V. ALIAS GANGAYYA
9 GONSALVES, S J
10 GULAM JILANI QURAISHI. KHAN BAHADUR MOULVI
11 HAMID SULTAN MARAKKAYAR, KHAN BAHADUR
12 HENSMAN, MRS H. S.
13 KUMARASWAMI MUDALIYAR, MEDAI DALAVOI
14 MADHAVA MENON, K.
15 MALLIKARJUNUDU, K P.
16 MAMMU KEYI, C. P
17 MANJAYA HEGDE, D,
18 MOIDU, KHAN BAHADUR T. M
19 NARAYANA MENON, M.
20 NARAYANA RAO, M.
21 NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU, B.
22 PEDDI RAJU, P.
23 PERUMALSWAMI REDDIYAR C.
24 RAJAN, THE HON. DR. T. S S. (*Minister*)
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26 RAMALINGAN CHETTIYAR, T. A.
27 RAMALINGA REDDI, C
28 RAMAN, RAO BAHADUR M.
29 RAMANATHAM CHETTIYAR S A S Rm.
30 RAMA RAU, THE HON MR U.
31 RANGASWAMI AYYANGAR, A.
32 RUNGANATHAN DIWAN BAHADUR S. E.
33 SALDANHA, JEROME A.
34 SAMIAPPA MUDALIYAR, N R.
35 SANKARA REDDI, N.
36 SATAGOPA MUDALIYAR, S K.
37 SIVASUBRAMANIA AYYAR, K S.
38 SRINIVASA AYYANGAR K. V
39 SRINIVASA AYYANGAR, R.
40 SRINIVASA AYYANGAR, T. C.
41 SRINIVASAN, DIWAN BAHADUR R.
42 SRINIVSA SASTRI, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE V S.
43 SRIRAMAMURTI, D.
44 SUBBA RAJU, NADIMPALLI
45 SUBBARAMA REDDI, L
46 SUBBA RAU, L
47 THOMAS, DR P J.
48 USMAN, KHAN BAHADUR SIR MOHOMED
49 VASANTA RAO, RAO BAHADUR V.
50 VEERABHADRASWAMI, P.
51 VENKATACHALAMAJI, N
52 VENKATA JOGAYYA PANTULU, V.
53 VENKATAPUNNAYYA, V
54 VENKATA REDDI NAYADU, RAI BAHADUR SIR KURMA
55 VENKATASWAMI NAYUDU, K.

The Madras Legislative Assembly

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Speaker—

THE HON'BLE B. SAMBAMURTI GARU

Deputy Speaker—

MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI

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3 ABDUR ALI RAJAH, ARAKAL SULTAN
4 ABDUR RAHIMAN KHAN, K.
5 ABDUL RAWOOF, D.
6 ACHUTHAN, P.
7 ADIKESAVALU NAICKER, P. M.
8 ABIMULAM, JAMEDAR
9 AHMAD THAMBI MUHAMMAD MOHIDEEN MARACAIR (*Parliamentary Secretary*)

10 AMMANNA RAJA, SRIMATHI G.
11 ANANTACHAR, B.
12 ANJALAI AMMAL, SRIMATHI
13 ANNAMALAI PILLAI, N.
14 APPADURAI PILLAI, DIWAN BAHADUR A.
15 ARI GOWDER, H. B.
16 ARUNACHALAM CHETTIAR, MUTHU. KR. AR KR.
17 ATTAKOYA THANGAL, KHAN BAHADUR P. M.
18 BALAKRISHNA, S. S
19 BAPINEEDU, M. (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
20 BASHEER AHMED SAYEED
21 BHAKTABATSALAM, M.
22 BHAKTHAVATHSALU NAYUDU, B
23 BHASHYAM AYYANGAR, K.
24 BHASKARA RAO MAHASAYO, SRIMAN Y. V. A.
25 BHUVARAHAN, V.
26 BOWER, E H. M.
27 BROWNING, W. M.
28 BUCHAPPA NAYUDU, P.
29 CHANDRAMOALI, K.
30 CHELVAPATHI CHETTI, G
31 CHENGAM PILLAI, O.
32 CHIDAMBARA AYYAR, S.
33 CHINNAMUTHU, P.
34 CHOCKALINGAM PILLAI, T. S.
35 CONGREVE, C. R T.
36 DAMODARAM, M. P.
37 D'MELLO, E. M.
38 DORAIKANNU, M.
39 DORAISWAMI NADAR, A. R A S.
40 GHOUSE MOHIDEEN, S.
41 GIRI, V. V, THE HON. (*Minister*)
42 GOPALA REDDI, B, THE HON (*Minister*)
43 GOVINDA DOSS
44 GOVINDAN NAYAR, C. K.
45 GUPTA, V. J.
46 GURUVULU, S.
47 HALASYAM AYYAR, N.
48 HUSSAIN. H. S.
49 ISSAC, D. R.
50 ISHWARA, K.
51 JEBAMONEY MASILAMONEY, MRS
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52 KADIRAPPA, D.
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55 KALESWARA RAO, A. (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
56 KAMARAJ NADAR, K.
57 KANNAN, E.
58 KARANT, K. R.
59 KARUNAKARA MENON, A.
60 KHADJA YAKUB HASAN, MRS.
61 KHALIF-UL-LAH, KHAN BAHADUR P.
62 KOLANDAVELU NAYANAR, K.
63 KOTI REDDI, K.
64 KRISHNA RAO, G.
65 KRISHNACUDUMBAN, S.
66 KRISHNAMACHARI T. T.
67 KRISHNAMURTI, G.
68 KRISHNASWAMI BHARATI, L.
69 KULASEKARAN. K.
70 KUMARARAJA M. A. MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD
71 KUMARASWAMI RAJA, P. S
72 KUNHAMMAD KUTTY HAJEE, P. I.
73 KUPPUSWAMI AYYAR, K.
74 KURMAYYA, V.
75 KUTTIMALU AMMA, SRIMATHI, A V.
76 LAKSHMANASWAMI, O.
77 LAKSHMANASWAMI, P.
78 LAKSHMI AMMAL, SRIMATHI
79 LAKSHMI AMMAL, SRIMATI K.
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81 LANGLEY, W K. M.
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83 MAHBOOB ALI BAIG
84 MANICKAM, R. S.
85 MARIEMUTHU, M
86 MARIMUTHU PILLAI, S T P.
87 MARUTHAI, R.
88 MIR AKRAM ALI
89 MOIDEEN KUTTY, P. K.
90 MUHAMMAD ABDUL KADIR RAVUTTAR, K S.
91 MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN
92 MUHAMMAD SCHAMNAD, KHAN BAHADUR
93 MUHAMMAD RAHMATULLAH, K
94 MUNISWAMI PILLAI, V I. THE HON (*Minister*).
95 MURTI, B. S. (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
96 MATHURAMALINGA TEUVAR
97 NACHIYAPPA GOUNDAR, K. A.
98 NADIMUTHU PILLAI, A. P N. V
99 NAGAPPA, S.
100 NAGARAJA AYYANGAR, N.
101 NAGIAH. S.
102 NANJAPPA GOUNDER, K. N.
103 NARASIMHA RAJU, D L.
104 NARASIMHA RAJ, P. L
105 NARASIMHAM, C.
106 NARASIMHAM V. V.
107 NARAYANA RAJU, D
108 NARAYANA RAO, K V.
109 NATESA CHETTIAR, M G.
110 NATESA MUDALIAR, P.
111 NUTTALD, J
112 OBI REDDI, C.
113 PALANISWAMI GOUNDER, V. C.
114 PALANISWAMI GOUNDER, V. K.
115 PALAT, R. M.
116 PALLAM RAJU, M.
117 PANNIRSELVAM, RAO BAHADUR A T.
118 PARTHASARATHI AYYANGAR, C. R.
119 PEDDA PADALU, P.

120 PERIASWAMI GOUNDER, K. S.
121 PERIYASWAMI GOUNDER, K.
122 PERIYASWAMI, M. P.
123 PERUMAL CHETTIAR, V. R.
124 PERUMALLA NAYUDU, B.
125 PONNUSWAMI PILLAI, R.
126 PRAKASAM, T., THE HON. (*Minister*)
127 RAGHAVA MENON, R.
128 RAJAGOPALACHARI C. THE HON (*Prime Minister*)
129 RAJAH, RAO BAHADUR M. C
130 RAJA SAHEB OF VIZIANAGRAM (MIRZA RAJA SRI PANPATI ALAKH NARAYANA GAJAPATHI RAJ MANNE SULTAN BAHADUR OF VIZIANAGRAM)
131 RAJA RAO, B.
132 RAJA RAO, J
133 RAMACHANDRA REDDIAR, A. K. A
134 RAMAKRISHNA RAJU, R. B.
135 RAMAKRISHNA REDDI, T. N.
136 RAMALINGA REDDIAR, D.
137 RAMALINGAM, A.
138 RAMAN MENON, K., THE HON (*Minister*)
139 RAMANATHAN, S., THE HON. (*Minister*)
140 RAMASWAMI, D. V.
141 RAMASWAMI GOUNDER, K S.
142 RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR, V M
143 RAMASWAMI NAYUDU, N. G.
144 RAMI REDDI, A.
145 RANGA REDDI, N.
146 RANGIAH NAYUDU, C.
147 RATNAVELU TEVAR, P.
148 READE, G, B
149 ROCHE VICTORIA, J. L P.
150 RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI, MRS
151 SAHAJANANDA, SWAMI, A. S
152 SAIYED IBRAHIM
153 SAKTHIVADIVELU GOUNDER, K
154 SALAM M. A.
155 SAMBAMURTI, B. THE HON. (*The Speaker*)
156 SAMU PILLAI, V J.
157 SAMUEL, DR. M. J.
158 SARMA, P. R. K.
159 SAPTHARISKI REDDIAR K. S.
160 SATTANATHA KARAYALAR, L.
161 SHAIK ROWTHER, S. K.
162 SHAIKU MUHAMMAD LALJAN
163 SHEIK DAWOOD, KHAN SAHIB K A
164 SHEIK MANSOOR THARAGANAR V S.T.
165 SHETTY, A. B. (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
166 SHANMUGAM, K.
167 SHANMUGA MUDALIAR, K. A.
168 SESHADRIACHARIYAR, B. T.
169 SITARAMA REDDI, H.
170 SITARAMA REDDIAR, K.
171 SIVASHANMUGHAM PILLAI, J.
172 SMITH, J. M.
173 SRI RAJA VASI REDDI DURGA SADASIVESWARA PRASAD BAHADUR MANNE SULTAN
174 SRINIVASA AYYAR, D.
175 SRINIVASA AYYAR, P. S.
776 SUBBA RAO, KALLUR
177 SUBBA RAO, KARUNAKARAM
178 SUBBARAMA AYYAR, N. M R.
179 SUBBARAYAN, DR P. THE HON (*Minister*)
180 SUBBIAH, P.
181 SUBBIAH MUDALIAR C. P
182 SUBBARAYA CHETTIAR, B. M. P.
183 SUBRAMANIAN, A.
184 SWAMI K. V. R.
185 SYAMASUNDARA RAO, P.
186 UNNIKAMMOO, KHAN SAHIB V. K.
187 VALLIAPPA CHETTIAR, V. S. R. M.
188 VARADACHARI, K.
189 VARADACHARI, N. S. (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
190 VARKEY, C. J (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
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192 VENAUDAYA GOUNDER, S. V.
193 VENKANNA, G.
194 VENKATA REDDI, GOPAVARAM
195 VENKATA REDDI, GRANDHI
196 VENKATA REDDI, K
197 VENKATACHALAM PILLAI, B.
198 VENKATACHARI P T.
199 VENKATANARAYANA REDDI, B.
200 VENKATAPPA CHETTIAR, S. C.
201 VENKATAPPA NAYUDU. R.
202 VENKATAPPAYYA PANTULU, K.
203 VENKATARAMA AYYAR P,
204 VENKATARAMIAH, R. S.
205 VENKATA RAO BALIGA, B.
206 VENKATASUBBA REDDIAR, R.
207 VENKATASUBBAYYA, V.
208 VISWANATHAM T. (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
209 WRIGHT, SIR WILLIAM OWEN
210 YAGNESWARA SARMA, K. P.
212 YAKUB HASSAN, THE HON (*Minister*)
212 ZAMINDAR OF BODINAYAKKANUR(T. V K KAMARAJA PADIYA NAYAKAR)
213 ZAMINDAR OF CHALLAPALLI (ZABDATUL AQRAN SREEMANTHU RAJA YARLAGADDA SIVA RAMA PRASAD BAHADUR ZAMINDAR).
214 ZAMINDAR OF CHEMUDU (VYRICHERLA NARAYANA GAJAPATHI RAJU BAHADUR)
115 ZAMINDAR OE MIRZAPURAM (SRI RAJA MEKA VENKATARAMAIAH APPA RAO BAHADUR).

Proceedings of the Assembly

Madras—14th and 15th July 1937

Election of Speaker and Dy. Speaker

The Madras Legislative Assembly under the new Constitution met on the **14th. July 1937** in the Senate House, Madras for the first time after the general elections for the swearing-in of members. *Sir William Wright*, who had been appointed by the Governor as temporary President until the election of the Speaker, occupied the chair. Congress members were clad in spotless white Khaddar. Congress nominees for the Speakership, Mr. Bulusu Sambamurti and Mr. N. S. Varadachari alone appearing in their usual dress Khaddar dhoti and angavastram (upper cloth), covering the bare body Sir William took the oath first and bowed to the empty chair. He then took his seat thereon. The ceremony of swearing-in was then gone through. The whole ceremony lasted for an hour after which the Assembly adjourned till the next day for the election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker.

15th. JULY :—Mr. *Bulusu Sambamurthi* and Mrs. *Rukmini Lakhsmipati* were elected Speaker and Deputy Speaker respectively without any opposition to-day.

Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* led the Speaker to his chair. Mrs. Lakshmi Sanker, a member of the House, sang the 'Vande-Mataram', all standing. Mr. Sambamurthi thanked the House for unanimously electing him as Speaker.

Mr. *Rajagopalachari*, Leader of the House, offering felicitations to Mr. Sambamurti, said that the House was honouring itself by electing a man who had sacrificed everything for freedom's fight and who had literally given all to the nation ever since the intense phase of the Congress fight had begun.

Mr. Rajagopalachari added that the Speaker was now out of the battlefield and would follow the tradition of Mr. Vithalbhai Patel of whose services as Speaker of the Central Assembly, the country was proud.

Referring to the Congress Party's programme, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that it was well-known to everybody that he and his colleagues in the Congress Cabinet would endeavour to co-ordinate Congress activities to the best of their ability. Their programme had been fully published, discussed and accepted by the electorate.

After several other members representing the various groups had felicitated the Speaker, Mr. *Sambamurthi* thanked the House for the sentiments expressed. He said that a new stage had been reached in the political activities of the country by the Congress accepting office. It was the duty of all to strive their utmost for the attainment of full freedom. The Congress represented all sections of the people in the country and it should be his duty as Speaker to endeavour to serve all. He added that he would do everything constitutional to maintain the dignity of all sections. Concluding he said that India had the privilege of fighting for liberty on a non-violent basis and had succeeded partially. As a result of this Mr. C. Rajagopalachari was found seated on the treasury bench with his colleagues which augured well for the future of the country.

Mrs. *Lakshmipathi* was next elected Deputy Speaker. The House then adjourned till the 31st. August.

Budget Session—Madras—31st. August to 1st. October 1937

Demand for a Constituent Assembly

The Budget Session of the Assembly commenced on the **31st August 1937.** The Hon. the Premier, Mr. *C. Rajagopalachariar*, moved a resolution urging the local Government to forward to the Government of India and His Majesty's Government the Assembly's emphatic opinion that the Government of India Act be replaced at the earliest possible date by a Constitution in consonance with the aspirations of the people of India. Mr. Rajagopalachari said that when each member of Indian States advanced to the level of responsible government, at least to the level of the provinces, they might admit a responsible representative of those States into a sort of autho-

lity, but not till then. Mr. Rajagopalachari re-stated the goal of the Congress as full National Independence, restrained by necessary restraints imposed by fellowship in common humanity. "We cannot admit either wisdom or the right of another nation to impose its will upon us. Our Constitution should be framed by us." Mr. Rajagopalachari concluded that it was foolish for either side, Great Britain or India, to believe in violence or suppression of their aspirations. The sooner both sides saw it, admitted it and allowed truth to prevail the better for both sides. "The objection of the Congress to Federation should not be construed as an objection to the idea of Indian unity or the idea of an Indian central authority but to the grant of authority to irresponsible Rulers of State to administer our affair."

Sir *William Wright*, opposing the resolution, congratulated Mr. Rajagopalachari on the steady moderation of his able speech. Sir William Wright did not consider the Constitution as perfect by any means, but imperfect as the Act was, it contained the frame-work of the foundation from which eventually would be evolved an Indian Constitution. The Constitution was only a beginning, not the last word in the building of a Constitution. They believed that the greater the goodwill and success with which the Act worked the sooner would be the final form of a Constitution evolved in which India would enjoy full Dominion Status.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1937-38

1st SEPTEMBER —The Hon'ble *Mr. C Rajagopalchari*, the Premier presented the first Congress Budget to-day in a packed House of tense expectation and pin-drop silence, a brief survey of which reveals the following :—

Revenue anticipated in 1937-38 is Rs 15,93,73,000 and expenditure Rs. 15,93,67,000 leaving a small surplus of Rs. 6,000. The allowance made for the loss on account of land revenue concession is Rs 75,00,000.

The most noteworthy feature on the revenue side is introduction of prohibition in one district (Salem) from October which involves a loss of Rs. 13,00,000 in excise revenue this year and Rs. 26,00,000 annually thereafter

On the expenditure side provision has been made for new schemes costing ultimately Rs. 4,39,000 annually and in addition Rs 50,40,000 non-recurring spread over a few years, the amount provided this year on their account being Rs. 2,13,000 and Rs 11,58,000 respectively. Schemes generally have been selected so as to give preference to works such as water supply and drainage works over buildings and roads. Special reference may be made to supply of butter-milk to prisoners at an annual cost of over three quarters of lakh and grant of two lakhs for hand spinning movement. The expenditure on almost all the nation-building services shows an appreciable increase as compared with that incurred in 1936-37, the increase under irrigation being Rs. 11 and a half lakhs, education Rs 2 and a half lakhs, medical Rs. 4 and a half lakhs, public health Rs. 9 and a half lakhs, agriculture Rs. 1 and a three-fourth lakhs, veterinary Rs 75,000, co-operative credit 2 and one-fourth lakhs and industries nearly Rs. 5 lakhs

The capital expenditure is estimated at nearly Rs 1 and three-fourth crores of which about Rs. 1 and a half crores is on remunerative irrigation and electric scheme. Rs 30 lakhs has been provided for loans to cultivators for relief of indebtedness

These disbursements are proposed to be financed from the opening balance of Rs. 1,29,56,000 and the open market loan of Rs 150 lakhs, the closing balance at the end of the year being estimated at Rs 64,62,000 inclusive of the minimum deposit of Rs. 40 lakhs to be held in the Reserve Bank and Rs 19,15,000 in treasuries. The free balance at the end of the year is expected to stand at about Rs. 5 and a half lakhs.

In concluding remarks the Hon'ble Premier expressed his hope for loyal and ungrudging support of all classes and communities in all endeavours the Government would have to make in the ensuing year to exploit new source of revenue without adding to the burden of the poor and to reduce and restrict expenditure in various departments.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

3rd. SEPTEMBER .—General discussion on the Budget opened to-day, opposition speakers reluctantly admitting that the much feared "Congress orientation" was singularly conspicuous by its absence

Khan Bahadur Mohammed Schamnad urged more provision for roads on the West Coast. Mr. *Basheer Sayeed* criticized the raising of a loan to meet ordinary expen-

ses. *Diwan Bahadur Appadurai Pillai* commended the Premier on his "unexceptional sagacity" in converting a large deficit Budget into a small surplus.

Touching on prohibition, every speaker seemed to have misgivings. "Temperance comes well from within : ill from without" was the general tenor of the Opposition's criticism.

Sir William Wright congratulated the Premier of his achievement of a balanced Budget in so short a time. The loan policy showed trust in the Government.

4th. SEPTEMBER :—Mr. *Abdul Hameed Khan*, on behalf of the Moslem League, said that it was false economy to make cuts in the salaries, which would throw open the gates of corruption.

Mr. *E. H. M. Bower* described the first Congress budget "as exceedingly sound on financial principles with economically unsound details, presented with extraordinary persuasiveness by the Premier." Mr. Bower added that where the Budget was not affected by extraneous influences the proposals were sound, but it was most open to criticism where the proposals were inspired by a "personality outside the province who wields enormous influence and to whom we owe the proposals of prohibition and subsidy to hand-spinners"

Khan Bahadur Khalifulla Khan assured the Premier the Moslems' support to the prohibition plan. He regretted that what had been described as an "epoch-making budget" had not gone far enough to meet the needs of the masses, while the cut in the salaries was not proper and just. He also severely criticized the subsidy to *khaddar*.

Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari*, the Premier thanked the House for the graceful manner in which the budget had been received. He refuted the allegation made by a member that, had the Premier not been influenced by the leaders outside the province, the budget would have been a better one, and said that it was highly wrong for any one to imagine that undue pressure was being brought to bear from outside on members of the Government. Referring to the salary cut the Premier thought that Government servants knew better the conditions of the masses which had induced him to propose the cut, and he saw no danger in it. Referring to the prohibition policy, he said that in India none would feel the policy as an interference with personal liberty. He asked the House to give up doubts and fears regarding its success and wish the Government success in their endeavours

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

14th. SEPTEMBER :—After question time in the Assembly to-day, Mr. *T. Prakasam*, Revenue Minister, moved for a grant not exceeding Rs. 27,09,700 under four heads of "land revenue." He defended the Government against the charge that many reforms had been dictated "from outside" and said that all the proposals were to be found in the election manifesto issued by the Congress party

Mr. *N. J. Muniswami*, Minister, Rural Development, moved for a grant of Rs. 31,08,000 for provincial excise This brought several token cuts disapproving the prohibition plan.

Mr. *E. H M. Bower*, the Anglo-Indian representative said that the introduction of prohibition in the presidency was unjustified, either judged by human psychology or economic consideration, and declared that an infringement of liberty of the citizen "was dangerous, which the Congress would soon find out" Prohibition, he added, was going to land the province in insolvency within two years

Mr. *M. C. Rajah*, while congratulating the Ministry on the prohibition policy, advocated introduction of total prohibition all over the Presidency.

15th. SEPTEMBER :—When the Assembly resumed discussion on the excise grant the *Premier* who, the previous day, had admitted to being "the greatest of fanatics on the prohibition issue," repeated the declaration that no outside pressure was brought to bear on him, and not even if Mr. Gandhi asked him to drop the proposal would he do so.

Mr. *Rajagopalachari* said that in the matter of Government interferring as little as possible with the liberty of an individual, India owed a great deal to the British system "It is the peculiar virtue of British life, and India ungrudgingly acknowledges this great heritage" but he went on to say that the claim and right to sell and buy intoxicants was not a question of personal liberty , and the Government had the right to control such "morbid cravings."

The demand under "excise" was then put and carried.

Mr. *T. Prakasam*, Revenue Minister, then moved the grant of Rs. 5,28,800 under "stamps". Cut motions were introduced to reduce the value of court-fee stamps, but the Revenue Minister opposed them on the grounds that it would tempt people to go in for more litigation. The motions were withdrawn and the grant passed.

16th. SEPTEMBER :—The future of the Coimbatore Forest College was discussed through a cut motion on the demand for Forests. The *Forest Minister* said that the abolition of the College would be considered soon. The entire demand was passed, as also the Registration demand The Minister in charge expressed inability to accept at present the suggestion to reduce registration fees.

When the grant under the Motor Vehicles Act came up some members mooted the idea of a toll system but the *Premier* could not accept the suggestion because it would hit hard the poor agriculturists who had to take their carts from place to place. It was announced that the Government were contemplating the introduction of a measure providing for uniform taxation of lorries plying for hire or trade purposes.

At question time the Premier said that the expression political prisoners was not susceptible of precise interpretation. If, however, a reference was made in the question concerned to State prisoners detained in jail without trial there were no such prisoners in the province. There were, however, three Moplah prisoners under detention on April 1 in a town outside Malabar and they were receiving allowance from the Government. The restrictions imposed on them had now been removed and there were no more State prisoners under detention in the Presidency other than five Bengali State prisoners, now confined in the Central jail at Vellore under the Bengal Regulation 3 of 1818.

17th SEPTEMBER —The Speaker had to call a member of the Opposition to order more than half a dozen times and finally had to warn him when he wanted to refer to the salary and allowances of the Governor during a debate on the demand for grant of Rs 19,00,400 made by the *Premier* under the head "the province's Ministers and headquarters staff."

The *Speaker* said that reference in the House to the salary and allowances of the Governor was not allowed under Section 79 of the Government of India Act. The discussion on the demand had not concluded when the House adjourned.

Earlier the House voted the entire demand of Rs 75,10,900 under irrigation. The Minister of Public works replying to the debate stated that the Government proposed to proceed with the Tungabhadra project as early as possible.

20th. SEPTEMBER —When the Government asked the House to grant Rs. 8,86,000 for legislative expenses, a cut motion was moved with the object of demanding that the Government define members' privileges by an enactment.

The Premier (*Mr. Rajagopalachariar*) said that the rights of the Speaker, Cabinet Ministers and members could be so defined but he felt that to do so would "be putting clothes on a growing child which might prove restrictive as the baby developed" He felt that it would be wiser to let traditions grow with the years as in the Mother Parliament as all early legislative Acts might be "putting this young democratic baby in right clothing."

The cut motion was withdrawn and the grant passed.

22nd. SEPTEMBER .—At question time the Premier, Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* said that there were five State prisoners belonging to Bengal in the jails in the province. The Minister for Prisons said that there were in the Andamans seven terrorist prisoners convicted by courts in Madras, two of whom belonged to the Madras Presidency whose repatriation was under consideration.

The House passed the Education demand and then took up the Police Budget. The Premier reiterated the Government's policy of not interfering with the lawful preaching of political, social and economic doctrines but the Government would not tolerate the propagation of class hatred or subversive doctrines. The demand was passed.

When the House took up the grant of Rs. 77,67,200 for administration of justice, advantage was taken to urge a speed-up justice, by shortening vacations, and requisitioning retired judges to work in an honorary capacity. The demand was passed after Mr. *Raman Menon*, Minister, had replied promising to resuscitate village courts and grant increased powers to them.

A salary cut was the moral basis of the foundation for approaching those capable of bearing fresh taxation, observed the Premier, Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* referring to the opposition to the proposed cut in the salaries of Government servants. The Premier declared that it was a national necessity to effect such a reduction in expenditure.

The Revenue Minister, *Mr. T. Prakasam* stated that the same policy as in the case of released political prisoners would be pursued with regard to the question of reinstatement of village officers who resigned or were dismissed on account of their political activities.

Singing of "Bande Mataram"

23rd. SEPTEMBER :—When the Speaker (*Mr. B Sambamurti*) called for prayers as usual to-day, *Mr. Sheikh Muhammad Laljan*, one of the two Moslem members present in the House rising on a point of order, said that 'Bande Mataram' sung in the House was "a war-cry against Islam" and "an insult to Islam" He requested the Speaker to give a ruling as to whether it could be sung in the House

The *Speaker* said that he would give his ruling after prayers. Mr. *Laljan* then walked out, protesting. He returned to the House after prayers and the Speaker then asked him if he wanted a ruling on the point of order.

Mr. *Yakub Hasan*, Public Workers Minister, intervening said that it was most unfortunate that the member should have raised this point of order and it would have been better if he had consulted other members of his community before doing so.

Mr. Hamid Khan, Leader of the Moslem League Group, said that the *Bande Mataram* prayer had been agitating the minds of the Moslems for some time, but he did not want the matter to be brought before the House as had been done. He appealed to the member to withdraw the point of order.

The *Speaker* said that Mr. Laljan should apologize to the House before withdrawing the point of order as he had walked out as a protest, and if he wanted a ruling on the point of order it would be given.

The Premier (Mr. *C. Rajagopalachariar*) felt that Mr. Laljan's behaviour constituted an insult to the House and Mr. *Laljan* apologized. The *Speaker* explained that prayers were offered in all Empire Parliaments and added that he was considering whether in the Madras Assembly they should have Hindu, Moslem and Christian prayers alternately.

Demands for medical services (Rs. 91,24,000), public health (Rs. 32,71,000), agriculture (Rs. 22,40,100) and veterinary work (Rs. 10,63,600 were all passed. The police demand was also granted in full.

24th. SEPTEMBER :—Sympathetic reference to the gathering forces of Socialism was made by the Premier Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari*, while declaring that a day would come when they would have to distribute the wealth of the country to the people and that through the propagation of *khadi* (home-made cloth) alone they could put off the fateful day of the reorganization of the country's entire economic system

The Socialists would not accept that *Khadi* could be a complete substitute, nor did he say so. But they should remember that there was a volcano underneath and they should not obstruct the safety valve. "*Charkha* is the cottagest of cottage industries, if I may use the expression", added Mr. Rajagopalachari and he carried the House with him. All the 37 demands for grants were voted unanimously to schedule. This concluded the discussion of the Budget.

Moslem members were absent during the singing of the *Bande Mataram*. They, however, made an unostentations entry when the "prayer" concluded.

After concluding the voting of grants, the House passed a resolution congratulating the Travancore Ruler on the temple-entry proclamation.

Madras Prohibition Bill

25th. SEPTEMBER :—Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari*, the Premier agreed to his Bill on Prohibition being referred to a Select Committee to-day. Moving consideration of the Bill the Premier said that everybody seemed to be agreed on the necessity of banishing the evil of drunkenness though some differed as to how to achieve this end, and added : "This Bill, I know, will make or mar the reputation of this province and I appeal to all to give us a fair chance in making this great venture. I do not belittle the difficulties but I am

optimistic of the result because public opinion is behind us and the difficulties ahead are no greater than any which the Government faces daily in restricting the activities of unsocial elements among the province's population." Besides, the Premier continued, the Bill was neither new nor extreme. It allowed exemption under certain circumstances. Every care had been and would be taken to prevent harassment and interference with private rights and liberties of orderly citizens.

Supporting the select committee motion, the Leader of the European Group, Sir *William Wright* said "Prohibition by legislative coercion is wrong in principle, bad in economics, impracticable in administration and ruthless in its efforts to sustain itself" He said that his Party never questioned the Premier's sincerity but that was one of the chief dangers in the present move. If this had been a Bill to enforce temperance and was as drastic in its effort to prevent drunkenness as the present Bill was drastic in its effort to curtail the possession of liquor, his group would have ardently supported the Government But the Europeans, who were mostly unaffected, thanks to the permit system, honestly felt that not only did the Bill infringe upon the liberty of the individual but its ultimate aim of dispensing with Rs 4 and a half crores of revenue was too costly a price to pay for what at best could only be partial success in enforcement and then only by maintaining a heavy preventive force.

The *Premier*, replying to the debate, referred to the financial implications of the measure and said that if people could not bear fresh taxation he failed to see how 99 per cent of the working classes could bear "this indirect taxation" in the form of the drink evil The working classes had told him that they would not drink if the shops were closed. Delay was dangerous. Ten years hence even children might ask their parents for drink.

State aid to Industries Amend. Bill

Earlier in the day, Mr *V V. Giri* moved a Bill to amend the State Aid to Industries Act, 1922, so as to enable the Government to pay a subsidy to *khadi*. After some discussion the Bill was passed

Revenue Recovery Act Amend Bill

The Revenue Minister, Mr. *T. Prakasam* then moved his Bill to amend the Revenue Recovery Act of 1864 in respect of exempting the Government from the "inconvenience" of paying the statutory deposit of 15 per cent when the Government bought land put up for sale under the provisions of the Act. This also was passed

The House also passed the Revenue Minister's resolution for the appointment of a committee of nine members of the Legislature to report on the conditions prevailing in zemindari and other proprietary areas and to suggest necessary legislation.

Madras Prohibition Bill (Contd.)

27th. SEPTEMBER :—With minor modifications made in the select committee, the Assembly passed the third reading of the Prohibition Bill to-day The modifications included exemption to local newspapers up to January 1 next for publishing liquor advertisements During the discussion the Premier (*Mr. C Rajagopalachariar*) said that if Clause 26 (setting up local prohibition committee to give information regarding suspected offences) was found unnecessary, or if abused, as many feared, the Government would move for the withdrawal of this provision

The Premier appealed to the Opposition not merely for help in getting the Bill passed into law, but to abandon the propaganda of scepticism and thus assist in the psychological effect on the masses He assured the House that it was not the intention of the Government to allow harassment, blackmailing and things of that kind. While the Government desired cent per cent enforcement, they would "not permit social and private life being assaulted on suspicion."

Replying to an appeal by an Opposition member that the third reading be postponed the Premier said that if he had the slightest feeling that the people wanted postponement of the measure he would have postponed it without hesitation. On the other hand, he felt that if the Bill were not passed that day the people would be disappointed.

The Premier was congratulated from all parts of the House. The leader of the Moslem League hoped that the measure would meet with phenomenal success.

The Premier, speaking last, said: "I join in the prayer that if the Bill be passed the people of Madras may benefit, and when the great good step is launched we shall

be enabled by the wish of Providence to succeed in the reform we desire to achieve and in the succour we wish to give to numerous families now victims of this great evil."

Sale of Cloth Bill

When the motion of an Opposition member to refer the Madras Regulation of Sale of Cloth Bill to a select committee was under discussion, *Mr. J. Nuttall* who did not support the motion for a select committee but proposed the principle of the Bill, felt that cloth dealers had been singled out for this fresh taxation because they had been boycotted and they had refused to deal in *khaddar*.

The member representing Indian Commerce said that it looked as though the Government wanted to harass cloth dealers.

The *Premier*, replying, said that the handloom industry was the next biggest industry to agriculture in this country. The handloom industry had been "terribly hurt by cloth from Japan, and also hurt, though not so terribly by swadeshi cloth." Also the Bill was not brought with a vindictive motive If this Bill was against the Indian mills who signed a contract with the Congress during the boycott, the Bill was not a replica or echo of the boycott movement. The protection given to Indian mills had worked against the handloom worker.

The Minister for Agriculture (*Mr. V. J. M. Pillai*) then withdrew his motion for consideration of the Bill and moved that it be referred to a select committee with instructions to report the next day. The motion was carried.

Sale of Cloth Bill

28th. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly accepted consideration of the Sale of Cloth Bill, as slightly modified in the Select Committee, by 140 to 25 votes. The Bill was then taken up clause by clause and passed.

Earlier in the day, Mr. *Appadurai Pillai* said that the Bill was either a taxation measure requiring the Governor's consent, or it was a license measure and he quoted Privy Council and High Court rulings and submitted that this license on cloth dealers was obviously intended to set off the subsidy to hand-loom weavers and as such was not a licence but taxation requiring the Governor's consent.

The *Premier* said that this was a Government measure which had previously been placed before the Governor and he dismissed the Opposition criticism as "well intentioned argument on good principles but arriving at strong conclusions." He added that the Government did not wish to hamper small dealers but wanted to divert them from selling mill-made cloth to assisting hand-loom weavers.

The amendments made by the Select Committee included the insertion of the words "and articles of wearing apparel made of cloth" wherever the word "cloth" appeared in the Bill. Another change allowed hawkers to travel wherever they liked with one license.

Local Boards Act Amend. Bill

29th. SEPTEMBER .—Charges that the Congress was making district boards the play-ground of party politics and counter recrimination by Congressmen against their predecessors in office were bandied in the Assembly during the discussion of a Bill, moved by the Minister for Local Administration, to amend the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920 and the Amendment Act of 1934 so as to abolish the principle of nomination, which the Government alleged, was so used by their predecessors as to convert Congress majorities into minorities

Sir *William Wright* objected to one clause seeking to empower the Government to do anything necessary to remove difficulties which might arise in giving effect to the provisions of the Act. He said that this savoured of the Star Chamber methods and added that a similar clause appeared in the Moratorium Bill. If the Government intended demanding a "blank cheque" in the administration of every Bill introduced it would save the taxpayer much money if they established a dictatorship right away and did away with the legislatures.

The Premier, Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* said that this championship of the people came from an unexpected quarter. As soon as the "people's government" was established this talk of a "new despotism" was started by the former administrators in the people's name.

On a point of order, Sir *William Wright* said that he was not a member of the last legislature and the Premier retorted that Sir William's constituency was represented in the last legislature. The Bill was passed.

DISTRIBUTIVE SYSTEM OF VOTING

30th. SEPTEMBER :—The arrangement of joint electorates under the Poona Pact between the Hindus and Harijans was criticised in the Assembly in the light of the experience of recent elections, during the debate on Mr. *M C Rajah's* resolution for the adoption of the distributive system of voting in preference to the cumulative system. The resolution was supported by the Premier, Mr *C. Rajagopalachari* and was subsequently accepted by the House, members expressing their assent through a procedure moved in a legislature, but familiar at Congress gatherings—by a show of hands.

It was initiated by the Speaker and among those who did not raise their hands were some who did not approve of this method of ascertaining the will of the House. Mr. *Rajah* said that the cumulative system obtaining at present cut at the very roots of the Poona Pact. It also provided a greater incentive to rich men to buy votes and to the voter to sell his vote at a higher price than under the distributive system.

The *Premier* noted that an overwhelming majority was in favour of the distributive system. The last election had been of considerable experience. The point was not so much as that of corruption or party success but whether the system had served to realize the object of the Poona Pact The election showed that a separatist mentality had been encouraged. Everybody fought his own election battle, leaving the Harijan to himself. Joint electorates were reduced to separate ones.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL MILITIA

Another resolution, urging the Government to take necessary steps for the early establishment of a "national militia" for the province and that the Central Government be approached for a subsidy for this purpose, was withdrawn on the Premier's request. The Premier, while personally agreeing with the motive behind the resolution, pointed out that it was obviously outside the scope of the Government.

Expressing his personal view, Mr. *Rajagopalachari* felt that it was dangerous to develop a provincial spirit in such a matter. He incidentally referred to the abolition of the Madras Regiment, which had been viewed by many as a slur on the province and on the capacity of the Madrasi. In modern warfare, he held, physique alone did not count and more intelligence in handling instruments was needed. He did not doubt that the Madrassi would come up to the mark Under changed circumstances, the Premier promised a fresh consider ation of the matter.

"BANDE MATARAM" SONG

1st OCTOBER —The House was prorogued to-day, after an important statement had been made by the Speaker (Mr. *B. Sambamurthi*) concerning the singing of the *Bande Mataram* song

The Speaker said that on September 23 he promised a translation of the song and to announce what steps he proposed to take to serve as a convention for the future. The matter of an adequate translation had proved very difficult, but he accepted one offered by Mr. Aurobinda Ghosh which reads

> "I bow to thee Mother
> Richly watered, richly fruited
> Cool with the winds of the south ·
> Dark with the crops of the harvests :
> The Mother ! Her strands rejoicing in the glory of the moonlight :
> Her lands clothed beautifully with her trees in flowering bloom ,
> Sweet of laughter, sweet of speech .
> The mother, Giver of boons ; giver of Bliss."

The Speaker said that prayers were held in Empire Parliaments at the opening of the daily session. It was still a matter of anxious consideration by him how to arrive at a formula acceptable to the House whose members held such widely differing faiths. He, however, again promised deep consideration of the matter and to consult the House before arriving at a final decision.

Mr. *Abdul Hameed* said that if the decision was taken after consulting the leaders of all parties the matter would be more generally acceptable and abiding than if the Government majority enforced its will on the present Assembly. When a Congress member began to speak, Mr. *Sambamurthi* pulled him up by saying that the House had not been invited to discuss the matter at present.

The Prohibition Bill as passed by the Assembly received the assent of the Governor on the previous day. The House was then prorogued.

December Session—Madras—20th & 21st December 1937

The Debt Relief Bill

The usual singing of *Bande Mataram* heralded the opening of the Assembly on the **20th. December 1937**, the Moslem members continuing to sit as a renewed protest against this custom on which the Speaker later made a statement.

Introducing a motion to refer the Debt Relief Bill to a select committee of both Houses, Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari*. the Premier, made constant references to the Satyanathan Report, published in 1935, which computes the agricultural debt of the province at more than Rs 200 crores of which the relative percentages borne by the Government, co-operative and private agencies were respectively one, six and 93.

"But mere arithmetic does not give an adequate picture of the great burden or the urgency of giving relief" stated the Premier, who, after showing that only ten per cent of the total was due to extravagant marriage customs, etc., and 90 per cent was used to repay original debts plus the crushing interest, added : "Conciliation and voluntary liquidation as methods of relief have failed not because our people are cantankerous or the reverse of generous but because the fear of both creditors and debtors that the other party was getting the better terms

"To draw an analogy, I remember an orthodox Hindu telling me that if the age of consent in marriage was raised through compulsion all would be more pleased than if isolated families asked to initiate a voluntary reform. Similarly, in the matter of such wide ramifications as debt relief, I feel all would be more pleased and would abide by a large plan than by isolated attempts at conciliation."

Dealing with the sacredness of contracts, the Premier quoted the old Deccan Relief Act as cutting across the letter of contractual obligation.

In conclusion he appealed to the House to give ryots in Madras a new hope by passing the present resolution enabling a select committee to report on January 1, after which the Government would publish the amended Bill and place it before the legislature at the close of that month

Mr. *R. M. Palat* raised a point of order that the Bill was *ultra vires* as it was not open to a legislature to deal with matters relating to promisory notes and negotiable instruments.

The *Speaker* overruled the objection holding that the Bill affected money-lending which was a provincial matter.

The European attitude was defined by Mr. W. *K. M Langley* who said they strenuously opposed this and any other measure contrary to the fundamental principles of financial purity which might involve confiscation and expropriation.

The "Bande Mataram" Song

When the Assembly resumed sitting at night the *Speaker* announced that he proposed to call a conference on December 22 of about 15 members representing all shades of opinion in the House to see if an agreed formula on the singing of "Bande Mataram" in the House could be arrived at If an agreed formula was evolved it would be placed before the House for its acceptance and approval He also stated he had circularized all assemblies and all parliaments in all parts of the world and had received replies which he would place before the conference.

21st DECEMBER :—The Hon'ble Mr. *Bulusu Sambamurti*, created history to-day so far as the proceedings of the provincial Legislature were concerned, when he called upon Mr. *Basheer Ahmed*, a Muslim member of the House to offer prayer before the agenda of business fixed for the day was taken up. After Mr Ahmed sung an Urdu song, the "Bande-Mataram" was sung.

A Christian member wanted that a prayer belonging to his community should also be sung to which the *Speaker* said that the matter will be considered at a meeting of the special committee which he proposed to set up to consider the prayer question.

The Assembly then adjourned *sine die* to meet on 27th. January 1938.

Proceedings of the Council

Madras—14th. & 15th. July 1937

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT & DY. PRESIDENT

The Madras Legislative Council (Upper House), constituted under the new Act, met for the first time on the **14th. July 1937** in the Council Chamber, Secretariat, Madras for the swearing-in of members Out of the 54 members 51 attended the meeting These included Sir Mahomed Usman, Sir K V. Reddi (two former acting Governors), three University Vice-Chancellors, namely the Rt Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr C R. Reddi and Mr. S. E Ranganatham and the only lady member Mrs Hensman. The Congress members were 26 in number and were all clad in Khaddar, many of them wearing Gandhi caps Sir Mahomed Usman took the oath first before the Council Secretary and, thereafter, occupied the Chair as temporary President.

After the oath-taking the President adjourned the House till the next day for the election of President and Deputy President.

15th. JULY :—Dr. *U Rama Rao* and Mr. *K Venkataswami Nayudu* were elected without any opposition, President and Deputy President respectively when the Council met this morning. The House then adjourned *Sine die.*

Budget Session—Madras—31st. August—1st. October 1937

The Budget session of the Council commenced on the **31st. August.** During question time the Minister for Courts and Prisons stated that there were five political prisoners in this province Their health was reported to be good, and they were not subjected to any hard labour. The Minister gave a list of the newspapers which they were allowed to read.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

7th. SEPTEMBER —General discussion of the Budget commenced to-day Mr. *Srinivasa Sastri* made a notable contribution to the discussion. He said: "I was one of those who welcomed the advent of the Congress Ministry and now welcome the great caution shown in framing the budget. To give poor people drinking water and wean them from alcohol are achievements of which any Ministry may be proud, and I can only hope the Ministry will be long enough in power to bring these schemes to fruition" He hoped that the Government would extricate themselves from the position which now exists of taking revenue from something which is undermining the moral and physical stamina of the people, and in this task the public must rally to the Ministry's help, irrespective of party allegiances At the same time he cautioned the Ministry against too much hurry. Referring to the subsidy for spinning and tax on dealers in mill-made cloth, Mr Sastri was unable to see why they should go together. "Are we to understand," he said, "that there is a certain animus against Mills ? If not, why discourage people dealing in mill-made cloth ?" He hoped the Ministry would clear the suspicion from the people's minds. On the subject of salaries' cuts he was glad that the Ministry had begun pruning in this direction, but the vague statement given in this connexion caused misgivings Mr Sastri urged that salaries below Rs. 100 be left alone

9th. SEPTEMBER :—The Council concluded to-day the general discussion on the Budget. Mr. *C Rajagopalachari*, replying to the debate, justified the policy of protection offered to the handloom industry, it being, he said, the most important next to agriculture. The Premier appealed for co-operation towards making the prohibition scheme a success

SALARIES BILL

10th. SEPTEMBER —The Council carried without a division the Salaries Bill, as passed by the Assembly. Mr *V. S Srinivasa Sastri* supporting the motion

congratulated the Ministry for their self-sacrifice. He, however, thought that it would have been better if the Ministers' salary was raised to Rs. 1,000 each. He pointed out how difficult it would be for the successors of the Ministry to raise the figure if they wanted to do so. Mr. Sastri ventured to think that the enthusiasm of self-sacrifice was bound to wear out, and their successors would think whether their fate had not been sealed by an inconsiderate authority.

The Premier, Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* replying contended that so far as the present Ministry was concerned there was no sacrifice, as none of them drew more than Rs. 500 before. The amount was more than enough for the standard of life for the class of people from which the Ministers came.

Land Reform Inquiry

11th. SEPTEMBER :—The Council accepted the *Revenue Minister's* proposal for the constitution of a committee to inquire into the conditions prevailing on zemindari estates, and to suggest any legislation, if necessary, for the safeguarding of the interests of ryots in relation to landlords and for the collection and remission of rents.

Mr. *T Prakasam*, the Revenue Minister, said that his object was to get an authoritative opinion of both the Houses on suitable legislation to effect a "complete and lasting understanding between the landlord and the tenant" in the Presidency.

The Council accepted the Revenue Minister's proposal to elect three members to sit with six Assembly members to inquire into the ryots' relations with landlords, and suggest legislation to make these relations easier.

Mr. *T. C Srinivasa Iyengar* seconded the proposal in a brief speech.

Mr. *Srinivasa Sastri* said he wished to explain why he, although neither a landlord nor a tenant, took the earliest opportunity to speak on the resolution. It was because he had the interests of his countrymen at heart. It was a motion dealing with a complicated matter and the committee would take months to finish its labours, and the proceedings would be attended with much bitterness. Not that the matter should be avoided, but he thought that the better way was to have an *ad hoc* committee representing all interests presided over by a high judicial officer.

Sir *Kurma Reddi* supported this view, but the Revenue Minister said he had "no use for outside committees." When the resolution was put to the House, however, it was carried without a division.

Replying to criticisms on the Budget, the *Premier* said that though the general tone was congratulatory there was an undertone of doubt and fear and he wished to dispel it Behind Sir Kurma Reddi's criticisms the Premier detected some bitterness because the Government had accused its predecessors with having spent much by way of supplementary grants last year on works that were not productive. The Premier maintained that this complaint was just Works for the amelioration of famine conditions might well be the subject of supplementary grants but grants for school-building extensions, and works of this kind might be left for the next Budget. Instead, his predecessors had hustled through many such schemes, and thus spent money in advance of the Budget which left their successors short of funds for productive works. Referring to the Ministry's prohibition plans, the Premier said it was right that so much discussion had been devoted to this For it was a big change that the Government were hoping to bring about.

The Premier defended the policy of subsidizing handspinning and of the treatment of political prisoners, but in reference to the prison reforms foreshadowed he said he did not want it to be thought that he was making things easier for his party "next time we are cast into prison."

The Premier claimed, in reference to the salaries cut, that it was more humane to reduce salaries than dismiss many Government servants.

15th. SEPTEMBER .—Sir *K. V. Reddi* enlivened the discussion on the Budget to-day by relating to an incident which recently occurred in Guntur. According to information he received "from a very reliable person," it appears that the Collector of the district after touring the flood-stricken area in a motor car, was surprised to hear people cheering him "as heartily as if he had been the Premier." The mystery was solved on his alighting at his home. On the back of the car had been pasted a placard reading "Long Live Revolution" in bold type. Sir Kurma Reddi felt that this showed how respect for officials had been undermined by, perhaps, the wrong impression that any Congressman in the district was now more powerful

and he hoped that the Ministry would spare no pains to check that trend among their supporters.

Sir Kurma, who was a former Minister, said that Rs. 6 crores had been saved by the previous Ministry, but this had now been dissipated by the Congress who had also suppressed from the regular Budget sums usually shown for commutations of pensions and so had a fictitious surplus of Rs. 6,000, in what actually was a deficit Budget. He also criticized the levelling down of the standard of living which was the present Ministry's policy, whereas every true economist knew that what was needed was the raising of the standard of living. "We have clubs, cinemas and other amenities The poor villager's only joy is his evening glass of to-day, but the Ministry are out to deprive him of this without offering any alternative."

Dr. *C. R. Reddi* was critical of what he termed the "Jekyll and Hyde" element in the Budget and about which it remained to be seen which would eventually overawe the other.

The Madras Prohibition Bill

27th. SEPTEMBER —Dr. *P. T Rajan*, Leader of the House announced that the Madras Prohibition Bill would be ready for consideration on the next day as also other Bills passed by the Assembly, when the Industries Minister (Mr *V. V. Giri*) sought leave to introduce the Bill further to amend the Madras State Aid to Industries Act.

A Congress member raised a point of order as to whether the Minister, not being a member of the House, could introduce the Bill.

The *Premier* said that members of the Government could speak and otherwise take part in the business of the House except that they could not take part in the voting.

The *President* ruled that Ministers, who were not members of the House, could take part in the business of the House, and also introduce Bills.

29th. SEPTEMBER.—The Council passed to-day the Bills relating to the amendment of the State Aid to Industries Act, 1922, the Revenue Recovery Act of 1864, and of the District Municipalities Act

A motion for consideration of the Prohibition Bill was also passed and the measure was discussed clause by clause

The Bill had a good reception It was moved by the Premier. Sir *Mohamed Usman* congratulated the Premier for taking up the measure and said that for eight years prohibition had been tried but with no success. A drastic measure like the one before them now was the only way of effectively countering the drink evil.

The *Premier*, replying, said that if the finances of a country depended on a vicious source they were bound to forego that revenue. It would be a double crime not to do so. The measure was needed urgently. If it was put off for some time the financial difficulty would increase in proportion to the rise in the excise revenue.

As for the right of individual liberty, he pointed out that one could not indulge in drinking wine and keep his children away from the drink habit, at the same time. The State was the father of these children and would not allow them to be spoiled.

The Madras Prohibition Bill

30th. SEPTEMBER —The Prohibition Bill was passed by both the Houses of the Legislature to-day The Council held a night sitting in order to dispose of the Bill. Opposition members tabled many amendments, but all were solidly negatived.

"Congress Ministers are not sufficiently experienced to draft a measure of this kind. They have not first-hand knowledge of the joys of drinking, let alone its sorrows, to assist them," declared Dr. *Saldanah*

Sir *K. V. Reddi* said that he realized that it was useless to reason against an immobile Government bloc, yet the Opposition would continue to oppose the Bill, in order to let the country realize the dangers of the measure. "The object is unassailable", he declared. "It is the means to be adopted to achieve that object which we think bad."

Mrs. *Hensman* protested against the "unwise, even dangerous precedent" set up by the Premier when he admitted that the wording of one clause might have been revised and added that it was impossible to do it now as it would mean a referenoe to the Assembly.

The Premier (Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari*) in reply to Mrs. Hensman's protest clarified some doubts about shifting the onus of proving innocence by saying that the prosecution must first prove possession before any accused need prove his innocence of possession on the same principle that the police must prove that articles were stolen before the possessor need prove whether he came by stolen goods innocently.

Members also objected to the words "reasonable grounds for suspicion" in Clause 8. Sir *K. V. Reddi* said: "Anything is suspicious to some people This Bill has more provisions than the Criminal Code applies to the most serious crime of murder." Others feared that a reign of terror would ensue but the Premier said that an exactly similar phrase appeared in section 54 I. P. C. adding. "We have lived under that Code for many years without terror" Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said that the provision regarding local newspaper advertisements "was wrung" from him against his will in the Select Committee but "I refused to give cinema slides the same concession because of all advertisement evils these do more to blunt the conscience and habituate people to the thought that strong drinks are necessary to existence."

An amendment was moved to Clause 15, allowing priests to keep Communion wine. Catholic members felt that it was derogatory for priests to be compelled to ask for a license.

The *Premier* said that there would be no interference with ancient religious practices but he feared that new religions would spring into being like mushrooms if a general exemption was given. The Premier next had a "dig" at absentee landlords when the liability of House and Estate owners to report breaches of the law was challenged. He said that a landlord could not be excused from liability and added: "But of course if he is absent from the estate attending races, he would not be held liable."

With the end of the Bill in sight the Premier seemed as happy as a school-boy going on holiday and chided a young Opposition lawyer on forgetting a provision in the Criminal Procedure Code which, he said, "a stale and rusty practitioner like myself remembers." Indeed, the facility with which the Premier quoted law to Opposition lawyers was an outstanding feature of the debate. The Premier said that the Bill aimed at removing the temptation of drink, not punishing poor villagers.

Sir *Mohammed Usman* gave the Bill his blessing and said that every great reform had been achieved in the face of great difficulties.

The *Premier* said that the Leader of the Opposition's blessing had heartened him in the face of so much scepticism His Government was not going to use the "big lathi" but would try to convert the people In conclusion he said "This is a happy day for me, but the achievement does not come with the making of the law. It comes with seeing the law respected by all the social elements among our people, That will be our aim."

The voting was 32 in favour of the Bill and five against it.

1st. OCTOBER:—The question of salary cuts was raised in the Council to-day by means of an interpellation to which the Premier replied that the subject was under detailed examination and the Government's decision would be announced in due course. He assured the House that no cut would be imposed on pensions.

The House passed the *Sale of Cloth Bill* and the *Municipalities Amendment Bill* as passed by the Assembly. *Sir Mohamed Usman* was assured by the Minister for Local Administration that the election of the Mayor and the Deputy Mayor of Madras would be held as usual.

The Council was then prorogued.

The Bombay Legislative Council

LIST OF MEMBERS

1 Atawane, Mr Atmaram Mahadeo
2 Bhosle, Mr Madhavrao Gopalrao
3 Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Sir, Bart
4 Davar, Professor Sohrab R.
5 Deodhekar, Mr Narayan Damodher
6 Desai, Mr Dadubhai Purshotamdas
7 Desai, Mr Narsingrao Shriniwasrao
8 Desai, Sardar Rao Bahadur Chandrappa Baswantrao
9 Gandhi, Mr Ratilal Mulji
10 Haldipur Mr Subray Ramchandra
11 Hamied, Dr K. A.
12 Inamdar, Mr Abdul Sattarkhan Ameerkhan
13 Joshi, Mr, S C.
14 Karanjia, Mr Behram Naorosji
15 Mahajain, Dr. Ganesh Sakharam
16 Makan, Khan Saheb Mahomed Ibrahim
17 Marwadi, Mr Premraj Shaligram
18 Mehta Mr Chinubhai Lallubhai
19 Mehta, Mrs Hansa Jivraj
20 Pakvasa, The Hon'ble Mr Mangaldas Mancharam (*Speaker*)
21 Patankar, Major Sardar Bhimrao Nagojirao
22 Potdar, Mr Bheemji Badaji
23 Pradhan, Mr Ramchandra Ganesh
24 Shah, Mr Shantilal Harjiwan
25 Solanki, Dr Purushottamrai G
26 Soman, Mr Ramchandra Ganesh
27 Stones, Mr Frederick
28 Tambe, Mr Mahomed Amin Wazeer Mohomad
29 Virkar, Mr Mahadeo Bajajee
30 Terrence Martin Desouza Guido.

The Bombay Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

1 Abdul Latif Haji Hajrat Khan Bahadur
2 Abercrombie, Sir John
3 Abhram, Mr. Asmal Musa
4 Aidale, Mr Jivappa Subhana
5 Ali Bahadur Bahadur Khan, Mr.
6 Ambedkar, Dr Bhimrao Ramji
7 Antrolikar, Dr. Krishnaji Bhimrao
8 Aradhye, Mr Dattatray Trimbak
9 Begmahomed, Mr. Husein Aboobaker
10 Bhagat, Khan Saheb Abdulla Haji Isa
11 Bhartiya, Mr. Shaligram Ramchandra
12 Bhatankar, Mr Ramkrishna Gangaram
13 Bhole, Mr Rajaram Ramji
14 Bramble, Mr Courtenay Parker
15 Chakranarayan, Mr. Bhaskarrao Bhaurao
16 Chawhan, Mr. Purushottam Lalji
17 Chinubhai Madhavlal, Sir (Girijaprasad) Bart
18 Chitale, Rao Bahadur Ganesh Krishna
19 Chitre, Mr Anant Vinayak
20 Choudhari, Mr Dhanaji Nana
21 Chundrigar, Mr Ismail Ibrahim
22 Collaco, Dr Joseph Altino
23 Cooper, Sir Dhanjishah Bomanji
24 Currion, Mr Fred J
25 Dabhi, Mr Fulsinhji Bharatsinhji
26 Dandekar, Mr. Vishnu Waman
27 Dehlavi, Sir Ali Mahomed Khan
28 Desai, Mr. Dinkarrao Narbheram
29 Desai, Mr. Gurshiddappa Kadappa
30 Desai, Mr Khandubhai Kasanji
31 Desai, The Hon'ble Mr. Morarji Ranchhodji (*Minister*)
32 Desai, Mr. Randhir Prasanvadam

33 DESAI, MR. SHANKREPPAGGUDA BASALINGAPPAGOUDA
34 DESHMUKHH, MR KESHAV BALWANT
35 DESHMUKH, MRS. ANNAPURNA GOPAL
36 DESHPANDE, MR GOVIND HARI
37 DODMETI, MR ANDANEPPA DNYANAPPA
38 FAIZ MAHAMADKHAN MAHOBATKHAN, KHAN SAHEB
39 FERREIRA, MR. DOMINIC JOSEPH
40 FIRODIA, MR KUNDANMAL SOBHACHAND
41 FRENCH, MR. FRANCIS HOLROY
42 GADKARI, MR VINAYAK ATMARAM
43 GAIKWAD, MR. BHAURAO KRISHNARAO
44 GANDHI, MR. MANEKLAL MAGANLAL
45 GAVANKAR, MR. SHANKAR KRISHNAJI
46 GAVIT, MR. DAMJI POSALA
47 GHATGE, MR. GANGADHAR RAGHORAM
48 GHEEWALE, MR. ABDULMAJEED ABDULKHADAR
49 GHIA, DR. CHAMPAKLAL JEKISANDAS
50 GHIA, MR. M. C.
51 GILDER, THE HON'BLE DR. MANCHERSHA DHANJIBHOY (*Minister*)
52 GIRASEY, MR. GULABSING BHILA
53 GIRME, MR. RAMCHANDRA BHAGAWANT
54. GOKHALE, MR. KESHAV GOVIND
55 GOLDING, MR. CYRIL FREDRICK
56 GOPI, MR. MAHABLESHWAR GANPATI BHATT
57 GUPTE, MR BHALCHANDRA MAHESHWAR
58 HAKEEM, KHAN SAHEB ABDUL RAHIM BABOO
59 HALLIKERI, MR. NINGAPPA FAKEERAPPA
60 HANAGI, MR ABDUR KARIM AMINSAB
61 HASAN, MR. SHAIKH MOHAMMAD
62 HIRE, MR. BHAURAO SAKHARAM
63 HOLER, MR REVAPPA SOMAPTA
64 ILKAL, MR. ALLISA NABISA
65 JADHAV, MR. DAULATRAO GULAJI
66 JADHAV, DR. TULSHIDAS SUBHANRAO
67 JAGTAP, MR. DADASAHEB KHASERAO
68 JAKATI, MR. PARAPPA CHAMBASAPPA
69 JANVEKAR, MR. KHALEELULLA ABASAHEB
70 JHABVALA, MR. SHAVAKSHA HORMUSJI
71 JITEKAR, MR MOHOMED AMIN
72 JOSHI, MR. JINABHAI PARVATISHANKAR
73 JOSHI, MR. NARAYANRAO GURURAO
74 JOG, MR. VISHWANATHRAO NARAYANRAO
75 KACHHI, KHAN SAHEB HAJI AHMAD KASAM
76 KOLVANI, RAO SAHEB ANNAPPA NARAYAN
77 KAMBLI, SIR SIDDAPPA TOTAPPA
78 KANUGA, MRS. VIJYAGAURI BALVANTRAI
79 KARANDIKAR, MR. SHIVRAM LAXMAN
80 KARAVADE, MR. RAMCHANDRA KRISHNA
81 KARIGUDRI, MR. SHRIPAD SHYAMAJI
82 KATE. MR APPAJI YESHWANTRAO *alias* BAPUSAHEB
83 KATHALE, MR. BHAGWAN SAMBHUPPA
84 KAZI, KHWAJA BASHIRUDDIN KHWAJA MOINUDDIN
85 KAZI, MR AZIZ GAFUR
86 KESHWAIN, MR. SHESHGIRI NARAYANRAO
87 KHEDGIKAR, MR. RAMCHANDRA ANNAJI
88 KHER, THE HON'BLE MR. BAL GANGADHAR (*Premier*)
89 KHIMJI, MR. BHAWANJI A
90 KILLEDAR, MR. MAHOMED MUSA
91 KUNTE, MR DATTATRAYA KASHINATH
92 LALA, MR. BHOGILAL DHIRAJLAL
93 LALCHAND HIRACHAND, MR.
94 LATTHE, THE HON'BLE MR ANNA BABAJI (*Minister*)
95 MAGANLAL NAGINDAS, MR
96 MAHOMEDALI ALLABUX, MR
97 MANDLIK, MR. RAMCHANDRA NARAYAN
98 MARATHE, MR. NAMDEORAO BUDHAJIRAO
99 MARWADI, MR. RAJMAL LAKHICHAND
100 MASTER, MR. NAGINDAS TRIBHUVANDAS
101 MAVALANKER, THE HON'BLE MR GANESH VASUDEV (*Speaker*)
102 MEHTA, MR. HARIPRASAD PITAMBER
103 MEHTA, MR. JAMNADAS MADHAVJI
104 MIRZA, MR. AKHTAR HASAN
105 MITHA, MR. MOHAMAD SULEMAN CASSUM
106 MORARBHAI KASANJI, MR.
107 MORE, MR. JAYAVANT GHANASHYAM
108 MUKADAM, MR. WAMANRAO
109 MUNSHI, THE HON'BLE MR. KANAIYALAL MANEKLAL (*Minister*)

110 MUNSHI, MRS. LILAVATI KANAIYALAL
111 NAIK, MR. VASANT NARAYAN
112 NALWADI, MR. GIRIMALLAPPA RACHAPPA
113 NANDA, MR GULZARI LAL
114 NARIMAN, MR. K. F
115 NAVLE, RAO BAHADUR NAMDEO EKNATH
116 NESVI, MR. TIMMAPPA RUDRAPPA
117 NIMANEE, MR. PRITHWIRAJ AMOLAKCHAND
118 NURIE, THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMAD YASIN (*Minister*)
119 PARULEKAR, MR. SHAMRAO VISHNU
120 PATASKAR, MR. HARI VINAYAK
121 PATEL, MR. BABUBHAI JASBHAI
122 PATEL, MR BHAILABHAI BHIKHABHAI
123 PATEL, MR. MAHOMEDBAWA MADHUBAWA
124 PATEL, MR. MANGESH BABHUTAR
125 PATEL, MR MUSAJI EUSUFJI
126 PATIL, MR ATMARAM NANA
127 PATIL, MR. GAMBHIRRAO AVACHITRAO
128 PATIL, MR. KALLANGOUDA SHIDDANGOUDA
129 PATIL, MR. LAXMAN GOVIND
130 PATIL, THE HONOURABLE MR LAXMAN MADHAV (*Minister*)
131 PATIL, MR. MALGOUDA PUNGOUDA
132 PATIL, MR NARHAR RAJARAM
133 PATIL, MR. SADASHIV RANOJI
134 PATIL, MR. SHANKARGOUDA TIMMANGOUDA
135 PATIL, MR, VITHAL NATHU
136 PATIL, MRS NAGAMMA *Kom* VEERANGOUDA
137 PHADKE, MR. GANESH KRISHNA
138 PIKE, MR G. O
139 PRATER, MR. STANLEY HENRY
140 PURANI, MR. CHHOTALAL BALKRISHNA
141 RAIS, KHAN BAHADUR SARDAR HAJI AMIRSAHEB MOHIDDIN SAHEB
142 RANE, RAO SAHEB BABAJEERAO
143 RANE, MR. BACHAJEE RAMCHANDRA
144 RAUT, MR. DATTATRAYA WAMAN
145 ROHAM, MR. PRABHAKAR JANARDAN
146 RUSSELL, MR W. W.
147 SAKARLAL BALBHAI
148 SAKLATVALA, MR. SORABJI DORABJI
149 SATHE, MR. SHANKAR HARI
150 SAVANUR, SARDAR MAHABOOBALI KHAN AKBARKHAN
151 SAVANT, MR. KHANDERAO SAKHARAM
152 SHAIK JAN MAHOMED HAJI SHAIKH KALLA, KHAN BAHADUR
153 SHET, MR. KANJI GOVIND
154 SHIDDIKA, MR. ISMAIL HASAN BAPU
155 SHINDE, MR BAJIRAO *alias* BABASAHEB JAGDEORAO
156 SHIRALKAR, MR. PANDURANG KESHAV
157 SHRIKANT, MR. LAXMIDAS MANGALDAS
158 SINGAPORI, MR. AHMED EBRAHIM
159 SONGAVKAR, MR. SAVALRAM GUNDAJI
160 SUGANDHI, MR. MURIGAPPA SHIDDAPPA
161 TALKAR, MR KAMALAJI RAGHO
162 THAKORE, MR BALVANTRAI PARMADRAI
163 THORAT, MR. RAOSAHEB BHAUSAHEB
164 THUBE, RAO BAHADUR VITHALRAO LAXMANRAO
165 THUSE, MRS. LAXMIBAI GANESH
166 TULPULE, MR. HARI VITHAL
167 TYABJI, MRS. SALIMA FAIZ B.
168 VAGHELA, MR BHAIJIBHAI UKABHAI
169 VARALE, MR. BALWANT HANMANT
170 VARTAK, MR. GOVIND DHARMAJI
171 VINCHURKAR, SARDAR NARAYANRAO GANPATRAO
172 VYAS, MR. ISHVERLAL KALIDAS
173 WAGH, MR. PURSHOTTAM VASUDEO
174 WALVEKAR, MR BALAJI BHAWANSA
175 WANDREKAR, MR. DATTATRAYA NATHOBA

Proceedings of the Assembly

Poona—19th & 21st July 1937

ELECTION OF SPEAKER

The Bombay Legislative Assembly met on the **19th. July** in the Council Hall, Poona for the first time under the new Constitution. The hon. Mr *B. G. Kher* with his colleagues were occupying the Treasury Benches and the whole Congress Party sat behind the Leader, clad in pure white Khaddar. Mr. *K F. Narıman* was sitting in a back bench.

Sir *Dhanji Shah Cooper*, ex-Chief Minister, was sitting in his old seat in the third Opposition row. The hon the Prime Minister was first sworn in followed by his Cabinet. The swearing-in of members commenced in the alphabetical order, some taking their oaths in vernacular All the public galleries, the Speaker's galleries, and the corridors were full. Mr *K F. Narıman* was given a great ovation as he took the oath. After the oath-taking ceremony, the Assembly adjourned till the 21st.

21st. JULY :—Mr. *G V. Mavlankar* (Congress) was unanimously elected Speaker this afternoon, the three others having withdrawn. The announcement of the unanimous election was received with great acclamation and shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai."

As soon as Mr. *Mavlankar* took the chair he announced that it was the wish of the House that "Bande Mataram" should be sung, which was then sung, the whole House, including the crowded galleries, standing up and many joining in the singing Mr. Mavlankar was warmly congratulated by all sections of the House, Mr *B G Kher* (Premier) being the first to do so. The House then adjourned *Sine die.*

Budget Session—Poona—17th. August—23rd. September 1937

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1937—38

The First Budget estimates for the year 1937-38 under the new India Act was presented by the Hon'ble Mr. *A B. Latthe*, the Finance Minister on the **17th. August.** The following are the salient features :—

A provision of Rs. 10 lakhs for the improvement of water-supply in rural areas and Rs. 1 and a half lakhs for the development of village industries, remission of land revenue more than one year old, a permanent reduction of land revenue in certain areas to the extent of Rs 5 lakhs, the abolition of 'grazing fees' to the extent of Rs 5 lakhs, primary measures towards prohibition which will affect the revenues to the extent of Rs 2 lakhs in 1937-38 and a provision of Rs. 40,000 as a further grant during the remaining months of this year for the education of Depressed Class.

All these sums have been taken from the surplus of 1936-37. The budget contains no surprises as the new Congress Cabinet have not got their feet tight on the ground, but the Hon'ble Finance Minister dropped hopeful hints of future scope for the development of various schemes and foreshadowed possibilities of great social welfare, economic development, and educational, agricultural and industrial advancement.

The year opens with Rs. 1,06,16,000 cash opening balance, in addition to Rs 60 lakhs in Government of India securities belonging to the Famine Relief Fund, 12 and a half lakhs of securities in the Nasik Distillery depreciation reserve, Rs. 30 lakhs in the Reserve Bank and Rs. 14 lakhs in various treasuries, these being, however, earmarked funds, not available for use.

The transactions of the year are estimated to be :—

Revenue receipts .. . Rs. 11,99,55,000.
Revenue expenditure.....Rs. 13,17,22,000.
Revenue deficit.. ...Rs. 17,67,000
Capital and debt heads—
Receipts.....Rs. 14,18,07,000
Disbursements.....Rs. 14,53,57,000
Deficit.....Rs. 35,50,000
Closing balance.....Rs. 52,99,000

Explaining these features of the budget estimates and how for making a beginning in social welfare and other nation-building activities he had to fall back upon the surplus of the previous year, Mr. Lathe said that what had begun well was half done.

The year closes with a revenue deficit of over 17 and a half lakhs of rupees. This deficit is almost wholly due to certain non-recurrent items of expenditure which the Government regard as legitimate charge against the surplus of last year's account. They have decided that while their more comprehensive measures of social welfare and the financial measures necessary to enable them to be carried out must wait till next year, a start must be made immediately with the help of last year's surplus. A provision of Rs. 10 lakhs has accordingly been made for the improvement of water-supply in rural areas and a provision of 1 and a half lakhs for the development of village industries. The Government have also decided that the arrears of land revenue more than one year old i. e pertaining to the revenue years other than 1936-37, should, as a special case this year, be remitted. It has been estimated that this will affect land revenue receipts to the extent of Rs. 5 lakhs this year and 5 lakhs next year.

Among other measures decided upon by the Government are the permanent reduction of land revenue assessments in certain areas, a change in excise policy as a beginning in the policy of prohibition, the abolition of grazing fees and the provision of Rs 40,000 as a further grant during the remaining months of this year for the education of the Depressed Classes. These items involve recurrent reduction of receipts or increase of expenditure, and in order to meet them, the Government have ordered a lump cut in several heads of expenditure to the extent of roughly Rs 10 lakhs The details of some of these cuts have yet to be worked out, but in respect of 4 and a half lakhs the cut will operate on contingent expenditure and on allowance to officers drawing more than Rs. 75 per month.

WARNING AGAINST INCITEMENT—ADJ. MOTION

18th. AUGUST .—The adjournment motion moved by Mr. *S. L. Karandikar*, the Whip of the Democrats, to discuss the Government communique of July 29, warning communal leaders and papers against incitement, was lost without a division to-day after an hour and a half's discussion.

The motion was opposed by the Muslims, Europeans and others who all assured the fullest co-operation with the Government in establishing harmonious relations between the communities. Mr *Karandikar* wanted to know why the communique was issued so soon after the Ministry had taken office.

Mr. *Abdul Latif*, acting Leader of the Muslim League Party, Sir John Abercrombie, Leader of the European Group, and other Muslims and Hindus supported the Government's Policy and assured their fullest co-operation.

Mr. *Ali Bahadur Khan* declared that Hindu-Muslim unity was possible only through the Congress platform and stated that the Congress Ministry was the best fitted for the task.

Mr *B. G Kher*, the Premier pointed out the implications of the Government's communique and assured the House that the Government would enforce their policy fully Mr *K. M. Munshi*, Home Minister, explained at length the issue of the communique which had been necessitated by the increasingly inciting articles in both the Hindu and the Muslim Press. He read out some excerpts and reiterated the Government's desire to put down communal incitement and establish Hindu-Muslim unity and concord.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

General discussion on the Budget was next initiated by Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, the interim Finance Minister, who deplored the attempt to ridicule the Interim Ministry's budget proposals. Mr Mehta contrasted the Interim Ministry's relief proposals of one crore and sixty-five lakhs with the twenty-nine lakhs now and criticised the proposals for rural relief as having the speed of a snail. He hoped that definite proposals would be placed next time.

19th. AUGUST :—Assurances of unqualified support to the Congress Ministry in their national welfare schemes were given by almost every party and group in the Legislature to-day. Muslim Leaguers, Christians, Democrats, Progressivists were all one in congratulating the Congress Ministry on the right trend of its budget proposals. While the Labour Party criticised the budget as too slow and urged speed, others

cautioned against hasty reforms. All, however, promised support to the Ministry to carry out the policy outlined.

Dr. Collaco (Indian Christian) congratulating the Ministry, hoped that the highly taxed Bombay would have relief. He did not believe in Prohibition and advised the Government to go slow. He outlined a gradual process towards Prohibition—replacing liquor shops by toddy shops and replacing these latter in the turn by lime-juice shops.

Rao Bahadur *G. K. Chitale* (Progressive Party) promised unstinted support to the Government in their measures for ameliorating the condition of the people

Mr. Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar (Muslim League), assuring support desired the immediate launching of the schemes. Mr. Moosaji Patel (Muslim League) also offered co-operation to the Ministry. Mr. *D. S L Karandikar* (Democrat) welcomed the budget proposals as a good beginning and hoped that expectations would be fulfilled. Mr. *D. L. Ferreira* (Indian Christian) congratulated the Ministry on their fine budget proposals. *Mr S. V. Parulekar* criticised the Government vehemently for not going fast, and for wanting time to consider proposals *Mr. S L Jhabwala* disapproved of the Labour policy of the Government The house then adjourned.

20th. AUGUST :—Categorically answering critics of the budget and refuting the allegations that the Congress Ministry had failed to implement their election promises, *Mr. Latthe*, the Finance Minister, replied to the three day debate on the budget which concluded to-day. Mr. Latthe met almost every objection He pointed out that every one forgot a fundamental thing, namely, that the Government of India Act limited the provincial Governments' resources and made it impossible to do anything tangible or valuable He hoped that the House would give wholehearted support for the retrenchment proposals and the nationalisation schemes so that there would be enough money for nation-building projects.

Earlier, Mr. *G. Nanda*, Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier, speaking on the Labour policy of the Government declared that the Government would do everything possible to improve substantially the condition of the workers and the peasants. This could not be done in a day but he promised the quickest despatch

Mr. *K. F. Nariman* stated that the Congress budget was the first step towards achieving the Congress objective of wrecking the Act. With all the goodwill of the people and the selflessness of the Ministry, only so very little could be done for the people and this demonstrated the wretchedness of the Act. Mr. Nariman appealed to the Governor to have a voluntary cut in his salary.

Mrs. *Tyabji* congratulated the Ministry on behalf of Muslim women and invited attention to the special needs of Muslim women.

Mr *B. G. Kher*, the Premier, congratulated the House on the high level of discussion and said that Bombay would lead the country on every matter He congratulated the Speaker of the Assembly on setting an example to other Provinces by not having Marshals. Mr. Kher acknowledged the many constructive suggestions that had been made and assured the House that given time, the Government would come out with their full proposals and schemes and justify themselves.

The House then adjourned till the 23rd.

Speaker and Ministers' Salaries Bill

23rd. AUGUST :—The first Bills of the Congress Ministry, fixing the salaries and allowances of the Ministers, the Speaker and the President, were piloted by Mr. *B. G. Kher*, the Premier, and Mr. *K. M. Munshi*, the Home Minister, and passed three readings this afternoon.

Strong opposition was voiced by Dr. *Ambedkar*, Leader of the Independent Labourites, against the principle of the Bill while Democrat, Moslem and European criticism, appreciating the underlying spirit, dubbed it impracticable.

Ministers' salaries were fixed at Rs. 500, with a house allowance of Rs. 150 monthly, as also those of the Speaker and the President. The salaries of the Deputy Speaker and the Deputy President were fixed at Rs. 100 each monthly.

Moving the first reading of the Ministers' Salaries Bill, Mr. *Kher* pointed out that looking at the condition of the country and the heavy cost of administration, the Cabinet had decided on a Rs. 500 salary with modest allowances. He was sure that the House would appreciate this spirit of retrenchment.

The correct principle underlying the Bill was service to the Motherland and self-sacrifice, declared Mr. *Kher* replying to criticisms, and he added that service to the country could not be brought by any amount of money and could not be computed

in terms of cash. Mr. Kher referred Dr. Ambedkar to the declared principle of the Bill, viz., not putting large sums of money in one's pocket but taking an opportunity to serve the country. Mr. Kher added that the Bill did not vitiate the principle of Democracy and hoped that Dr Ambedkar, who had served his community unflinchingly, would now begin serving his country. Proceeding, Mr. Kher said that Congress did not intend to remain in the saddle the moment it was known that it could not serve the people.

The three readings were passed in 15 minutes. Mr *K. M. Munshi* introduced the Speaker's Salary Bill which also passed the third reading. The House then adjourned.

MEMBERS REMOVAL OF DISQUALIFICATION BILL

24th. AUGUST:—The Ministry secured an overwhelming victory against the Opposition when voting was pressed on the Bombay Legislature Members (Removal of Disqualifications) Bill which was passed. An amendment moved by *Rao Bahadur Navle* was thrown out by 104 votes to 27.

The Bill which was moved by Mr. *K. M Munshi*, Home Minister, sought to remove the disqualifications on account of being Parliamentary Secretaries to the Ministers, part-time professors and lecturers in a Government College, and employees of state Railways when chosen by Railway Unions or any Labour constituency

The amendment moved by Mr. *Navle* wanted to remove the disqualifications of Public Prosecutors, Assistant Public Prosecutors, Government Pleaders and Assistant Government Pleaders, but it was defeated. The House then adjourned.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS—(1) REV. DEMAND

25th. AUGUST —Voting on budget demands commenced to-day. The Government's revenue policy, as also their policy of agricultural reconstruction, was outlined by Mr. *Morarji Desai*, Minister for Revenue, Agriculture and Rural Reconstruction, replying to three cut motions on the revenue demand of Rs. 31 lakhs.

A cut motion moved by Mr *J. G More* regarding the policy of distribution of waste lands among the landless labourers in the Presidency was withdrawn after the Minister's explanation that the Government had no intention of giving even an inch of land to non-agriculturists and that the Government were considering the feasibility of introducing co-operative farming in all waste lands.

Mr *G V. Parulekar* moved a cut of Rs. 100 to raise the whole policy regarding remission to peasants. Mr Parulekar wanted to know if remission would be given to wealthy peasants.

The *Minister* agreed that remission should not be given to those who did not deserve it and stated that as the law stood to-day, all would get remission and the Law had to be changed before anything else could be done.

The cut motion was put to vote and lost.

Mr. *Parulekar* moved another cut motion to raise the question of agricultural labourers and suggested that waste lands should be distributed among the landless labourers.

Mr. *Desai* said that the Government were bound to consider the question and to provide food for all those in need of it He invited practical suggestions to solve the problem and assured the House that waste lands would not be given to the undeserving or to non-agriculturists.

The cut motion was lost and the House adjourned.

26th. AUGUST.—The Government were tackling the serious problem of rural indebtedness and would try to solve it as far as possible, assured Mr. *Morarji Desai*, Revenue Minister, replying to the cut motion, moved yesterday by Mr. S. V. Parulekar. Mr. Desai said that the Government would be bringing in legislation in February or March regarding fixity of tenure and added that the Government were considering the question of declaring a moratorium but there were many difficulties. The Government had to provide credit to tenants during the moratorium period. The motion was lost.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, former Revenue and Finance Minister, moved a token out under the same head to discuss the need for the early introduction of a measure placing land revenue on a statutory basis and relieving rural indebtedness. He said that the revenue system in force in the last eighty years had been a miserable failure and resulted in an indebtedness of eighty-one crores all over the Presidency. The Land Revenue Code required to be completely overhauled.

Mr. Mehta's cut was pressed to a division and lost by 92 to 50 votes. The House then voted the demand of Rs. 31,25,000

Mr. *Morarji Desai*, the Revenue Minister, stated that he had no hesitation in saying that the Government were contemplating putting the land revenue system on a statutory basis. The Government would bring forward legislation in March next. The House then adjourned.

(2) EXCISE DEMAND

27th. AUGUST :—A full-dress debate on the excise policy of the Government took place when the House considered the demand for a grant of Rs. 32,36,000 made by Dr. *Gilder*, Minister for Public Health and Excise. Dr. Gilder declared that the policy of the Government was real prohibition, not prohibition as an experiment in three selected areas—Gujerat, Maharashtra and Karnatak. They were also considering the selection of an urban industrial area for prohibition. The loss of revenue this year would be Rs. 2,00,000 and next year it would be possible to enforce prohibition within three years and expected that every member of the House would give co-operation.

Members from every section of the House participated in the debate. There was general agreement with the policy of the Government but one member asserted that drink was necessary for the working classes and another pointed out that the closing down of shops would not close mouths and warned the Government against smuggling and bootlegging.

Mr. *Khedgikar* moved that the item of Rs. 18,000 and odd for the creation of additional posts in Ahmedabad Division should be omitted from the grant. He referred to a sentence, "the mill population is of a mixed and turbulent type from the criminal point of view", given under the demand for the grant and said that it was objectionable. He wanted it to be withdrawn.

Dr. *Gilder*, replying, agreed that the language objected to should not have been used and the remarks would be expunged out of the motion and withdrawn.

Khan Bahadur *Jan Mahomed*, Muslim Leaguer, moved a cut motion to discuss the excise policy of the Government. He said that the League aimed at total prohibition and thanked Mr. Gandhi for expounding the Muslim principle regarding the drink evil.

Replying to the motion, Dr. *Gilder* announced the Government's policy of total prohibition. The Government had decided to try it in certain taluks and decided to have it in Wagra and Jambusar talukas of Gujarat, in Sheogan, Nevesa and Pathadmahal in Maharashtra, and in Ankola and Kumta in Karnatak. Dr. Gilder detailed the Government's difficulties in the way of enforcing their policy and the loss of revenue that would occur thereby, but the Government were going to enforce it all the same. He suggested the founding of temperance associations and promised Government help for the same.

The debate was not finished when the House rose.

28th. AUGUST :—The Prohibition policy of the Government came up for further discussion to-day when the House resumed consideration of the cut motion moved yesterday by Mr. Jan Mahomed.

Replying to the debate, in which several Muslims and others took part and assured support to the Government, *Dr. Gilder*, Minister for Excise and Public Health, reiterated the Congress policy of complete prohibition. Referring to the speed with which prohibition would be achieved he pointed out the conflicting criticism of Government policy, some holding it too fast and some others too slow. Dr. Gilder said the Congress was a heavy body and it was difficult for it to take a decision in haste because it made a careful study of a question and after deliberation came to a decision. "After the decision, it begins to move with the speed of a bullock cart, then attains the speed of a Flying Ranee and terminates with the speed of an aeroplane". He hoped there would be complete prohibition in Bombay within three years.

Earlier in the debate, Mr. *S. K. Patil* (Congress), supporting the Government's policy, said prohibition had proved a failure in U. S. A., because there was not enough public opinion in its favour and that was why the Bombay Government insisted on so much propaganda and education.

Several Muslims spoke supporting the prohibition policy and expressing their willingness to help the Ministry to devise measures to make up the loss.

Rao Bahadur Chitale (Pro-Congress) said the loss involved through prohibition would be nine crores, three crores for the Government, three for the liquor interests and three for the people. He was opposed to prohibition if it were to be introduced now and here.

Mr. *Desai*, Revenue Minister, adverted to the incorrect argument advanced against total prohibition and said in a tropical country like India liquor harmed the physical, mental and moral life of those who drank. Along with drink criminal offences also increased. He concluded that once prohibition succeeded in Bombay it would spread like anything.

Mr. *Gilder*, replying, assured the House that religious scruples would be respected. He stated he had noted 45 suggestions during the discussions and every one of of them would receive careful consideration He would like to have the co-operation of liquor interests also and would welcome suggestions from them as to how to day trees could be better made use of. The Minister could not give out the secret of the budget six months ahead by revealing how the Government were going to make good the loss in revenue. Dr Gilder referred to the loss in revenue of eight and a quarter crores incurred by the Government of India ten years ago owing to their opium policy and he saw no reason why the Bombay Government should not survive after the loss of three and a half crores.

The cut motion was withdrawn. The House adjourned till the 30th.

(3) INDUSTRY DEMAND

30th. AUGUST.—The industrial policy of the Government was out-lined to-day by Mr. *L. M. Patil*, Minister for Local Self-Government and Industries, when the Assembly discussed the demand made by him for Rs 9,35,000 in this connection.

Mr *S. D Saklatwala* (Bombay mill-owners) moved a token cut of Rs 100 with a view to getting a clearer enunciation of the Government's industrial policy. He pointed out that the Government should keep in close touch with industrial matters, including nationalisation He welcomed the provision made for the development of village industries and urged that the Industries Deparment should move quicker. He said that the Government should take greater interest in the development of fisheries and industrial research and declared that the best solution to get out of the vicious circle of want of revenue and over-taxation was to develop the industries which would increase the wealth of the Province

Mr. *K. F. Nariman*, speaking on the motion, said that the Industries Department was the most important of the nation-building departments, but one which had been stifled so long under the old regime that indigenous industries could not grow due to foreign competition, either from Japan or from England Stressing the need for State aid to industries, Mr. Nariman cited examples of step-motherly treatment during recent years. Ten applications for a loan to help the start of new industries had been made to the Government, the aggregate amount asked for being Rs. 51,000. "The magnificent amount of the loan given was Rs. 1,600". Mr. Nariman suggested that the Government should start an industrial museum for the development of industries. There were hundreds of young men whose talents could be used. He said that the amount left by the late Mr F E Dinshaw for starting a new wing for the Bombay Museum could be used for an industrial museum.

Mr. *Maganlal Ghia* (Indian Merchants' Chamber) said that a committee of experts and industrialists should be appointed to prepare the scheme of village industries' development for which a lakh and a half had been provided. He suggested that industries like pottery, tannery, soap, metal works and match-making could be immediately taken on hand.

Mr. *S. V. Parulekar* (Labour), criticising the Government's village industries policy as reactionary, said that it was going back to the period before the Industrial Revolution. He stated there was nothing wrong in machinery. It was a victory of Man over Nature. It was only bad when it was in the hands of private individuals and when all did not benefit by it. If the State took over the machines, all could be happy. Mr. Parulekar suggested the development of industries on modern lines with the help of Science. He pointed out that there was a curious anomaly of poverty amidst plenty and said that the Government, through their policy, wanted to perpetuate that poverty. Would it be proper to ask villagers to work the charka for twelve hours and earn one anna? It was not progress but a reversion to barbarian days. While to-day villagers were starving with leisure, they would only starve without leisure if they took to the charka.

Mr. *Mahomed Mitha* (Muslim League) said he was against appointing Industrial Board as suggested by Mr. S. D. Saklatwala He thought that it coi serve no useful purpose.

Mr. S. *R. Prater* (Progressive Party) supported the idea of starting an industr wing of the Bombay Museum What was needed was six or nine lakhs of rupe for building purposes and fifty or sixty thousand rupees yearly The Museum wo be a teaching and research institute.

Mr. *L. M Patil*, the Minister, replying to the debate answered the criticis that his policy of village industries was opposed to the industrial progress of t Presidency He pointed out that the Government were only co-ordinating intere and stated that the Government were much concerned with industrial prosper and progress

After the Minister's clarification, the cut motion was withdrawn by Mr. S. Saklatwala. The House then adjourned.

(4) Medical Demand

1st. SEPTEMBER —The Medical policy and programme of the Government v discussed to-day in the Assembly which considered the demand of Rs 37,47,(made under the Head "Medical Relief" by Dr. *Gilder*, Minister for Public Hea and Excise A cut motion, raising the inadequacy of medical relief in rural are was pressed to a division and defeated by 92 votes to 59.

Incidentally, the Secretary of State of India's circular to the Provincial Gove ment, regarding the appointment of I. M S Officers, was severely criticised *Colaco* (Progressive Party) moved for a cut of Rs. 70,300 from the total gr of Rs. 1,29,000 for Superintendents and said that the salary of the Surgeon-Gene was unvotable and hence he proposed not to give him anything votable Dr. Col attacked the policy of forcing I. M. S. Officers of Provincial Governments wanted the Minister to make a representation to the proper quarters.

Mr. *K. F. Nariman* supported the spirit in which the cut motion was made condemned the circular of the Secretary of State as a *firman* of intolerable int ference with the Autonomous Provinces. He added that it was a question of natio self-respect, national humiliation and racial discrimination. Mr. Nariman held t the direction of the Secretary of State regarding I M. S. Officers was a m humiliating, insulting and impertinent document based on racial discriminati "There was everything for Europeans. There were posts reserved, there were cl reserved, there were even graveyards reserved for Europeans to the detrimen the Indians"

Dr. Gilder, in the course of his reply, said that he had not changed his vi since coming over to the Treasury Benches. He promised the House that would represent the matter to the Government of India with as much force possible and if nothing came out of it it was open to the House to do what it lil He wished the cut motion to be withdrawn, which was done

Another motion, moved by Mr *Ismail Chundrigar* (Moslem League) raised question of the inadequacy of medical relief in the mofussil Mr *Jamnadas Me* speaking on the motion, criticised the meagre provision made for rural relief w plague, cholera, smallpox and malaria were taking toll every day. He asked w the Government were doing with the reserve of 23 lakhs. The House would sup the Government even if they spent all that amount on medical relief and would hesitate to support them if they raised a loan for the same purpose.

Several Opposition Members supported the cut motion. Dr. *Gilder* said public health and medical relief were preventive and curative and could no separated He was thinking of reorganising completely both departments a food would result from tinkering with the question. He would before long b forward proposals which would revolutionise medical relief in the Presidency would be coming before the House for a supplementary grant of a lakh of ru out of which Rs. 95,000 would go to the mofussil He had also decided to that those who had training in Ayurveda got their names registered and that registering authority also looked to the education of those who wanted to l Ayurveda. The Government were also committed to the encouragement improvement of both the Ayurveda and Unani systems. The main, real diffi of the Government was finance. He thought that it was the duty of Local B to give medical relief. The cut motion was voted upon and defeated.

Mr. *Mirza Akhtar Hassan* moved a token cut to discuss the general policy particular reference to grants for medical purposes. Mr. Hassan suggest

the Government to give grants to Ayurveda and Unani Schools. The House then adjourned.

2nd. SEPTEMBER.—Mr. *S H. Jhabwala* said that the basic idea of allopathic practitioners seemed to be to make a profit He suggested that the Government should encourage Ayurveda and Unani systems.

Mr. *Moosaji Patel* (Muslim League) thought that treatment by Vaids and Hakims was cheaper than that by allopathic doctors. He cited the examples of Madras and the United Provinces where encouragement was given to the indigenous systems. He referred to the College started by the Madras Government for Ayurveda and suggested that graduates of Hakim Ajmal Khan's College, Delhi, should be engaged till the Government started their own college.

After several others had spoken on the motion, *Dr. Gilder*, Minister in charge, replying, said that the Government had no standard by which to test whether Vaids or Hakims were qualified. The Bombay Medical Council, a statutory body, was only concerned with allopathic doctors though it might give an opinion in regard to the Ayurveda and Unani systems. The Government had decided to encourage both the systems and, during the next session, legislation in that respect might be expected The Government also had to consider whether the same Medical Council would do or whether they should have a separate council for Ayurveda and Unani He stated that though there were cuts in all departments, including education, there was no cut in medical expenditure even during the financial stringency. Dr Gilder referred to the Indianisation of the nursing service and said that whenever there was a vacancy, Indian nurses would be appointed The Government were also considering sympathetically the question of transferring civil hospitals to Local Bodies such as District Boards and Municipalities.

Mr. *Mirza Akhtar Hussain* withdrew his cut motion in view of the Minister promising to bring legislation in February next. The House then agreed to the demand of Rs, 37,47,000 for Medical Relief.

(5) PUBLIC HEALTH DEMAND

Dr *Gilder* then made a demand for Rs. 29,87,000 under Public Health.

Mr. *R R Bole* (Ambedkarite) moved a token cut to raise the question of water-supply for the Scheduled Classes. He said that if there had been a Harijan member in the Cabinet, he would have appreciated the difficulties of the Harijans. The whole administration was pervaded by the upper class mentality which was against the untouchables The first duty of the Congress Ministry was to secure human facilities, such as water-supply for the Harijans and a provision of Rs 10 lakhs for the same as paltry Mr. Bole pointed out that there were 1,400 villages which had no wells in the Presidency and suggested that the whole of the ten lakhs should be spent on the Harijans' behalf. He declared that the Government should take care of Harijans as a mother would and not as an ayah.

Dr *Gilder*, replying to the criticisms against the Government, said that a separate grant of Rs 10,000 was provided in the Budget for water-supply to the Scheduled Classes The Government had passed a resolution that all wells should be thrown open and they had gone to the extent of telling the District and Local Boards that their grants would be stopped if Harijans were not allowed to use them It appeared there was nothing wrong with the Government but with the agency through which the grants were made The Government proposed to employ a different machinery to devise ways and means of utilising the ten lakhs It would be spent, according to the advice of a Committee for each district, consisting of the Collector of the District, the President of the Local Board, the members of the Legislature from the district, of whatever party, the Backward Classes Officer and certain social workers. Dr Gilder assured the House that the Scheduled Classes would receive his first sympathetic consideration.

Mr. *Bole* then withdrew the cut motion.

Rao Bahadur Navle moved a token cut to discuss the inadequacy of Government grants to District and Local Boards as far as public health was concerned. The House then adjourned.

3rd. SEPTEMBER:—Mr. *W. W. Russel* (Progressive Party), supporting the cut, stated that his party was of opinion that the Department of Public Health and the Medical Department should be amalgamated. He suggested that there should

be one officer for public health for one district instead of four or five for the whole Presidency.

Mrs. *Lilavati Munshi* (Congress) suggested that millowners should have more creches in their mills for the benefit of working class women. The Government should find out why some creches were not made use of by women. She thought it was the duty of the State to take care of the children. She also suggested that the Government should take steps to prevent infection through dust in mills and factories. She further suggested that the Government should distribute anti-dog and snake-bite serums to every village.

Dr. *Colaco* favoured the amalgamation of the Public Health and Medical Departments in the interests of economy and efficiency He suggested that quinine should be more freely distributed and the Government should try to have chincona plantations in the Presidency. Dr Colaco also favoured the postponement for a year of the Prohibition programme and devoting Rs. 30 lakhs to improving public health in the Presidency.

Mrs. *Annapurnabai Deshmukh* (Congress) stated that the question of public health came after the proper care of children about to be born. She suggested that there should be a maternity home for every five miles, with nurses. She suggested that the Minister of Health should find out why the children at present were so weak and their physique so bad.

Dr. *Gilder*, Minister for Public Health, replying, said it was essential that both the preventive and curative departments should work in co-operation Speaking about bettering the public health in the Presidency, Dr Gilder said he was moving with as much speed as possible in that direction. Rs 10,000 had been provided for the employment of 28 medical officers four months back to go round the malarial districts The Government had also provided Rs. 43,000 for the purchase of quinine during the year, of which Rs. 19,000 worth would be distributed freely. There were ten epidemic officials who would rush to any place where there was an epidemic and these officers would go round and examine public health in villages when there was no epidemic. At present the question of starting District Health Boards was under the consideration of the Government. Steps would be taken for the eradication of guinea worms from wells. A Modern Health Unit would be started and the Rockefeller Foundation had promised to help in this connection. The preventive section had to be looked after by the Government while the curative could be handed over to Local Boards.

Rao Bahadur Navle withdrew the cut motion and the House approved of a grant of Rs. 29,87,000 for Public Health.

(6) Education Demand

Mr. *B G Kher*, the Premier, then made a demand for the grant of one crore fifty-one lakhs and ninety-seven thousand rupees for Education in the Presidency

Mr *S. H Prater* (Progress) moved a token cut to discuss secondary education and the educational policy of the Government. He said that the present system of secondary education seemed only to cram up students for the Matriculation examination There was a good deal of wastage in the system and he suggested that the whole system should be reorganised and reconstructed to give it a vocational bias.

Mr. *K. F. Nariman*, speaking on the need for revolutionising the system of education, said what was needed was a national outlook in education The object of the educational system so far had been to make Indian young men money-making machines and loyalist citizens. What was needed was training for patriotic and national citizenship He hoped that the whole system would be revolutionised so that future generations would consist of patriotic and national-minded men with courage and initiative. The House at this stage adjourned.

4th. SEPTEMBER :—The general lines of the Government policy in regard to secondary education was outlined by Mr. *B. G. Kher*, Minister in charge of Education in reply to a cut motion to-day. The Premier said that at present the Government were still having their scheme under formulation, the details of which were not yet cut and dry. He stated that education, the most important feature of nation-building activity in the presidency would be based on a purely national and swadeshi outlook.

At the outset, Mr. *S. K. Patil* (Congress) contrasted the examples of Turkey and Russia which, within a period of about twenty years, had overhauled the whole system of education and made tremendous progress.

Rao Bahadur *G. K. Chitale* (Progressive Party) thought there was nothing much wrong about the present system of secondary education which produced Dadabhoy Naoroji, Phirozeshah Mehta, Ranade and others. He held that the main purpose of education was character-building, teaching reverence to elders, and asked if that was unnational education. The foundation of the old system of education was teaching reverence to God, King and Country. He concluded that the House should not forget that Mr. Gandhi himself was the product of that old system of education.

Mr. *Kher*, replying, appreciated the spirit of helpful criticism and said he could only indicate the general outlines of the Government policy. In a country like India national education would receive all consideration at the hands of the Government. He said a purely national and swadeshi system of education would be evolved on the floor of the House without copying from other countries. He declared that the salvation of India depended on the right type of education based on high national patriotic lines. He continued that the Government intended having a full time high school in each district. The Government, adopting the recommendation of the Thomas Committee, proposed abolishing the Government schools and supporting aided schools as also the transferring of secondary schools to private bodies many of which were conducting schools on efficient lines.

Mr Kher announced the policy of the Government, namely, that all Government-managed middle schools would be transferred during the course of three years to other agencies Government would see that those at present employed in schools were absorbed. Government would also take particular care to see that the education of backward and other minorities did not suffer A large amount, saved in this way, would be spent on the development of secondary education. The Government would pay due regard to higher education It would provide facilities for vocational training. The prospects and status of teachers would be improved and a provident fund system instituted The Government were also considering changing the medium of instruction, though Mr. Kher himself was not against English. The Government were also thinking of introducing manual work in schools and considering the question of reducing the period of twelve years between primary and matriculation examination.

Mr. *B Thakore* (Congress) was for changing the medium of instruction. He said no other country in the world taught its children in a foreign language.

Mr. Jhabwala thought that the education imparted should be such as would develop a sense of free thought, equality and equity. He did not favour the overhaul of the present system of education, but wanted the complete destruction of the system which was based on capitalism.

Mr. *Ismail Chundrigar* stated that the present Hindu-Muslim differences were due to the misteaching of Indian history. The Government should take care that history was properly taught The curriculum should be such as to lead to a fusion of both the communities.

Mr. *Shaik Mahomed Hasan* declared that the interest of the fatherland should not be forgotten by students Mr *B. H. Varale* pointed out difficulties experienced by Harijan boys and wanted better facilities for free scholarships. The cut motion was withdrawn. The House then adjourned till September 13

SUPLEMENTARY GRANTS VOTED

13th. SEPTEMBER.—The Assembly had a short sitting to-day. The Hon'ble Mr. *B. G. Kher* made a supplementary demand for Rs. 10,000—which was granted—for scientific departments under "Education". The amount was intended as a non-recurring grant for the Natural History Section of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

The House granted the demand of the Hon. *Dr. Gilder*, Minister for Health, for a lakh of rupees under "Medical Services" The Minister said that the Government had decided to provide this sum in response to the demand by all sections of the House for expenditure on the equipment of mofussil hospitals

Dr. Gilder made another demand, also approved, for Rs. 2,300 under "Public Health."

GOVT. POLICY ABOUT PRIMARY EDUCATION

14th. SEPTEMBER:—A categorical assurance from the Premier and Education Minister, the Hon. Mr. *B. G. Kher*, that the Congress Government would do their

best in the matter of the education of Harijans was elicited in the Assembly to-day when it resumed the consideration of budget grants. The Hon. Mr. Kher made the following statement on the Government's policy about primary education in the course of the debate :

The present administration of primary education by School Boards having failed to yield satisfactory results, the further policy of the Government will be to make the necessary legislation on the following lines : (a) to overhaul the machinery of primary education, (2) to assume more control than they have at present over matters relating to education with a view to improving its quality.

(2) The Government will take early steps to make provisions for the extension of free compulsory primary education and will, among other things, invite and enlist voluntary efforts in carrying out their educational programme.

(3) Physical education will form an integral part of the scheme of education.

(4) Manual work, that is, creative manual activity of diverse kinds, will form part of the curriculum of every school and care will be taken that as far as possible childen attending schools are not weaned altogether from their hereditary occupations.

Replying to a cut motion of Rs. 1,000, moved by Mr. *D. G. Jadhav* to raise the question of the employment of depressed-classes teachers in schools, Mr. Kher said that since the Congress Ministry had taken their inspiration from him, who felt most for the depressed classes, he could assure the House that the Government would give their best consideration to the matter and do all they could for the Harijans. The Premier cited figures to show that the number of Harijan teachers was increasing and that many facilities were being offered to them.

Mr. *Jadhav*, moving the cut motion, wanted to know what the present Government intended doing for the spread of education among the Harijans The budget allotment of Rs. 40,000 was inadequate for a population of 37 lakhs of Harijans.

On the Premier's assurance, Mr. Jadhav withdrew his cut motion.

Mr. *J. G. More* then moved a cut of Rs. 100 to raise the question of grants to local bodies, for primary education. He complained of the serious shortcomings in the Primary Education Act of 1923 and held that School Boards were fostering communalism and should not be in charge of primary education. He also wanted that the Government's policy of prohibition should not affect education and pleaded for the removal of the eight per cent cut in the grants to local bodies.

Replying to the debate, the Hon'ble Mr *B G. Kher* said that the Government were considering the question of overhauling the whole system of education. Their scheme would be presented as soon as possible Regarding communal representation, the Premier said that the Government had not decided anything yet and do anything against the interest of any community Mr *More* pressed his motion which was lost by 93 votes to 52. The entire demand was then granted by the House.

Govt. Policy Re Civil Liberties

Mr. *S. V. Parulekar* (Ambedkarite) next moved a cut motion under "Home Department expenses" and raised the question of civil liberties. He congratulated the Hon. Mr. K. M. Munshi on the release of politicals and the lifting of the ban on 227 associations but he expressed disappointment that restrictions on labour workers still existed. The discussion had not finished when the House adjourned.

15th. SEPTEMBER.—Regarding the Bombay Government's policy in connection with civil liberties, the Hon. Mr. *K. M. Munshi*, Home Minister, in a statement in the Assembly, said :—

"The Government are aware of the sentiment of members of the House on the question of orders restricting the movement of certain persons under the Emergency Powers Act. Letters and resolutions conveying similar sentiments have also been received by the Prime Minister and myself. The Government welcome this expression of public opinion as it provides an index to the minds of the people on whose goodwill and confidence alone can they depend for their existence and for properly carrying on the affairs of the Presidency. The Government are fully aware of the pledges given by Congress in its election manifesto and so far as they have done their best to carry out both the letter and spirit of those pledges.

"The Government will also further endeavour to continue to carry out these pledges to the best of their ability. The few cases which have been left to be

considered require the most careful consideration at the hands of the Government particularly in view of the fact that these persons and organisations have contracts in more than one Province in India This consideration, therefore, is bound to take some time. The Government will request the House to be patient with those who have been suddenly called upon to discharge the onerous duties of office.

"The Government want to make it clear that they propose to deal with the emergency legislation as early as possible to the extent to which it is legally possible to do so. A Government by Congressmen pledged under the Congress Constitution to non-violence in the struggle for freedom, in our opinion, should be the last to resort to emergency legislation in normal times. They have to prove by their actions that they can preserve peace better by moral authority rather than by the use of force. In this endeavour to establish the moral authority of the Government, they rely upon the goodwill and the active support of all concerned.

"An unequivocal assurance that the Congress Government stood by every word that had been said in the election manifesto and would endeavour to carry out the pledges to the best of their ability", was the conclusion of the Hon. Mr. Munshi.

Mr. Munshi said that the Congress stood for democracy. Its faith in non-violence was unshaken and unshakable. It was not only its policy but its creed

Cheers greeted the Minister's announcement that so long as the Congress Government were in power, no political worker would either be handcuffed, taken in streets or tied in ropes like a wild criminal If such a thing happended, the fullest power of the Government would be brought to bear on the officer. The Congress Government were very anxious to see that no injustice was done to any political worker Regarding the loyalty of the Services, Mr. Munshi said that since the day they took office, the Services had worked with the utmost loyalty and spontaneiety. He did not doubt that they would continue to do so but if there should be a conflict, there was no need to say which side would win

After enumerating what the Congress Government had done so far since they took office, the releasing of politicals, the refund of securities, etc, Mr Munshi, amidst cheers, announced that the Government had decided to cancel the restrictive orders against the Labour leaders, Messrs M N. Misra, S D Khan, Anantachari, H. D. Rajah, K. C Gupta and K. N Joglekar and he also announced the remission of the sentence on Gogate

The cut motion of Mr. *S V Parulekar* was pressed to a division and lost.

The general discussion then concluded and all the demands were approved. The House then adjourned.

MEMBERS' SALARIES BILL

16th. SEPTEMBER —The Assembly considered two Government Bills to-day, passed one with all three readings in quick succession, then took up the Members' Salaries Bill, the consideration of which had not concluded when the House rose for the day.

The Hon. Mr. *K* M. *Munshi* introduced the Members' Salaries Bill, providing a salary of Rs. 75 a month, a daily allowance at the rate of Rs. 3 for attending a meeting of the Legislature or a committee of the Chamber and a travelling allowance at a rate not exceeding the double fare for such a class provided on the railway or the steamer as might be prescribed by the Provincial Government.

An amendment moved by Mr. *A. V. Chitre*, increasing the salary to Rs 150, raised an interesting point of order whether such an amendment which involved a charge on Provincial Revenues could be moved without the previous consent of H. E. the Governor.

Mr. *Munshi*, replying to the debate on the point of order, said that an amendment to a Bill at the time of its second reading could be allowed as it did not need the previous sanction of the Governor, but just before the third reading, the amendment would have to receive the consent or the sanction of the Governor. He pointed out that if the amendment was accepted, it would mean an additional expenditure of Rs. 2,20,000 and stated it was not correct to say that allowances were a compensation for public work done by the members. They only constituted a provision for legislative work. The amendment was lost.

Another amendment by Mr. *G. K. Phadke* that the salary be Rs. 100 was also lost as also an amendment by Mr. *Chitre* suggesting an allowance of Rs. 5 instead of Rs. 3 a day.

Rao Bahadur Chitale (Progressive Party) then raised a point of order in connection with making rules for travelling allowances, viz., that the Government had no rule-making power and the same had been vested in the Legislature under the Act of the Government of India.

Mr. *Mavlankar*, the Speaker, ruled that the Legislature could delegate its rule-making power to the Government. Discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned.

The House earlier passed the *Bill to amend the Indian Limitations Act* of 1908.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

17th. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly devoted the day to non-official business, nearly a score of Bills being introduced by members. Mr. *S. H. Jhabvala* alone was responsible for as many as ten Bills. The first Bill was Mr. Jhabvala's, regarding registered trade unions in the Presidency. The Bill sought that registered trade unions should be recognised by employers, who should correspond with the union officials regarding the grievances of the workers. Of the other Bills introduced by him, one sought to fix the tariff for conveyances, another the establishment of a Tariff Control Board, and a third to amend the Bombay Municipal Act in connection with kitchen dimensions in buildings.

Dr. Ambedkar introduced a Bill seeking to abolish the Khoti system. This was opposed by Mr. Karandikar on the ground that the Revenue Minister had promised to introduce legislation in the matter.

Mr. Parulekar introduced a Bill with a view to protecting tenants in certain matters against unreasonable exactions of landlords.

Khan Bahadur Hazi Amin moved a resolution, recommending the introduction of free elementary education all over the Presidency from April 1 next. Mr. *S. H. Prater* moved an amendment, deleting the words "from April 1 next."

Several amendments were moved to the resolution, suggesting that primary education should be made compulsory or should be given in Hindustani. Mrs. *Leelavati Munshi* argued that the Government had to look into the whole question of finances. The discussion had not concluded when the House rose for the day.

18th. SEPTEMBER :—Several amendments were moved to-day regarding whether it should be compulsory, how far free, what language should be taught, etc.

Mr. *S. L. Karandikar* moved an amendment that compulsory primary education should be introduced through the respective language in the following linguistic areas. Marathi, Gujerati and Kanarese.

Mr. *Mirza Akhtar Hasan* moved an amendment that Muslim children should be taught in their mother tongue, Urdu.

Mr. *K. M. Munshi*, Minister, giving his personal views stated that the outlook of education had changed. In olden days, the State did not take the responsibility for education. After the War, countries like Russia started big drives against illiteracy and the Russian system of tackling the problem had been accepted as the standard now. It had been recognised that the cost of primary education was the first charge on the revenues of the State. He added that in India, especially in Bombay, there was no use in tinkering with the problem. It was essential that illiteracy should be driven out and it could be done by the State only. He pointed out that if the State had to provide the whole cost, it was impossible at present or for this generation to suggest that education should not be costly. India should adjust herself to her environment and the Government had to appeal for the co-operation of the public in the matter. He was confident that many would come forward to help and suggested that the quality of studies should be changed. Economic equipment should be given to students. He admired the efforts to make Hindustani the *lingua franca* of India. Discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned till the 20th.

20th. SEPTEMBER :—Mr. *Nagindas Master* (Congress) suggested that the House should accept Mrs. Pataskar's amendment that primary education should be introduced as early as possible after the whole system had been overhauled.

Mr. *Mosaji Patel* (Muslim League) favoured the employment of women teachers for primary schools.

Mr. *M. M. Killedar* (Muslim League), the Chairman of the Bombay Municipal Schools Committee, referred to Bombay's progress in compulsory primary education. He suggested a change in the present curriculum, and a reduction in the number of years for imparting primary education.

Mrs. *Namama Patil* (Congress) thought that very little nationalism was being taught to children in schools to-day. It was essential that the whole system should be overhauled. She wanted the Government to pay more attention to the education of girls than to that of boys. She advocated the removal of men teachers from girl's schools and pleaded that only educated persons should be members of school and other educational boards.

Mr. *K F. Nariman* suggested that organized voluntary efforts should be made for making people literate.

The Government would take early steps to make provision for an extension of free compulsory primary education, asserted the Premier, the Hon. Mr. *B G. Kher*, replying to the debate on the subject. He added that the path had to be cleared and when everything was ready the Government would come with their scheme He declared that the Government would not be deterred from pursuing their objective in the matter of universal primary education by any apparent difficulty in getting funds For, when the utility of the expenditure was proved, all efforts would be made to obtain money and to put it in to expand and make primary education free and compulsory "The time-limit is not what we want It is the intensity, it is the earnestness with which we begin our tasks, that is of greater value." There were no two opinions on the necessity of compulsory primary education being made universally available, if possible, immediately, but the task was very big The Government were, however, determined to solve the problem. The Premier added that the Government would, among other things, invite and enlist voluntary efforts in carrying out their educational programme The House at this stage adjourned.

DEMAND FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

21st SEPTEMBER —The galleries were crowded and the House was full when the Hon. Mr. *B. G. Kher*, Prime Minister moved the resolution on the Constituent Assembly this afternoon. The Premier spoke at length on the defects of the Government of India Act and the need for its replacement Pointing out the defects in the Act, Mr. Kher said that the Act was such that it had not a single friend in the country. The proposed Federation aimed at disunity in the country. It had taken note of communal differences but not the social and economic needs of the community. He added that, if it was analysed, it would be found necessary to criticise every section and clause of the Act. He explained the implications of Constituent Assembly which would be convened on the widest franchise and appealed to all to view the question from the broad national point of view and not from a narrow or sectional one

Mr. Kher, rising amidst cheers, moved the following resolution "This Assembly is of the opinion that the Government of India Act of 1935 in no way represents the will of the nation and is wholly unsatisfactory as it has been designed to perpetuate the subjection of the people of India. Therefore this Assembly is further of the opinion that the said Act should be repealed and replaced by a Constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of adult franchise, which allows the Indian people full scope for their development according to their needs and desires."

Mr. Kher said that the resolution indicated the direction in which the aspirations of the people lay and the method by which they should be achieved. He pointed out that no political worker, to whatever party he belonged, had expressed satisfaction with the Act. There was a consensus of opinion in the House on the first part of the resolution that the Act did not represent the will of the nation and there was agreement that there should be full scope for development for the people of India. There seemed to be a difference of opinion on the methods to achieve the objective that was merely formal and verbal.

The Prime Minister proceeded to say that to-day the Indians stood for complete independence and even the Muslim Leaguers wanted complete independence. The Act was such that it did not take into account the fundamental needs of the country and its people. The dyarchical system of Government had been introduced at the centre which system had been tried in the Provinces and found unsuitable.

The principle that the Constitution should contain the seeds of growth of the people to freedom had not been accepted by the framers of the Act.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, Mr. *Ali Bahadur Khan* and Mr. *Chundrigar* moved their amendments.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's amendment explained the adult franchise clause and emphasised joint electorates. Mr. *Ali Bahadur Khan's* stated that the country was not ripe for joint electorates and Mr. *Chundrigar's* desired a convention or a conference elected on the basis of the electorate provided by the Communal Award and demanded safeguards for Muslim minorities.

Mr, *Jhabvala* sought to move an amendment that "should British imperialism refuse to accept the inherent right vested with the people of the country, the Assembly should proceed to convert itself into a parallel form of independent legislature with a view to capturing the machinery of the State from the hands of the rulers."

The *Speaker* ruled the amendment out of order as it involved direct action which was beyond the competence of the House

Mr. *Jhabvala* stated that his suggestion put them on the right track. The original resolution did not say what was to be done in the alternative and his amendment pointed out the same.

Rao Bahadur Chitale (Progressive Party) opposed the resolution. He said it was premature and suggested that the Act should be given a fair trial

Mr. *Chundrigar* and Mr. *Ali Bahadur Khan* next spoke on their amendments. The House then adjourned.

22nd. SEPTEMBER.—Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, former Finance and Revenue Minister, moving his amendment, said that the Government of India Act was a document of size without substance and declared that there had been no recognition of the sovereignty of the people. Mr. Mehta felt that even the official resolution did not refer to the people of the States. He said that historically a Constituent Assembly would be concomitant with the seizure of power and wanted to know who would call the Constituent Assembly—the Congress or the Secretary of State "Call it by its Christian name—an All-Parties' Conference", said Mr. Mehta and he appealed to the Congress not to capitulate to communalists' demands

Mr *S V Parulekar* thought that any Consitution framed by the British Parliament was bound to perpetuate imperialism He felt that the Constituent Assembly did not carry its true intent He justified the demand for reservation of seats by those socially and economically backward, and declared that true democracy was impossible without socialising the means of production. No bourgeoise democracy would satisfy the masses.

Mr. *S. L. Karandikar* thought that the Constitution was a negation of all idea of self-determination and asserted that the Communal Award had created an Ulster in every village in India

Rao Bahadur Navle, opposing the resolution, asked whether the Government could quote one instance when the Governor's special powers had been used. He thought that Congressmen were anxious to seize power when the masses were asleep He wanted the Congress to appease the minorities

"It is gratifying to find this great measure of agreement and this large amount of unity", declared the Premier, the Hon. Mr. *B. G Kher*, in his reply to the two-days debate He added, "on such unity, we must frame our Constitution" The Premier pointed out that only two had opposed the motion and that practically all the amendments had supported the resolution in the main. Only one had objected to the use of the words Constituent Assembly. Various speakers had made suggestions for carrying out the object of the resolution on which there seemed a very great agreement.

Return Of Forfeited Lands

23rd. SEPTEMBER.—The resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. *Morarji Desai*, Revenue Minister, in connection with re-purchasing at the Government's cost the lands forfeited in consequence of the Civil Disobedience movement with a view to their restoration to the original holders, was carried after discussion by 87 votes to 39. The Hon. Mr. *Desai* moved the following resolution: "The House accepts the policy of re-purchasing, at the cost of the Government, the lands other than immoveable properties forfeited and sold in consequence of the Civil Disobedience movement with

a view to their restoration to their original holders or their heirs, free of occupancy price."

Speaking on the resolution, Mr. *Desai* said that the Government had been so much convinced of the propriety and justice of the resolution that they did not think any laboured arguments were necessary. "These brave heroic peasants have made memorable history, of which posterity will be proud. They gave self-respect to our country and raised our prestige." The Minister added that this action was only meant to do some justice to these brave and heroic people Replying to questions, Mr. Desai said that the lands included 3,500 acres in Gujerat, 2,200 hissas in Kanara, 26 acres in Dharwar and two acres in Bijapur

Mr. *J. G. More* (Peasants' Party) moved that discussion be adjourned to the next session as the necessary information had not been given. Further, in giving relief to the peasants, he wished to know what measures the Government proposed to bring forward for the relief of the peasantry as a whole.

The motion was pressed to a division and lost by 83 votes to 47.

Replying to several questions from the Opposition, Mr *Desai* gave an assurance that the Government had no intention of committing the House to any amount and would not be extravagant. The steps that the Government would take had not been decided yet, but no fancy prices would be paid by the Government. The Government would do nothing illegal

Four amendments were then moved, one by Mr Jamnadas Mehta, another by Mr. A Ferie, a third by Mr. Oarclekar and the fourth by Mr Mosaji Patel, which were all lost

The Premier, the Hon Mr. *B. G. Kher* said that they did not benefit a section of the country at the expense of the whole. Stressing that freedom had to be born out of struggle, the Premier pointed out that Civil Disobedience was the only alternative to war. It was these humble peasants who had shown them the way. Could they not be more charitable to these pioneers ? "Can't you see in it the greater principle of doing justice to people who have suffered that we and our posterity may have freedom ?" The Premier added that they should not look at it in a petty-fogging spirit but should realise the nobler issues involved The Government had come to realise the justice of the resolution.

Justifying the action taken by the Government, Mr. *Desai* in his reply to the debate would not admit that it was encouraging lawlessness. He asked, "Has not the acceptance of the Congress Ministry by the British Government supported the Congress ? Did not the King's representative negotiate with Gandhiji in 1931 and did it mean support to Civil Disobedience ? He said this was not a proper view to take. The apprehension about Law and Order was not well-founded

Mr. Desai added "We are as anxious to preserve Law and Order as anybody else He declared that he had given the best information he could and had nothing further to add. Guess-work and speculation would only injure the position As for justification of their action, Mr Desai said that the Premier had given it Replying to the argument that they were implementing their election manifesto, he said, "We are criticised for not carrying out election pledges and now comes this argument Why this conflicting criticism ?" Mr Desai appealed to the House to adopt the resolution.

The amendments were put to vote and were all lost After the adoption of the original resolution, the session was prorogued.

Proceedings of the Council

ELECTION OF SPEAKER

The first session of the Bombay Legislative Council under the new Act of 1935 commenced at Poona on the **22nd July 1937**. Mr. *M. M. Pakvasa* (Congress), was unanimously elected president. Mr *R. G Soman* (Congress) was elected Deputy President. He obtained 16 votes, while his rival Mr. *S. C. Joshi* obtained 12. The House then adjourned till September 13.

Budget Session—Poona—13th. to 24th. September 1937

The Budget for 1937-38 was presented on the **13th. September** by the Finance Minister, the Hon. Mr. *Lathe*. At the outset, Mr. *S. C. Joshi* (nominated) raised a point of order that the budget had ceased to be a financial statement as the Lower House had considered and approved of some items of expenditure.

The *Minister*, replying, said as the Governor's signature had not yet been put to those items, they could be discussed by the Upper House.

Several members then spoke on the advisability of the simultaneous presentation of the budget to both the Houses or at least without great delay.

The *Minister* assured the Council that, in presenting the budget late, the Government had not meant to deprive the House of its powers and that, in future, steps would be taken to present it to both the Houses at short intervals.

Mr. *Joshi* did not press his point and the Hon. Mr. *Lathe* formally presented the budget. The House then adjourned.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

14th. SEPTEMBER :—General discussion on the budget commenced to-day when a majority of the members expressed appreciation of the Finance Minister's efforts for bettering the condition of the masses.

Professor Davar said the Ministry had fulfilled, though only to a small extent, their promises but he issued a warning against Prohibition. Regarding the nationalisation of the Services, Prof. Davar pointed out that ventures which flourished in private hands proved failures when they were taken up by the State. He mentioned the case of railways, the private-owned ones making profits and the State-owned running at a loss.

Mr. *B. N. Karanjia* declared that the Congress budget was pregnant with possibilities. Speaking about the provision for the sinking of wells, Mr. Karanjia suggested that the Western India Turf Club should be made to fix five days during the Bombay and Poona season for giving the proceeds to the Government to be utilised for sinking wells in rural areas. He wanted the Government to go slow regarding Prohibition.

Dr. *K. A. Hamid* thought the budget a great achievement. Pointing out that lack of education had proved a great impediment to the progress of the country, he pleaded for a revolution in the whole policy and system of education and not a mere overhaul He felt that while village industries might be developed, larger industries should not be neglected, but he opposed nationalisation of industries at this stage.

Mr. *Dadhubhai Desai* (Congress) suggested taxation on dealers of cotton, bullion, seeds etc. by which Government would be able to realise thirty to forty lakhs of rupees. He wanted that the financial settlement between Bombay and Sind should be re-examined.

Mr. *N. D. Deodhedhar* (Democrat) strongly criticised the budget and held it was disappointing and unsatisfactory. The House then adjourned.

15th. SEPTEMBER :—Mr. *G. Mahajani* (Liberal) thought that they should suspend judgment till the next budget of the Congress Ministry by when they could put their ideas into concrete shape.

Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim welcomed the Governments's earnestness to ameliorate the condition of the masses and he would welcome any fresh taxation in the interests of the community. Mr. *S. C. Joshi* thought that the budget was disappointing and halting in important details. *Rao Bahadur Sardar Desai*, speaking in Kanarese, invited the Government's attention to the plight of the ryots and suggested measures of relief. The discussion had not concluded when the House rose for the day.

16th. SEPTEMBER :—Mr. *Frederick Stones* (European) welcomed the Government's policy to hasten slowly which, he thought, ensured sure and steady progress. Regarding Prohibition, he suggested that a committee should be appointed to consider the problem in all its possible aspects.

Mr. *R. G. Pradhan* (Congress) thought it a scientific budget and a first-class performance. He asked why there would not be any voluntary reduction in the Civil

List of the Governor. He hoped that the new Governor would see his way to effect a cut in his household expenditure

Mrs. Hansa Mehta (Parliamentary Secretary) said the Congress Ministry was going to take special care of primary education in the presidency and consider all suitable suggestions in that connection.

The *hon. Mr. Gilder*, Minister for Excise, announced that Ahmedabad would be the area for the Prohibition experiment Dr Gilder said that Government were appointing a committee of officials and non-officials in each district to provide better water-supply to villages.

The *hon. Mr. Lathe*, the Minister for Finance, revealed that the Government had called for estimates from the District Officers about the yield of a tax, if imposed, on agricultural incomes of over Rs. 2,000. Mr. Lathe pointed out that there was no scope for increasing the activities of nation-building departments Also at present the Government did not think it was possible to have any well-formulated scheme of taxation. Hence the Government resorted to retrenchment. Government were considering if there were more scope for taxation, the nature of which would be decided later. He said the Government instructed district officials to send a list of the number of people whose agricultural income was over Rs. 2,000 a year as the Government wanted to find out what income would be derived if such people were taxed. He assured the House that the Government would be fair to all classes but expected the rich to contribute with their wealth and the poor with their labour. The House adjourned at this stage.

Official Bills

17th. SEPTEMBER —The first division occurred in the Council to-day, the Government securing a smashing victory, when the House considered Government Bills as passed by the Lower House. An amendment, moved by Mr. *S. C Joshi* to the Removal of Disqualifications Bill, wanted Government Pleaders and Public Prosecutors to be included in the Bill.

The Hon. Mr *K. M. Munshi* opposed the amendment and said that the Government had considered the matter fully and come to the conclusion that Public Prosecutors and Government Pleaders were often in possession of confidential information and should not be allowed to be Legislators.

The amendment was pressed to a division and lost by 17 votes to 7

Four Government Bills passed by the Assembly were passed by the Council, which also approved of the demands under the Education and Medical Departments and adjourned till the 20th.

Non-Official Resolutions

20th. SEPTEMBER :—The Council to-day discussed at length the question of regional and linguistic universities in the Presidency.

Mr. *Mahajani* (Liberal) moved a resolution, recommending to the Government to take early steps to establish additional Universities to meet the increased demand for higher education and for facilities for research Mr Mahajani said that the United Provinces had five Universities, each getting a grant of about three lakhs of rupees from the Government, while Bombay had only one with one lakh grant

The motion was supported by Mr *Deodhekar*, Mr. *S R. Davar* and Mrs *Hansa Mehta* who thought that the Presidency might have one Gujerati University, one Marathi, one Kanarese and one Urdu

The Hon Mr. *K. M. Munshi* accepted the desirability of more Universities but pointed out the difficulties in the way. He agreed with the principle but did not support the wording of the resolution.

The Hon Mr. *B. G. Kher*, replying to the debate, said that the Government would not oppose the demands or additional facilities for higher education. He added that the Congress had accepted the principle of Provinces on a linguistic basis. They had no objection on principle to the establishment of additional territorial universities provided the necessary conditions of safegurds were present But at present the Government were not in a position to commmit themselves to any further responsibility. The Premier asked Mr. Mahajani to withdraw his resolution, which was done.

Mr. *Karanjia* then moved a resolution, demanding a thorough and speedy repair of the Bombay-Poona and the Bombay-Nasik roads which, he declared, were in a disgraceful condition.

The Hon. *Mr. Nurie*, P. W. D. Minister, replying, pointed out that on these roads as they competed with the railways, only 25 per cent of the amount of the Central Road Fund got from the Central Government could be spent. Mr. Nurie intimated that the Government had appointed a Superintendent Engineer to prepare a scheme to repair roads. As soon as it was ready, by November, the Government would take up the repair of roads.

Mr. *Karanjia* withdrew his motion.

Mr. *Dadubhai Desai* moved a resolution for providing major irrigation works in Gujerat but withdrew it on an assurance from Mr. Nurie. The House then adjourned till the 23rd.

Demand For Constituent Assembly

23rd. SEPTEMBER :—The Council considered to-day the Constituent Assembly resolution, moved by the Hon. Mr. *B. G. Kher*.

Three amendments were moved, one suggesting that a Convention should be called first. The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned.

Earlier, the Council passed the *Members' Salaries Bill*, throwing out all the amendments.

24th. SEPTEMBER :—The Council passed to-day without division the resolution on the Constituent Assembly, and also the resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. *Morarji Desai*, Revenue Minister, regarding the re-purchasing of forfeited lands.

Two amendments to Mr. *Kher's* resolution were pressed to a division and thrown out by 9 votes to 15 and 6 votes to 16 respectively.

Mr. *Kher*, replying to the debate on the Constituent Assembly resolution, expressed surprise that there was no trust in the electorates and added that distrust in adult franchise was misplaced. He pointed out that Parsis, though numerically small, had secured proportionately greater representation through joint electorates. Only a Constituent Assembly elected on the widest franchise could give expression to the nation's aspiration to decide the future constitution for the country.

The resolution was carried without a division, the amendments being thrown out.

Purchase of Forfeited Lands

When the discussion on Mr *Desai's* resolution was taken up, two amendments were moved. Mr. Desai replying, expressed pleasure that the Opposition were not against the principle of the resolution but were only concerned with the manner of the purchase. He added that approval in principle did not mean that the House would be debarred from further discussion on the subject. Mr. Desai assured the House that the Government would do nothing unjust to anybody or anything illegal.

Regarding the suggestion for the refund of the money recovered by way of fines from Satyagrahis in the Civil Disobedience movement, Mr. Desai said that it was impracticable. If that was done, they would also have to compensate others for the long terms of imprisonment, which was not possible.

Replying to the criticism that the peasants had suffered without knowing it or had been misled by others, Mr Desai declared that it was unjust to the noble sufferers who knew fully well what they were doing and deliberately did it. He pointed out that even afterwards when offers were made and when even an oral apology would have sufficed to get back their lands, they had deliberately rejected the offer. They chose to suffer in silence and to remain in permanent poverty. It was a great and noble sacrifice.

After the amendments had been lost, the resolution was carried without a division. The council was then prorogued.

The Bihar Legislative Council

LIST OF MEMBERS

1 THE HON. MR. RAJIV RANJAN PRASAD SINGH (*President*)
2 RAJA BAHADUR HARIHAR PRASHAD NARAYAN SINGH
3 MR. BISHWANATH PRASHAD NARAYAN SINGH
4 MR. MAHESHWAR PRASAD NARAYAN SINGH
5 MR. GANGA NAND SINGH
6 RAI BAHADUR DEONANDAN PRASAD SINGH
7 KUMAR RAMANAND SINGH
8 MR NALINI KUMAR SEN
9 KHAN BAHADUR SAIYID MUHAMMAD ISMAIL
10 MR. SAIYID NAQI IMAM (*Dy President*)
11 MR. SAIYID MOBARAK ALI
12 MR. JAMILUR RAHMAN
13 MR. ALAN CAMPBELL COMBE
14 MR. ABDUL AHAD MUHAMMAD NOOR
15 MR BALDEO SAHAY
16 MR BALRAM RAI
17 MR BANSI LAL
18 MR GAJINDRA NARAYAN SINGH
19 MR KAMALESHWARI MANDAL
20 MR. NAGESHWAR PRASHAD SINGH
21 MR PUNEYDEO SHARMA
22 MR. SAIYID MUHAMMAD HAFEEZ
23 RAI BAHADUR SATIS CHANDRA SINGHA
24 KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB SAIYID SHAH WAJID HUSSAIN
25 MR. TRIBENI PRASHAD SINGH
26 MR. GUR SAHAY LALL
27 MR. BISHUNLAL SINGH
28 MR. SAMUEL PURTI
29 MRS. MALCOLM SINHA

The Bihar Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

1 MR SARANGDHAR SINHA
2 ,, JAGAT NARAYN LAL
3 ,, VINDHEYSHVARI PRASHAD VARMA
4 ,, UPENDRANATH MUKHARJI
5 ,, JIMUT BAHAN SEN
6 ,, INDRA DEWAN SARAN SINGH
7 ,, SHAYAM NANDAN SINHA
8 PANDIT SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE
9 ,, SHYAM NARAYAN SINGH
10 ,, RAM PRASHAD
11 ,, BIRENDRA BAHADUR SINHA
12 ,, SUKHARI RAM MADHUBRAT
13 ,, ANUGRAH NARAYAN SINHA (*Minister*)
14 ,, JAMUNA PRASHAD SINHA
15 ,, BUNDI RAM
16 ,, JUGAL KISHORE NARAYAN SINHA
17 ,, HARGOBIND MISRA
18 PANDIT GUPTESHWAR PANDEY
19 MR. HARINANDAN SINGH
20 ,, BUDHAN RAI SARMA
21 MR. JAGJIVAN RAM
22 " HARIHAR SINHA
23 " BIRESH DUTTA SINHA
24 " DWARKANATA TIWARI
25 " NARAYAN PRASAD SINHA
26 " SHIVESHVAR PRASAD NARAYAN SINHA SHARMA
27 " PRABHUNATH SINHA
28 PANDIT GOVINDPATI TIWARI
29 " RAM BESAWAN RABIDAS
30 " GANESH PRASHAD
31 " GORAKH PRASHAD
32 " HARIVANS SAHAY
33 PANDIT BAIDYANATH MISRA
34 " VISHANATH SINGH
35 ,, BALGOBIND BHAGAT
36 ,, MAHESH PRASHAD SINHA

37 „ SHIVANANDAN RAM
38 „ BRIJNANDAN SAHI
39 „ RAMDAYALU SINHA (*Speaker*)
40 „ RAMESHWAR PRASHAD SINHA
41 „ DIP NARAYAN SINHA
42 THAKUR RAMNANDAN SINHA
43 MR. RAMASHIS THAKUR
44 „ RAJENDRA NARAYAN CHAUDHURI
45 MR. CHATURANAN DAS
46 „ JAMUNA KARJEE
47 „ SURYYANANDAN THAKUR
48 „ KESHVAR RAM
49 „ RAJESHVAR PRASHAD NARAYAN SINHA
50 „ RAMCHARAN SINHA
51 „ SUNDER MAHATO
52 „ SHRI KRISHNA SINHA (*Premier*)
53 DR. RAGHUNANDAN PRASHAD
54 MR. NIRAPADA MUKHARJI
55 „ RAMCHARITRA SINGH
56 „ BRAHMADEO NARAYAN SINGH
57 KUMAR KALIKA PRASHAD SINGH
58 PANDIT MEWALAL JHA
59 MR. SHIVADHARI SINGHA
60 „ HARI KISHORE PRASHAD
61 „ RAJENDRA MISRA
62 „ SHIVANANDAN PRASHAD MANDAL
63 MR. RAMBARAS DAS
64 „ RAMDIN TIWARI
65 „ KISHORI LAL KUNDU
66 „ DHEER NARAYAN CHAND
67 „ JUGLAL CHAUDHURI (*Minister*)
68 „ BINODANAND JHA
69 „ BUDDHINATH JHA
70 „ BHAGBAN CHANDRA DAS
71 „ CHARAN MURMU
72 „ BRIJLAL DOKANIA
73 „ DEBU MURMU
74 „ KRISHNA BALLABH SAHAY
75 „ HOPNA SANTAL
76 „ SUKHLAL SINGH
77 „ KARU DUSADH
78 „ DEOKI NANDAN PRASHAD
79 „ RAM BHAGAT
80 „ BARA LAL KANDARP NATH SHAH DEO.
81 „ BONIFACE LAKRA
82 „ PURNA CHANDRA MITRA
83 „ RAJKISHORE SINHA
84 „ JITU RAM
85 „ JADUBANS SAHAY
86 „ UPENDRA MOHAN DAS GUPTA
87 „ TIKA RAM MAJHI
88 KUMAR AJIT PRASHAD SINGH DEO
89 MR. GULU DHOPA
90 „ AMBIKA CHARAN MALIK
91 „ PRAMATHA BHATTASALI
92 „ DEVENDRA NATH SAMANTA
93 „ RASIKA HO
94 MR. SAIYID ABDUL AZIZ
95 „ HAFIZ ZAFAR HASAN
96 „ ABDUL JALIL
97 KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB ABDUL WAHAB KHAN
98 „ MR. S. MOHIUDDIN AHMAD
99 MR. MUHAMMAD YUNUS
100 MR. SHARFUDDIN HASAN
101 „ SAIJID NAJMUL HASAN
102 „ MUHAMMAD LATIFUR RAHMAN
103 CHAUDHURI SHARAFAT HUSAN
104 MR. NUR HASAN
105 „ MUHAMMAD QASIM
106 „ KHAN BAHADUR SAGHIRUL HAQQ
107 DR. SAIYID MAHMUD (*Minister*)
108 MR. MUHAMMAD ABDUL MAJEED
109 „ HAFIZ SHAIKH MUHAMMAD SANI
110 KHAN SAHIB MUHAMMAD YAKUB
111 MR BADRUL HASAN
112 MR. TAJAMUL HUSAIN
113 MR. MUHAMMAD SHAFI
114 „ AHMED GHAFOOR
115 „ SAYEEDUL HAQQ
116 „ MUHAMMAD SALIM
117 CHAUDHURI MAHAMMAD NAZIRUL HASAN
118 MR. SAIJID RAFIDDIN AHMAD RIZVI
119 „ MUHAMMAD MAHMUD
120 „ SAIYID MUHAMMAD MINNATULLAH
121 „ SHAIKH ZIAUR RAHMAN
122 „ ZAINUDDIN HOSAIN MEERZA
123 „ SHAIKH FAZLUR RAHMAN
124 „ MUHAMMAD ISLAMUDDIN
125 „ SHAIKH SHAFIQUL HAQQ
126 „ MUHAMMAD TAHIR
127 „ SAIJID ALI MANZAR
128 „ ABDUL BARI (*Dy. Speaker*)
129 „ ABDUL MAJID
130 „ SHAIKH RAMZAN ALI
131 SHEIKH MUHAMMAD HUSAIN
132 QAZI MUHAMMAD ILYAS
133 SRIMATI KAMAKHYA DEVI
134 SRIMATI SHARDA KUMARI DEBI
135 SRIMATI SARASWATI DEVI
136 LADY ANISE IMAM
137 MR. A. M. HAYMAN
138 MR. E. C. DANBY
139 MR. J. RICHMOND
140 „ IGNES BECK
141 „ CHAKRESHVAR KUMAR JAIN
142 „ W. H. MEYRICK
143 „ E A. PATERSON
144 „ MANINDRA NATH MUKHARJI
145 „ GANESH DUTTA SINGH
146 „ CHANDRERHVAR PRASHAD NARAYAN SINHA
147 „ SURYA MOHAN THAKUR

148 MAHARAJ KUMAR RAJ KISHORE NATH SHAH DEO
149 MR NATHA RAM
150 „ HARENDRA BAHADUR CHANDRA
151 „ KHETRA NATH SEN GUPTA
152 „ SACHIDANAND SINHA

Proceedings of the Assembly

Patna—22nd. & 23rd. July 1937

ELECTION OF SPEAKER & DY SPEAKER

Members of both houses of the Bihar Legislature under the new constitution were sworn in on the **22nd July 1937**. Mr *Sachidananda Sinha* occupying the Assembly Presidential chair and *Rai Bahadur Satish Chandra Sinha* that of the Council Congress Members wore tri-colours in buttonholes Visitors' galleries were packed to suffocation Babu *Rajendra Prasad* took his seat in the President's gallery amidst cheers by the Congress members of the Council and Assembly. After swearing in, both the houses adjourned.

23rd. AUGUST —The unopposed election of Mr *Ramdayalu Singh* and Mr. *Abdul Bari*, Congress nominees, as Speaker and Deputy Speaker respectively, was received with wild cheers and popular slogans by Congress members. The Speaker taking the chair, the Congress members sang "Vande Mataram"

The *Premier* offered hearty congratulations to the Speaker on his unopposed election and said they expected him to follow the example set by the late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel The *Speaker* replied suitably in Hindi thanking him for the felicitations and assured the House that he would always remain above party.

The House carried unanimously a resolution moved by a Congress member, which the Premier accepted, expressing sympathy with the victims in the Bihta train disaster and demanding a combined enquiry The House then adjourned *sine die*.

Budget Session—Patna—23rd. August to 27th. Sept. 1937

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1937-38

The Budget Session of the Assembly commenced on the **23rd. August 1937.** Presenting his first Budget the Finance Minister, Mr. *Anugrah Narayan Sinha* said that the estimates showed a surplus, but it was a surplus because "the requirements of the province had for many years been reduced below any conceivable minimum standard of expenditure, in order that the Budget may balance."

Revenue for 1937-38 was estimated at Rs. 4,95,00,000 This sum, together with a sum of Rs 11 lakhs representing the excess of the recovery of loans over the amount to be lent by the Provincial Government during the year, was available for expenditure charged to revenue

The Budget provided for expenditure charged to revenue of Rs. 503,34,000.

The Minister explained that the Budget was neither wholly nor substantially his He assumed office just a bare month ago and found that the Budget framed by his predecessor was already in proof. There was little time to prepare a new Budget altogether, for it had to be introduced and had to go through all the processes before the expiry of six months from the date of the inauguration of the new Constitution. Radical changes were therefore impossible. All that he had been able to do was to scrutinize rather rapidly the draft Budget that was available, introduce some small items here and there and out out some unnecessary items.

The new Budget would show that only Rs. 7,50,000 was available for new schemes (properly so-called), and this could practically only be expended on schemes prepared and investigated before the present Government came into office.

The Finance Minister explained these schemes at length, and said that to give effect to them, a large sum of money would be required and fresh taxation was inevitable. Taxation proposals were still under consideration but he indicated that two small Bills of taxation, which were prepared by the predecessors of the present Ministry, would be introduced in the present session. These Bills which sought to impose a duty on entertainments and to enhance rates of non-judicial stamps, were expected to bring in an additional revenue of Rs. 4 lakhs. The Ministry also propose to bring forward a resolution on the subject of taxation of agricultural income, and if the resolution was accepted by the House, to introduce a Bill on the same subject later on. According to rough calculations, the taxation of agricultural income on a progressive scale would yield between Rs. 30 to 40 lakhs per year.

Mr. Sinha referred to the Congress election manifesto and the constructive programme embodied in that document and he said.

"In that forefront of all problems which confront the country to-day is the problem of the appalling poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry, who form the mass of the Indian population.

"The Ministry is earnestly devoting itself to the formulation of schemes and the devising of ways and means to give the relief needed and in time these measures and schemes will be duly placed before this House for acceptance.

"But mere reform of tenancy laws and reduction of rents will not be enough to improve the economic position of the peasantry and to sweeten and brighten their life. The question of their indebtedness will have also to be tackled with a view to enabling them to start life afresh on as clean a slate as possible. This question is also engaging the attention of the Government and legislation to achieve this object may be placed before the House in the near future.

"All these, however, are but negative ways of dealing with the problem of the peasantry and while they are expected to give some relief for the time being they cannot remove their poverty or help to secure for them a better standard of living which they stand very urgently in need of. Positive measures to help them to get a better yield from their lands, qualitatively as well as quantitatively, and to get a better price for their produce are also needed

"These necessarily embrace a variety of measures including supply of cheap credit, both short-term and long term, according to the needs of the hour, supply of manure, arrangements for easy transportation and proper marketing".

The Finance Minister also indicated that special measures to deal with the recurrence of the annual floods in North Bihar were under examination, and that the question of overhauling the present Public Health Department and improving its method of work, as well as the question of providing better medical relief, were engaging the attention of the Ministry.

The Ministry were considering a thorough remodelling of the existing system of education and proposed to initiate experiments on the lines of Mr. Gandhi's proposition that education can be made self-supporting. The education of backward classes would receive the special attention of the Ministry.

Bihar Entertainments Bill

24th. AUGUST :—A comedy of errors occurred to-day when the Minister, the Hon'ble Mr *Anugraha Narayan Sinha*, moved the Bihar Entertainments Bill proposing to tax admission in places of public entertainment, to which Mr. *Chandreshvar Prasad Narayan Sinha*, Leader of the Coalition Party, moved an amendment for circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion.

The amendment being put to vote, Mr. *Anugraha Narayan Sinha* absent-mindedly cried "Aye", while the rest of the Party and some others cried "No", whereupon Mr. *C. P. N. Sinha* said that since the mover of the Bill had assented to his amendment, it must be accepted.

The impasse was ended by the *Speaker* ruling that only the Finance Minister was bound by his vote and not the Government or his party. Eventually, the Bill was referred to the Select Committee.

Leg. Officers' Salaries Bill

Earlier, the Assembly passed the Bihar Legislature (Officers' Salaries) Bill, fixing the salaries of the Speaker of the Assembly and President of the Council at Rs. 500 per mensem each and of the Deputy Speaker and Deputy President at Rs. 250 each. Originally the Bill provided that the President's salary shall be Rs. 400 and the

Deputy President's salary Rs. 200. The amendment proposing the above figures was accepted by the Premier, but pressed to a division and carried by 101 votes to 19.

MINISTERS' SALARIES BILL

The Ministers' Salaries Bill, fixing salaries at Rs. 500 per mensem each, was passed after the rejection of an amendment moved by Mr. S Ahmed (Chota Nagpur, Independent) reducing salaries to Rs. 300.

The Officers' Disqualification Removal Bill was passed with an additional provision for the Advocate-General, necessitated by the appointment of Mr *Baldeva Sahay*, Leader of the Congress Party in the Upper Chamber, to the post.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

26th. AUGUST :—General Discussion of the Budget commenced to-day. There was general support for the budget although the Finance Minister in his speech had pointed out that it was mainly prepared by Mr. *Yunus's* Ministry and that very few changes had been made in it.

Mr. *Yunus*, however, took a prominent part in the debate He said the budget had been prepared by his Ministry within a couple months of their taking office but the present Ministry took a month "to go rapidly through it." Referring to Mr. Sinha's budget speech, he said he could not accept the assertion of the Finance Minister that the Congress was the only organization representing the country's ideals and aspirations. Agreeing with the view that the country could not be satisfied until complete independence had been achieved, he could not fully endorse the Finance Minister's views regarding a constituent assembly nor the statement that the object of the Congress in accepting office was to seek to end the Constitution on the one hand and to utilize it for the constructive programme of the Congress on the other. The two objects, he thought, were irreconcilable.

Mr. *Deep Narain Sinha*, referring to conditions in North Bihar, said that the flood problem there was acute. The rivers in North Bihar should, he said, be utilized by means of the latest engineering devices to prevent floods. A development board or trust could be created for raising the necessary funds to launch a scheme to tackle the problems. The Government could also float a loan for the purpose.

Mr. *Harkishore Prashad* suggested that salaries should be taxed to a greater extent and the money thus obtained should be utilized on nation-building schemes. He also suggested the introduction of small industries in jails to make them self-supporting He supported taxation on agricultural income

Mr. *Kshetra Mohan Sen Gupta* urged the Government to float a big loan with a view to liquidating agricultural indebtedness

Mr. *Buddhi Nath Jha* said that total prohibition would reduce many in the Santal Parganas to a state of starvation as they lived for long periods mostly on toddy juice. There was no provision in the budget for the development of backward areas

27th AUGUST .—The Assembly listened attentively to speeches by *Sir Ganesh Dutta Singh* and Mr. *S. M Manzar*, Deputy Leader of the Coalition Party to-day. *Sir Ganesh* said that the present Ministry had not much time to prepare the Budget and hoped that the next one would be more satisfactory Referring to the political situation, he said that rowdyism was growing in the country and criminal cases between zemindars and tenants were increasing. If that was the outcome of the non-violent policy of Congress he found the future of the country very dark. Sir Ganesh said that the province was grateful for assurances given of relief in various directions but mere assurances were not enough. Unless Congress members and Ministers tried to inculcate co-operation and self-help among the people their task would be very difficult. He said that the Entertainments Bill and the proposed agricultural tax would not really enrich the province.

Mr. *S. M. Manzar*, referring to the proposed agricultural tax, said that the principle should be borne in mind that the tax should not fall on those who were unable to shoulder it. He suggested the appointment of a committee to go into the question of the financial condition of the province to find an equitable basis of taxation. Turning to education he said there was no indication from the Finance Minister as to when the proposal of free primary education was to be given effect to.

Mr. *Mahesh Prashad Sinha* said the Budget was on the whole disappointing though the Finance Minister was not responsible for it. The major portion of the revenues in Bihar was never spent in nation-building departments and he hoped that

the Finance Minister would gradually rectify this and devote the major portion of his revenue to constructive schemes.

Mr. *R. Thakur* referred to the malaria epidemic in certain areas of North-Bihar and said that the Public Health Department should change its policy and adopt measures.

Mr. *Binodanand Jha*, one of the Parliamentary Secretaries, said the present Ministry would cut down expenditure on all unnecessary items. The House then adjourned till the 30th.

30th. AUGUST :—The general discussion of the Budget concluded to-day The Finance Minister, Mr. *Anugrah Narayan Singh* speaking in Hindi assured the House that they would sympathetically consider all suggestions and try their best to redress their grievances. They would soon place their final schemes before the House as soon as they were ready. Repudiating the suggestion by certain Congress members for the abolition of zemindary, Mr. Sinha said that their present policy was based on general welfare. The House then adjourned.

DEMAND FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

31st. AUGUST :—Contrary to expectation the Assembly did not give its verdict to-day on the Constituent Assembly resolution moved by the *Premier*, the whole day being taken up by five speeches on the resolution The Premier in his speech dealt with the various provisions of the India Act which he said was "an entire negation of democracy." In moving the resolution he vivisected the new India Act exposing its hollowness from Judicial, executive and administrative aspects and pleading for the establishment of Constituent Assembly.

In a ninety-minute inspiring and rhetorical speech the Premier pointed out the defects in the Government of India Act which in actual working negatived any idea of responsible Self-Government which had been promised by different British statesmen since 1911 several times. He said that every page of the Government of India Act has bristles with safeguards and special responsibilities. He demanded that India should be given the same right and opportunity to decide her future as had been conceded to Dominions and other countries within the British Empire. Dealing with reservations he said that these militate against the very spirit of Self-Government especially when Governors and Governor-General have been given power to frame rules of business. He did not want that England should interfere in Indian affairs and that India should be governed according to the whims of the people of England and he demanded fullest legislative, administrative and judicial freedom He pointed out how the present constitution was retrogressive instead of being progressive as compared with previous constitution. He believed that England would treat them on equal terms fairly only when she had the chance of losing India and therefore it was necessary to create a situation in which she would have to negotiate with Indians as she did with rebel Canada and make her give an acceptable change (cheers). Referring to the criticisms levelled against Congress budget he said that he could present a budget only if he could tear the Government of India Act to pieces These demands might appear unreasonable to some but to honest Englishmen it will not appear so. The Premier concluded amidst loud cheering with the declaration that he did not want and would never tolerate any foreigner interfering with the affairs of his country. Discussion on the resolution were inconclusive and the House rose for the day.

1st. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly passed another day to-day, debating the Constituent Assembly resolution without coming to a decision. Moslem members assured the Congress of their full support in the fight for freedom but pleaded for safeguarding the minority rights, for which amendments were moved. *Sir Ganesh Dutta Singh*, former Minister, said that freedom could not be won unless Moslems joined the struggle. Minority fears were justified and their claims had to be satisfied. Mr. *M. N. Mukherjee* (Indian Mining Federation) said that for implementing any agreement thay had to depend on the good-will of the majority. Hence he appealed to the movers to withdraw their amendments and pass the resolution whole heartedly. Mr. *Devendra Samant* (Chotanagpur, Aborigines) also appealed for the withdrawal of the amendments, saying that they must have faith in the majority. Mr. *Shamnandan Singh* (Congress) said that the propertied classes had nothing to fear from a Constituent Assembly if they conceded the just demands of the masses who were at present exploited. The House at this stage adjourned.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

2nd. SEPTEMBER :—The members who could speak English should address the House in that language, this was the ruling given by the *Speaker* to-day when a member, who till then had been speaking in English, began to speak in Urdu on a non-official resolution before the House The Speaker pointed out that under the existing rules in the Government of India Act, English should be the language of the House unless the member did not know that language.

The *Premier*, appealing to the Chair to exercise his discretion and to adopt a more liberal attitude on the question, said that the rule which enforced English as the language of the House was the hall-mark of India's subjection.

The *Speaker* agreeing with the sentiments of the Premier, said that the rule needed modification, but so long as that rule existed, the Chair was bound by it.

Out of 501 non-official resolutions before the House for discussion in the course of three days, the House to-day discussed and adopted two, of which one urged the discouragement of rice-milling and oil-pressing by mechanical power with the object of giving an impetus to cottage industries in rural areas while the other recommended the appointment of a committee to enquire into the present administration in Santhal Parganas (backward areas) and report on the changes necessary.

3rd SEPTEMBER —The Assembly passed to-day two resolutions, one recommending the appointment of a Committee to investigate the conditions of Industrial Labour in the Province and to report on them within six months and the other recommending the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive

Another resolution, recommending the establishment of a Land Mortgage Bank in the Province without further delay, was withdrawn, the Government giving an assurance that they would examine the question carefully and establish such a bank at the earliest possible time.

4th. SEPTEMBER .—The Assembly rose to day, after recording the first division of the session on a non-official resolution recommending the establishment of a Degree College at Ranchi, which was defeated by 71 to 26 votes after a heated discussion.

Earlier, all sides of the House were agitated when a Congress member, against whose name stood a resolution recommending to the Government to take early steps to introduce free primary compulsory education announced that he did not desire to move the same

The Parliamentary Secretary in charge of Education announced that the principle had been accepted by the Government for a long time and the Government were considering how best to give effect to it and had not come to a decision on the matter and as no decision had been reached yet the Government were unable to make a pronouncement at this stage

Khan Bahadur *Saghirul Huq* moved a resolution recommending the establishment of a land mortgage bank in the province without further delay Mr *Jagjiwanram*, Parliamentary Secretary, gave an assurance on behalf of the Government that they would try their best to establish such a bank The mover withdrew the resolution. The Government accepted the resolution recommending that the cost of administration of the Mica Act be recovered from those whom the Act benefitted The House at this stage adjourned till the 6th

DEMAND FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (CONTD)

6th SEPTEMBER —The fate of the Constituent Assembly resolution was undecided even to day. Though it was the third day of the debate, Mr *C P N. Sinha* moved an amendment with the permission of the Treasury Benches and other Parties seeking fair representation in the Constituent Assembly for minorities and backward interests. He said that he agreed with the central idea in the resolution It was now for the Congress to extend the hand of co-operation.

Mr. *C P. Sinha*'s amendment and speech on it were in the nature of a gesture to the Congress. He agreed with the Premier that the Constitution was wholly unsatisfactory, also that there was no question of giving a chance to it and it should be repealed immediately. But in a body, which would meet to decide the fate of the nation every shade of opinion and interest must be presented. Hence his amendment. How, he asked, in the face of the anti-zemindar demonstrations inside and outside the House could they feel that their interests were safe in the Ministry's

hands? He reminded the Congress that in the new offensive still to come, if they wanted to succeed all should be united. They did not want absolute freedom for landlords, but they insisted on their essential rights being preserved. He appealed to the Congress to create such a situation in which all the special interests would automatically join hands with the Congress.

Mr. *M. Yunus*, former Premier, said this amendment fell short of his amendment. Condemning the India Act was condemning the Communal Award as well. What they wanted was freedom for all.

Mr. *Jagat Narain Lal*, Parliamentary Secretary, admitted the existence of the minority problem which demanded a solution. But, he thought, the present moment was inopportune for stressing these claims. He added that mutual goodwill was the best guarantee for communal and minority rights. As for the economic rights of certain classes, he said that no democratic constitution contained special mention of such classes.

7th. SEPTEMBER:—Eleventh hour negotiations held during the lunch recess enabled the Congress and the Muslim Independent Party to arrive at a compromise on the Constituent Assembly resolution which, in its amended form, was unanimously carried to-day.

As a result of the compromise, an amendment, which the Speaker admitted as an exceptional case though notice was short, was moved by Mr. *Rizvi* (Muslim Independent) for adding at the end of the resolution that in order to give the utmost satisfaction to the minority communities, their representation on the Constituent Assembly would be on a separate electorate basis, their rights and interests being settled by mutual consent in the Constituent Assembly itself

The amendment was accepted by the Government. Messrs. *Yunus* and *Manzar* then withdrew their amendments. Mr. Chandreshwar Prasad Sinha's amendment was rejected without a division.

Winding up the debate, the Hon. Mr. *Sri Krishna Sinha*, the Premier, traced the history and theories of the State and said that it was now universally accepted that the function of Government was to assure every citizen his elementary rights, bread, clothes and shelter. No individual or group but the people were sovereign. Side by side with this idea had developed the institution of adult franchise. The demand for a Constituent Assembly was the result of a combination of these two. He reminded the House that such an Assembly would not be an All-Party Convention but a body in which the voice of the masses would predominate.

Turning to the landlords, the Premier asked them not to get panicky but to justify their existence by their conduct The Government would protect the tenants and the landlords, especially the small landlords. The economic classes held together so long as the harmony and the interests of society were maintained but when it went out of joint, no power on earth could save the disturbing class.

Turning to Muslim members, the Premier asked them to allow him a certain frankness now that he had accepted their amendment Referring to the rejection of the Govt. of India Act by the Congress, he said that the Congress had always made it clear that no communal solution would be acceptable to the minorities. He added that they had always held that separate electorates were bad as they strengthened the centrifugal forces and democracy could not be maintained in a country in which appeals were made to communal sentiments.

The Premier said that he knew well that the Constituent Assembly could not be convened merely by passing resolutions. For that they had to rouse mass consciousness. He concluded by expressing the hope that within their life-time, the Assembly would come and a Constitution would come and be framed by which every Indian would be made freer and happier.

Taxing of Agricultural Income

After the disposal of the Constituent Assembly resolution, the House entered into a discussion on a controversial official resolution, approving of the principle of agricultural income-tax and recommending to the Government to introduce a bill for the purpose, the first shot being fired to-day by Sir *Ganesh Dutta Singh* who said the previous sanction of the Governor-General was necessary as the resolution affected Pitt's India Act of 1784 authorising the Governor-General to introduce the Permanent Settlement and the promulgation in 1793 by Lord Cornwallis of the Ordinance introducing the same.

The *Premier* said that this was only a recommendary resolution and hence the Governor-General's sanction was not necessary.

OFFICIAL BILLS

8th. SEPTEMBER:—The Assembly to-day passed two official Bills, the *Bihar Entertainments Duty Bill* providing for graded duties on entertainment charges above annas two and exempting educational entertainments, and the *Famine Relief Fund Expenditure Bill* making the expenditure incurred to maintain the capital of the Famine Relief Fund chargeable to the revenue

The *Stamp Act Amendment Bill* providing for increased stamp duties on certain documents was referred to a Select Committee after an amendment moved by Mr. *C. P. N. Sinha*, Leader of the Opposition, for circulation had been rejected by 94 to 36 votes.

The *Speaker* overruling Sir Ganesh Dutt Singh's objection, the House began discussion on the agricultural income-tax resolution. The Leader of the Opposition moved an amendment suggesting the appointment of a committee to report on the principle and practicability of the proposed taxation. The House then adjourned.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

9th. SEPTEMBER —The voting on the demands for grants commenced to-day. The House discussed to-day the unemployment problem raised through a motion for a cut in Ministers' salaries by Sir *Ganesh Dutt Singh*. Mr. *Krishna Ballabh Shahay*, on behalf of the Government, assured the House that the Government realised the gravity of the problem and would consider all the suggestions offered during the debate. The motion was withdrawn.

In the course of discussion on the salaries and travelling allowances of the Minister, initiated by Sir *Ganesh Dutta Singh* by way of a cut motion, the Premier said that the Ministry's policy was that the Ministers must not travel in higher than second class in the trains and they should not accept a mileage allowance of more than four annas and allowances of more than Rs. 15 per diem

10th. SEPTEMBER —The whole demand under the head "general administration" was voted to-day, four cut motions being withdrawn after discussion. The question of rural indebtedness was raised by *Sir Ganesh Datta Singh* through a token cut in the Ministers' salaries. Mr. *Jagatnarain Lal*, on behalf of the Government, assured the House that the Government were considering the establishment of debt conciliation boards and checking illegal practices among money-lenders. The Government were also considering the Establishment of Land Mortgage Banks The motion was withdrawn. The Bettiah Estate at present under the Court of Wards, formed the subject of three other cut motions On Government assurance they were withdrawn, and the Assembly adjourned till the 13th.

13th SEPTEMBER.—So long as he held office his Government would not tolerate lawlessness in any form, declared Mr. *Srikrishna Sinha*, the Premier, when Mr. *Mahiuddin Ahmed* brought forward an adjournment motion to-day to discuss recent disturbance in Sitamarhi when a clash occurred between the police and a large mob of Musahars who besieged the local jail in an attempt to rescue some of the prisoners. Mr. Ahmed said that he wanted to bring to the notice of the Government the feeling growing in the locality that under the present regime authority could be flouted with impunity, which would result in dangerous consequence.

After discussion whether the motion could be allowed on the ground of urgency, it was withdrawn on the Premier assuring that an official inquiry was already proceeding and denying the contention of increasing lawlessness in that locality.

Mr. *Sachidananda Sinha* raised a point of order whether parliamentary secretaries were entitled to reply to questions on behalf of the Government and partake in the discussions. He stated that the practice was unconstitutional and improper.

The *Premier* said that parliamentary secretaries were appointed to assist Ministers in their work and should be entitled to speak on their behalf. After discussion the Speaker said that he would give his ruling later.

The House voted the entire demand under "land revenue." The demand under "excise" was under consideration when the House adjourned.

14th. SEPTEMBER :—The House discussed the excise grants to-day. Dr. *Syed Mahmud*, Minister, stated that prohibition was not impracticable in India. Addressing the Opposition benches Dr. Mahmud said that many of them represented the wealthier sections of the people, and if they co-operated the deficit in revenue for introducing prohibition could be accomplished immediately. He was, however, hopeful that the goal would be achieved within a short time. The cut motion was withdrawn and the demand passed.

The demand under stamps was also passed, and the House adjourned while the "forest" grants were under discussion.

15th. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly passsed the entire demand for grants under the heads "forests" and "registration". The demand under "irrigation" was under consideration when the House adjourned.

16th. SEPTEMBER .—During a discussion on the Irrigation demand, several members, including some from the Congress Party, drew attention to corruption in the Department and urged a reduction in canal rates. Members from Chota Nagpur urged better irrigation facilities for their area.

17th. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly after two day's discussion passed the budget demand under irrigation to-day. Replying to criticisms on the working of the department, Mr. *Jimutbahan Sen* said that certain changes had been introduced in the administration of the department, especially lower services, which were expected to go a long way towards preventing corruption. Speaking on the suggestion for the reduction of canal rates, Mr Sen said that as the canals served only a few districts, the step would not be justified Besides, the incidence of canal rates in proportion to the value of crops were lower in this province compared to others. The grievances of cultivators, however, would be given due consideration, and the earliest opportunity would be taken for introducing a minor Irrigation Works Bill.

The demand under administration of justice for which Rs. 23,60,660 had been allotted, was then taken up Sir *Ganesh Datta Singh* moved a cut motion to discuss the system of administration of justice which he characterised as dilatory and expensive. He suggested encouraging the appointment of more honorary officers on the civil side. *Thakur Ramanandan Singh* said that the system of appointing honorary magistrates was most unsatisfactory and should be abolished, and opposed the idea of appointing honorary munsiffs

Mr. *Jamuna Prasad Singh* defended the system of administration of justice prevailing in India. The system, he said, was the best possible for India, although there was room for improvement. The discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned till the 20th.

20th. SEPTEMBER :—"I want that the police should be respected and loved by the public. I have forgotten the past and now, as Prime Minister, I hold myself responsible for the honour and prestige of the police," declared Mr *Srikrishna Sinha* speaking on a cut motion moved by a Congress member to discuss the abolition of the Chaukidari tax and alleged corruption in the police department. Mr. Sinha assured the House that the Government would do their best to stamp out corruption. He appealed to the public to change its mentality and look to the police as agents maintaining peace and order. Referring to *Chaukidars*, the Premier said they could not be abolished so long as they served as a link between the villages and the nearest police station.

The debate had not concluded when the House rose for the day.

21st. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly passed the remaining demands for budget grants to-day, the guillotine being applied at 5 p.m. The House first discussed the police grant. During the debate speakers laid stress on the need for economy and urged specially the reduction in the Special Branch of the C. I. D. and the posts of sergeants.

The question of primary education, rural and municipal, was raised by two cut motions. Dr. *Syed Mahmud*, Education Minister, replying, said that greater attention must be paid to primary education than to university education. He assured that the Government were considering all issues raised. As for primary education, he said, it formed the main plank of the Congress programme.

TAXING OF AGRICULTURAL INCOMES (CONTD.)

22nd. SEPTEMBER —The Assembly discussed the resolution to-day proposing taxation of agricultural incomes. The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned till the next day when many members spoke on the resolution Mr *S A. Aziz* warned the Government not to create a situation which was likely to lead to class war, while Sir *G. D. Singh* demanded justice for the zemindars. After the Advocate-General had spoken, the House adjourned.

24th. SEPTEMBER —The Assembly, after prolonged discussion to-day, passed the agricultural income-tax resolution by 96 votes to 27.

An amendment, moved by Mr. *C P. N Sinha*, Leader of the Opposition, demanding a committee to report on the principle and practicability of the proposed tax, was rejected without a division.

Widding up the debate, the Prime Minister, the Hon Mr *Sri Krishna Sinha*, said that the proposed tax was legal as a similar tax was levied between 1850 and 1878 It was necessary in the interests of removing the prevailing inequality as the bulk of taxation in India was contributed by the poor.

There was a tense moment when the Prime Minister, in the course of his speech, said that even conservative England was working on the principle of Socialism and that the future rested with Socialism.

The Leader of the Opposition asked, "Why not adopt it here straight ?"

The Premier replied that he was convinced that social ills would not be eradicated without Socialism, but he was a believer in non-violence

BIHAR TENANCY AMEND BILL

25th. SEPTEMBER —The hon. Mr *Sri Krishna Sinha*, the Prime Minister of Bihar, introduced and moved for reference to a Select Committee to-day the Bihar Tenancy Amendment Bill. The Premier emphasised the increase in rents and the sufferings of the tenants due to illegal exactions and the failure of land-lords to carry out their obligations regarding irrigation, etc. He said that the Bill sought to give legislative sanction to the demands widely clamoured for He added that people should be grateful to the Kisan Sabha for awakening the tenant to his rights and he appealed to the landlord to rise to the occasion and save the zemindari system.

Sir *Ganesh Datta Singh* moved an amendment for the circulation of the Bill to elicit public opinion. He admitted that they should look to the welfare of the tenants but the Bill proposed drastic changes and it should be circulated

The *Advocate-General* said that the Bill did not contain new or dangerous provisions It was based on old and reorganised principles and sought to provide a speedy machinery to put those principles into practice He added that there was no need for circulation as the present House represented public opinion.

Mr. *C. P. N. Singh*, the Leader of the Opposition, said they were tired of hearing accusations against zemindars He agreed that the tenants' right had to be protected but the realisation of rents must also be assured to the zemindar

The House adjourned till the 27th when Sir *Ganesh Dutta Singh's* amendment for circulation was lost and the *Premier's* motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee was carried without division.

27th. SEPTEMBER :—His Excellency Sir *Maurice Hallett*, Governor of Bihar, addressed the Assembly this afternoon and prorogued the budget session of the House. After congratulating the members on a successful session, His Excellency said .

"Apart from the budget, the Ministry has introduced important legislation and, I must add, controversial legislation. It has been suggested in certain quarters that this legislation, if and when it becomes law, should be opposed by unconstitutional methods. I trust that this suggestion has not general support. I feel that even the short experience which we have had of the working of the new Constitution during the present session goes to show that all minorities have a full opportunity of putting forward their views and you, Sir, have given every opportunity to the Opposition to take full part in all important debates. It must be recognised that in all parliamentary constitutions, the Opposition plays as important a part as the Government and it is very satisfactory to me to see clear signs that parliamentary procedure has been developing here on right lines and that there have been healthy

discussions between the Government and the Opposition on controversial points at issue.

"I have held charge of my office as Governor for some six months. I must confess that at times during that period I have felt pessimistic as to the future, but I have always been buoyed up by the knowledge that all of you, to whatever political party you may belong, have a common object, the betterment of the people of Bihar. That, too, is my object. The progress may be slow and, while dealing with the many difficult problems before us, we must not look for immediate and spectacular results. During the past six months, much useful spadework has been done and I must take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the work done by the four gentlemen who joined my first Council of Ministers in this Province.

"My Prime Minister and his colleagues have had a very strenuous time during the last two months when they have had parliamentary duties to perform in addition to their administrative work. But I know that I shall have the support of the Assembly when I say that they have discharged their duties with credit and success. They have received valuable assistance from those members of this House who have been selected as Parliamentary Secretaries and I feel sure that they themselves will be the first to admit the help that they have received from the officers of the Secretariat and the various Civil Services. We all—Ministers, members of this House whether of the Government party or the Opposition, Civil Servants of all the Services—are co-operating in the great work of improving the condition of the people of Bihar and I am confident that we shall achieve success and that, God's blessing will be on this great work";

The House was then prorogued.

Winter Session—Patna—1st. to 23rd. December 1937

Stamps Act Amend. Bill

The winter session of the Assembly commenced at Patna on the **1st. December.** The House discussed the Stamps Act Amendment Bill which aimed at increasing the revenue from stamp duties by approximately Rs 3 and a half lakhs a year

Mr. *Anugraha Narayan Sinha,* Finance Minister, moving consideration of the Bill said that minor changes had been made by the Select Committee to which it had been referred, by reducing the rates at some places and increasing them at others.

An amendment by Mr. *M. A Majid* was rejected *Sir G D Singh* said the Bill did not fit in with the policy of the Government who wanted to relieve the lot of the poor, as the Bill would affect them also adversely Mr. *Jagatnarain Lal,* Parliamentary Secretary for Finance and Commerce, said the Government were equally anxious that no fresh taxation measure should touch the poor in their effort to tap additional sources of revenue That was why the incidence of stamp duty would fall mainly on those who could afford to enter into large-scale transactions. Cases where the measure touched the poorer class of people were fixed at the very minimum.

The Bill was passed and the House adjourned.

Sugar Factories Control Bill

2nd. DECEMBER —In the Assembly to-day, moving the Bihar Sugar Factories Control Bill for reference to a Select Committee, Dr. *S. Mahmud,* Education and Development Minister, explained the problems facing the sugar industry and the provisions embodied in the Bill for tackling them. Dr. Mahmud traced the growth of the sugar industry and said that the Bill had been drafted in consultation with the U. P. Government as Bihar and U. P. comprise the largest sugarcane growing tract in India and the problems were similar to both the provinces. The most important problem was the unhealthy competition between factories resulting in precipitate fall in the price of sugar, which did not repay the cost of cane cultivation. As long as cultivation did not improve the industry would depend on protection. Dr. Mahmud wanted the Tariff Board and the Government of India to safeguard the industry by maintaining the present level of protection especially in view of the fact that Java would be intensifying her export in the near future. The ratification by the Government of India of the International Sugar Agreement, he said, was ill-advised and detrimental to India's economic interests,

Proceeding, he said the Bill covered a wide ground providing for Government control from preparation and planting of cane to the finished product and distribution The primary concern was fair treatment of growers by factories. The Bill provided licensing of factories, regulating the supply of sugarcane intended for use in such factories and the price at which cane might be purchased and matters relating thereto. Thus the main principles of the Bill were regulated production and avoidance of overproduction of cane for use in factories and concentration of supply from areas near the factories, certainly of disposal of growers' cane, the principle of direct purchase, namely, exclusion of middle-men and lastly co-operative organisation among growers. A slight tax would also be imposed which would raise the cost of cane to the factory but would eventually benefit the industry when improved methods of cultivation were adopted by growers.

During the general discussion on the Bill that followed, Mr. *E C. Danby* (Patna-Tirhut-cum-Bhagalpur European constituency) said the Bill would benefit a minor group of sugar-growers at the expense of the majority. The provision for reserved areas was, he said, vague and nothing was said about personnel or how the Sugar Control or Advisory Board would be constituted. Besides, if an expansion of the present factories or an increase in their number was to be controlled he asked how that would benefit cultivation. *Sir Ganesh Datta Singh* thought that the less Government interfered with the industry the better it would be. A large increase in the number of inspecting officers, he thought, would prevent smooth working of the factories He criticised the provision for taxation as being unfair to the factories Mr. *Dipnarain Singh*, supporting the Bill, said that Government protection could not go on indefinitely The growers must stand on their own legs He wanted the growers' organization to be conducted on a co-operative basis.

3rd. DECEMBER —The Assembly discussed and referred to a Select Committee to-day the Bihar Sugar Factories Control Bill The Committee was requested to submit its report by December 7. The House then adjourned till the 10th.

There were no questions on the order paper and the debate on the Bill was resumed by Mr. *Tajamul Hussain* who criticized the provision for the imposition of a cess on sugarcane He was of the opinion that if the local Government had agitated they could have obtained the required amount from the Government of India and avoided thereby new taxation on sugarcane He was also opposed to the provision compelling mills to join a sugar syndicate The Bill appeared to him to have been conceived on a high plane of idealism and he doubted whether it would be workable in actual practice Mr *Jamuna Karjee* (Congress) questioned the statement of the Education and Development Minister that cane-growers in the mill areas had benefited considerably with the progress of the industry and quoted figures to show that instead of the cultivators, it was the factories that had benefited. Even with the present Bill, cultivators would not gain much. He did not favour the zoning system. He added that evidence before the Tariff Board had been over-whelmingly against the system. Mr *W H. Meyrick* (Bihar Planters' Association) considered it improper for the Government to interfere in the purchase of sugarcane by factories. The option of disposing of cane either direct or through co-operative societies should, he thought, be left to the growers.

Dr *Syed Mahmud*, replying to the debate, said that there was no justification for the complaint that the Goverment was in great hurry to pass the measure. The Bill had been envoled after long consultation and conferences with the various interests concerned. As regards the proposed tax on sugarcane, he said, it would be imposed on factories. Due to the hopelessly inadequate allotment made to the province by the Government of India from the Sugar Excise Fund this taxation had become necessary. The proposed Sugar Control Board, he explained, would consist of 15 members of whom four each would represent the Sugar Association and growers . two would be ministers, two secretaries, two persons would be nominated by the United Provinces Government and one by the local Government.

SCHEDULE OF EXPENDITURE FOR 1937-38

10th. DECEMBER .—The *Finance Minister* laid on the table to-day a schedule of expenditure for 1937-38, and presented a Supplementary Statement showing the

estimated amount of expenditure which it was anticipated will be incurred during the financial year 1937-38 over and above the provision in the schedule of the authorised expenditure.

"I take this opportunity of informing the House" he said, "that our opening ordinary balance on April 1 was about Rs. 3 and one fourth lakhs more than I estimated, and the revenue returns to date indicate that if the revenue comes in as now anticipated during the remaining four months of this year, the revenue may be approximately Rs. 5 lakhs more than I estimated when presenting the Budget estimates. As regards expenditure some reduction may be anticipated as a result of retrenchments which are being investigated but otherwise there is likely to be little variation from the Budget estimates.

SUGAR FACTORIES CONTROL BILL (CONTD.)

11th. & 12th DECEMBER.—The consideration of the Sugar Factories Control Bill was resumed on the 11th. and on the next day, the Opposition amendment aiming at the deletion of the provision in the Bill, for a zoning system for the supply of sugarcane to factories was lost by 85 to 23 votes.

Mr. *Chandreswar Prasad Narain Sinha*, leader of the Opposition, said that zoning would not put a check on overproduction which was the worst menace to the industry and which last year caused grave hardships to the cultivators due to the difficulty in disposing of surplus cane When zoning was introduced, suppliers would not have any freedom in dealing with their cane. Agricultural experts did not hold the view that zoning was the only means in improving cultivation. He suggested that a simpler method than zoning would be to compel factories to have a large percentage of their requirements through "bonding" i.e., purchase of specified quantities of cane from the cultivators. Zoning was not a very effective remedy against bribery. He disputed the claim made by the Minister in charge that the zoning clause was the life and soul of the Bill.

Replying, *Dr. Mahmud*, Minister for Education and Development, maintained that the zoning proposed in the Bill would control overproduction and prove to be beneficial to the grower. He cited the case of Java where he said there were "economic areas" very much similar to the system proposed. By zoning the present element of uncertainty among the growers would be removed as they would be sure of every stick of their cane being purchased in the reserved area served by a particular factory. He assured them that the Government would make efforts to organise a net-work of cane-growers' co-operative societies through which the factories would have to buy their cane.

13th. DECEMBER.—The Assembly to-day passed the Sugar Factories Control Bill. An amendment moved by Mr *Mahomed Shafi* regarding deductions in the amounts advanced by the factories, was rejected by 54 to 32 votes while two amendments, moved by the hon. Dr. *Syed Mahmud*, Development Minister, with a view to protecting the grower in the matter of the minimum price of sugarcane, were accepted.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS VOTED

14th. DECEMBER.—The House took up the voting of grants for supplementary demands to-day. One of the demands was for making up the deficiency in the Reserve Bank of Rs. 3,12,187 caused by defalcation in the Motihari Treasury. All the demands were voted.

In order to make good the deficiency to the Reserve Bank under the terms of the Government's agreement with them, caused by the recent alleged defalcation of the sum of Rs 3,12,187 from the currency chest of the Motihari treasury, a supplementary demand for an equal amount was contained in the statement of expenditure from revenue for 1937-38 presented by the *Finance Minister* for the vote of the Assembly The Provincial Government, it was pointed out, had accepted the responsibility at that time for the whole amount shown in the currency chest register and that amount is now short. In addition, it was stated, a considerable amount of counterfeit coin, the exact amount of which has not yet been ascertained, had been substituted for good coin and also a sum of Rs. 21-13-11 has been defalcated from the treasury balance. A further demand in respect of the counterfeit coin may subsequently be necessary.

The statement presented by the Finance Minister said :—"It is not yet certain when the defalcation began, but a detailed enquiry is being made by the police and a detailed departmental enquiry to place the responsibility for negligence will be made as soon as the police enquiry is ended.

"The notes and coin in the currency chest previously were the property of the Government of India but since April 1, 1935 they have been the property of the Reserve Bank of India. Up to March 31, 1937 the Government of India were responsible to the Reserve Bank of India for any loss from the currency chest though they could require the local Government to reimburse to them any loss caused by the negligence of the local officers. Since April 1, 1937 the responsibility for the safe custody of the currency chest rests on the provincial Government who are responsible to the Reserve Bank for the safe custody of the currency chest.

"When responsibility for the safe custody of the currency chest was transferred on April 1, 1937 from the Government of India to the provincial Government a special detailed verification of the currency chest was undertaken on March 31, 1937. As the result of this verification all was reported to be in order at Motihari. There is, however, some reason to think that this counting was not correctly carried out and even at that time there was large deficiency in the currency chest and the matter is being fully investigated.

TENANCY ACT AMEND. BILL

15th DECEMBER —The Assembly took up to-day the consideration of the Bihar Tenancy Act Amendment Bill as reported by the Select committee. Mr. *C P. N Sinha*, leader of the Opposition, moved an amendment to the clause in the Bill relating to occupancy holdings to the effect that a collector should have the power to award costs to any party in any proceedings under this section and any sum ordered to be paid as costs should be recoverable from the party by whom it is payable to the collector.

The clause in question states that when an occupancy holding has been the subject of partition by an order of a court its division should be binding on the landlord If the rent of a holding is distributed by agreement between the parties to a partition and the landlord does not accept the distribution, the landlord or any of the parties involved may make an application to the collector to distribute the rent of the holding. The same application should be made if the parties are unable to reach an agreement.

The section of the existing Act to which the above provisions have been recommended to be added by the select committee states that an occupancy ryot shall not be elected by his landlord from his holding except in execution of a decree of ejectment passed on the ground either that he has used the land in a manner which has rendered it unfit for the purpose of tenancy or that he has committed a breach of the Act

Mr. Sinha's amendment was accepted by the Government and passed by the House. The House then adjourned.

16th. DECEMBER —As the result of a settlement between the representatives of Zemindars and the Congress, the Bill was having an easy passage in the Assembly. The House disposed of ten clauses of the Bill, several of the Opposition amendments being either not moved or accepted by the Government without much discussion.

17th DECEMBER .—A precedent was created to-day when the Assembly adjourned at four in the afternoon to have its first night sitting at 6 in the evening again The hon. Mr. *Sri Krishna Sinha*, Premier and Leader of the House, pointed out that it was desirable to get the Bill passed into law at the earliest moment in the interests of the tenants.

During the discussion of one of the clauses, the Prime Minister indicated that the Government would bring a supplementary Bill soon, incorporating several other relief measures for the peasantry which were not covered by the present Bill.

The Bill, which raised an agitation all over the Province at the time of its introduction, had an easy passage in the House due to the agreement reached between the Congress and representatives of zamindars.

During the third reading of the Bill, the Prime Minister, the hon. Mr. *Sri Krishna Sinha*, replying to criticisms of the measure raised during the discussion,

pointed out the Government's objective in bringing forward and expediting this legislation. Since assuming power, the present Government had intended to carry out various ameliorative measures, especially affecting the masses, but they could not be done as speedily as they desired. One of the reasons was that the atmosphere was not conducive to the carrying out of such measures. There were various conflicting forces in evidence. He would like a better atmosphere than now to be created in the province and a better adjustment on the conflicting forces at work. The relations between zamindars and the peasantry especially needed improvement.

Mr. *Chandreswar Prasad Narayan Sinha*, Leader of the Opposition, on behalf of the zamindars, pointed out various disadvantages which would accrue to the zamindars. The zamindars always cared for the tenants and their present atttitude regarding the Bill was evidence of the same. It should not be understood that the zamindars co-operated with the Government in a spirit of submission or fear of the Government, they only had the welfare of the tenantry at heart. The zamindary system, like any other institution, had its defects. Even the present Government were not free from imperfections. Nevertheless zamindars would continue to extend co-operation to the Government in such measures since the objective of the Congress and the rest of the country was the same, namely, political emancipation, although their methods of achieving it might differ.

The Money-Lenders' Bill

20th. DECEMBER :—The Assembly to-day discussed the Money-lenders' Bill, moved by the *Finance Minister* for being referred to a joint committee of both the Houses. The Bill aims at giving relief to debtors, to prevent exaction of usurious rates of interest, and to regulate the business of money-lending. Discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned.

21st. DECEMBER :—After a whole day's discussion, the Bill was referred to a joint committee of both the Houses.

Agricultural Income-Tax Bill

The Finance Minister, the hon. Mr. *Anugraha Narain Sinha*, next introduced the Agricultural Income-tax Bill and moved for reference to a joint committee Explaining the object of the legislation, the Finance Minister said that the provincial revenues were so small that the Government had no alternative but to utilise this additional source of revenue which had been given to them

The Bill aims at obtaining additional revenue by taxing agricultural income, the exemption limit be fixed at Rs. 5,000. The tax on amounts above Rs 5,000 and below Rs. 30,000 is proposed to be fixed at the same rates as those fixed in the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922.

22nd. DECEMBER :—The opposition to the measure was spirited. Several members, including Mr. *C. P. N. Sinha*, Leader of the Opposition, maintained that the motion was not in order since it would infringe the character of the Permanent Settlement and hence, under the Government of India Act, the sanction of H. E. the Governor and H. E. the Governor-General was necessary before its discussion.

Mr. *Baldev Sahay*, Advocate-General, replying to the arguments advanced by the Opposition, repudiated the contention that the motion was *ultra vires* or that the Bill would alter the character of the Permanent Settlement. He held that the measure was not repugnant to the provisions of the Government of India Act and did not require the previous sanction of the Governor or the Governor-General.

The *Speaker* ruled that the motion was in order. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee.

Brett Circular—Premier's Statement

23rd DECEMBER :—In the Assembly to-day the Prime Minister, the hon. Mr. *Sri Krishna Sinha* made a statement in connection with the circular purported to have been issued recently by Mr. W. B. Brett, Chief Secretary, containing instructions to District Officers regarding the procedure to be followed when orders from Ministers, or purporting to be from Ministers, were received by them.

The circular, it was stated, advised the officers that orders from Ministers could be authentic only when they were duly signed by one of the Permanent Secretaries,

Subsequently, an adjournment motion was sought to be moved in the Assembly on the ground that the matter raised an important constitutional issue, but the Prime Minister assured the House that the matter was being enquired into and the Government would make a statement later.

The Prime Minister, in the statement to-day, said that Mr. Brett had since explained that the circular was in his private capacity and that he deeply regretted that it should have caused embarassment to the Ministry. The Council of Ministers had accepted Mr. Brett's explanation and was taking steps to circularise orders to the District Officers, stating that the note sent out by Mr. Brett merely represented his private advice. It was not an order of the Provincial Government and hence was withdrawn. The Ministry had further passed orders stating that no Secretary should issue a letter attempting to explain or interpret Government orders or procedure without reference to the Government. The Government trusted that the action taken by them would obviate the misunderstanding caused by the private letter.

The Prime Minister stated that the letter had attracted much notice and attention had been drawn to it in the Assembly It was contended by several papers that the letter had the effect of undermining the authority and lessening the power of the Ministers. The Ministers were not aware of the issue of any such circular or of any interpretation of the constitutional position. They did not direct the issue. They thought that any circular, issued by an officer holding a responsible post under the Local Government, would have the effect of undermining their authority. They also thought that any authoriative interpretation of the constitutional position should not be given by a Secretary to the Government on his own authority, but should have been referred to them for decision. Mr. Brett had since explained that in view of the fact that he had been consulted on this point by certain officers, he had issued in a private capacity this note to explain what appeared to him to be the constitutional position and he had made it clear that the note merely conveyed his personal opinion and was not an official instruction of the Government He had repudiated the suggestion that he or any other officer should have tried to place impediments in the way of the Ministers The Council of Ministers recognised that Mr Brett had no intention of undermining their authority and felt that it was necessary to remove the effect caused by this letter.

The Assembly next passed the amendments made inthe Tenancy Bill by the Council last night while the latter had a brief sitting A joint committee of 24 was formed from members of both the Houses to consider and report on the Money-Lenders Bill and the Agricultural Income-Tax Bill The House was then *prorogued.*

Proceedings of the Council

Patna—22nd. & 23rd. July 1937

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

The First Session of the Bihar Legislative Council under the new Act commenced at Patna on the **22nd. July 1937.** *Rai Bahadur Satish Chandra Sinha* occupied the presidential chair whereafter members were sworn in. Thereafter the Council adjourned till the next day, the 23rd July when *Kumar Rajiva Ranjan Prasad Singh* was elected President and Mr. *Naqui Imam* Dy. President. The House then adjourned *sine die.*

Budget Session—Patna—30th. August—4th. Sept. 1937

The Council met on the **30th. August** in the Conference Room of the Secretariat, Kumar Rajivaranjan Prasad Singh presiding. The Finance Member presented the Budget.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

31st. AUGUST :—The Congress sustained two defeats on non-official resolutions, one recommending that every encumbered estate paying cesses amounting to Rs. 1000 or above should be taken under the management of the Court of Wards on application by the proprietor, and the other urging the Government to inquire into the causes of indebtedness of the peasantry and landlords and remove them.

1st. SEPTEMBER :—The Council continued its discussion on non-official resolutions. A resolution by Mr. *Gur Sahay lal*, former Revenue Minister, was adopted, recommending that cottage industries should be started in rural areas and subsidised by the Government, where necessary, that marketing facilities be provided for such articles and that their use be encouraged.

OFFICIAL BILLS

4th. SEPTEMBER :—Before resuming the general discussion on the budget the Council passed three official Bills passed by the Assembly, namely, the Bihar Legislature (Removal of Disqualifications) Bill, the Bihar Legislature (Officers' Salaries) Bill, and the Bihar Ministers' Salaries Bill.

On the conclusion of the general discussion on the budget and, after the Finance Minister had replied, the President read the Governor's message proroguing the Council, which was received by all members standing.

Winter Session—Patna—10th. to 23rd. December 1937

The winter session of the Council commenced at Patna on the **10th. December.** The Hon'ble *Kumar Rajiva Ranjan Sinha*, President, welcomed the members to the second session of the Council. He feelingly referred to the death of Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, India's greatest scientist and paid handsome tributes to the memory of the great savant who served humanity by means of his epoch-making discoveries.

Hon'ble *Anugrah Narain Sinha*, Finance Minister, associated himself with what the President had said condoling the death of Sir Jagadish.

Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail, leader of the Coalition Party, said that in the death of Sir Jagadish India had lost a great patriot and this loss could not be compensated.

Syed Naqui Imam, Deputy President said that the late savant was a great explorer and discoverer and the whole world had been benefited by his services. Mr. *Gur Sahay Lal* said that the loss of Sir Jagadish was irreparable.

The Council unanimously passed the resolution, members standing.

After question time, the Finance Minister laid on the table a supplementary statement of the expenditure from the revenue of the province.

The Secretary of the Legislature placed on the table the Entertainment Bill, the Famine Relief Bill and the Stamp Act Amendment Bill as passed by the Lower House.

At the request of the Finance Minister, the President adjourned the Council till 13th December.

ENTERTAINMENTS DUTY BILL

13th. DECEMBER :—Mr. *Puneydeo Sharma* (Congress) moved to-day the consideration of the Bihar Entertainments Duty Bill as passed by the Assembly. The bill provided for the imposition of a tax on all payments for admission to any public entertainments and was based on similar Acts already passed in other provinces. The duty ranges from six pies on two annas to Re. 1 on Rs. 4.

Mr. Sharma said that cinemas and theatres were the only entertainments in the province and as they had no educative value it would not be wrong to tax them.

Khan Bahadur Ismail, the Leader of the Opposition said the Bill was acceptable in principle. He personally was in favour of taxing all luxuries. He observed, however, that certain clauses, particularly that relating to penalties for the violation of the Act was rather harsh as no provision for appeal had been made.

Mr. *Anugrah Narayan Singh*, the Finance Minister, replying said that he was anxious to safeguard the interests of the public. The provision for the imposition of fines on those violating the Act was not to penalize but to check any abuse of the Act and therefore no appeal against a conviction had been provided for.

An amendment moved by Mr. *S. N. Hafiz* to exclude duties on admission tickets to the value of Re. 1 was vigorously opposed and rejected without a division.

The House accepted the motion for consideration.

SUGAR FACTORIES CONTROL BILL

14th. DECEMBER —Dr. *Syed Mahmud*, Minister of Development, placed on the table to-day the Bihar Sugar Factories Control Bill as passed by the Assembly and requested that consideration of the Bill should be taken up to-morrow in view of the importance of the sugar problem in the province. The present condition in the province was such as demanded passage of the Bill without delay through the Council.

Khan Bahadur S. M Ismail, Leader of Opposition said that the Bill was important and needed study from every point of view. As the Bill was of contentious and controversial nature, ample opportunity should be afforded to the members for carefully scrutinising the same. He, therefore, opposed the proposal of the Hon'ble Dr Mahmud and said that the Bill should not be taken up to-morrow.

Rai Bahadur Satish Chandra Sinha said that the Bill could not be taken into consideration to-morrow.

Mr. *A Naqui Imam* said that the House should permit the Hon'ble Minister to introduce the Bill tomorrow as the Bill was an urgent necessity.

Mr. *Gursahai Lal* said that it was true that the Bill was of urgent necessity but the Hon'ble Minister should consider the difficulty of the House also and allow ample time for consideration of the Bill

The *Hon'ble Dr Mahmud* replied that if the House wanted ample time, he was ready to give it. The Hon'ble Minister then withdrew his proposal of introducing the Bill to-morrow.

The *President* fixed the 18th December for introduction of the Bill.

18th DECEMBER —The Council to-day passed the Bihar Sugar Factories Control Bill and granted permission to the Prime Minister to introduce the Bihar Tenancy Amendment Bill on Tuesday.

Discussion on the Bihar Sugar Factories Control Bill was then resumed. Clause 30 of the Bill was taken into consideration. Clause 30 runs thus.—Provincial Govt. may after consulting the Board make rules to carry out the provisions of this Act

Mr. *Gursahai Lal* moved an amendment stating that the words "provided that Provincial Government may without consulting the Board make rules providing for the constitution of the first board" should be added after the clause

Mr *Kumar Ganganand Singh* moved another amendment which demanded that the words "after consulting the Board" should be omitted from the clause.

Mr. Baldeo Sahay Advocate-General said that if Mr. Gursahai Lal's amendment be accepted legal difficulty would remain and Mr. Ganganand Singh's amendment would remove the legal defect He said that Mr. Ganganand Singh's amendment was acceptable.

The Hon'ble *Education Minister* informed the House that he was prepared to accept Mr. Ganganand Singh's amendment.

Mr *Gursahai Lal* said that if his amendment be not accepted the whole trouble would remain. He appealed to the House to approve of his amendment for the safe working of the Sugar Legislation.

The Hon'ble *Development Minister* replied that when he had accepted one amendment how he could accept the other amendment

Kumar Ganganand Singh's amendment was passed by the House and Mr *Gursahai Lal's* amendment was rejected As there were no other amendments, all the clauses of the Bill were passed.

Mr. *Bansi Lal* then moved that the Bihar Sugar Factories Control Bill be passed. Then the entire Bill was passed by the House

The Hon'ble *Development Minister* thanked the House for passing the Bill and assured that the rules under the Bill would be placed before them for their approval.

TENANCY ACT AMEND. BILL

The Secretary then laid on the table the Bihar Tenancy Amendment Bill as passed by the Assembly. The *Prime Minister* asked leave of the House to introduce the Tenancy Bill on Tuesday,

Rai Bahadur Satish Chandra Sinha opposing said that the Bill should not be allowed to be introduced before the expiry of the prescribed period.

Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail said that a reasonable opportunity should be given to study the Bill as it was very important. He further observed that a Joint Select Committee of both the Houses should have considered such an important Bill. He, however, in view of the importance of the Tenancy Bill agreed to accept the request of the Prime Minister.

Mr. *Gursahai Lal* also pleaded for a reasonable opportunity for the Bill.

The *Prime Minister* replied that the economic situation in the Province demanded that the Tenancy Bill should be passed by the House without delay. The House being in favour the President permitted the Prime Minister to introduce the Bill on Tuesday The House was then adjourned.

21st. DECEMBER.—The Bihar Tenancy Amendment Bill was taken up for consideration in the Council to-day. Despite the agreement reached between the Opposition and the Government in the Lower House over the controversial clauses, the Bill evoked considerable discussion in the Council, obviously because the Upper House was more representative of zamindars.

Mr. *C. P. N. Sinha*, Leader of the Opposition in the Lower House watched the proceedings from the Distinguished Visitors' Gallery.

Mr *Bansi Lal* (Congress) introducing the Bill said he hoped the House would adopt it speedily in the interests of tenants.

Mr. *Mobarak Ali* (Coalition) stated the Bill would encourage the non-payment of rents by ryots and that it was a one-sided measure which ignored the interests of zamindars.

Mr. *Naqui Imam*, the Deputy President complemented the Government and the zamindars on their agreeing to afford relief to agriculturists. While he agreed that illegal exaction by landlords should be prevented he did not agree that what had been a long-standing custom should now be made punishable with imprisonment. He held that the non-payment of rents by ryots should be treated as stringently as the non-payment of revenue by zamindars

Mr. *Baldev Sahay*, the Advocate-General, replying to criticisms against the penalising of *abwab* (illegal exaction) said it had originally been made a cognizable offence in order to save peasants from harassment and incurring unnecessary expenses. The provision had however been later modified by the select committee.

22nd. DECEMBER.—The Council decided to sit at night after a brief recess in order to finish discussion on the Bihar Tenancy Amendment Bill which had been carried on for the whole day.

The Council met at 6-30 in the evening and sat till 10-15 p. m. It rushed through the remaining clauses of the Bihar Tenancy Amendment Bill and passed it with slight modifications to enable the Assembly before, its session concludes to-morrow finally to pass the Bill as amended by the Upper House.

The Government suffered a defeat by one vote on an amendment moved by Mr. *Mobarak Ali* providing that the offence of illegal exaction of money by a landlord be bailable and compoundable and a conviction on that charge be open to appeal.

The Assembly a few days ago passed the Bill at a night sitting which was the first of its kind in the history of the Chamber. The Bill evoked considerable opposition from zamindars in the Council, both yesterday and to-day, but in view of the agreement reached between Congress leaders and zamindars' representatives and of the Premier's appeal for a conciliatory attitude and support of the measure in the interests of the poor agriculturists, the Bill was passed to-night.

The Bill was designed to afford relief to the tenantry in various directions by amending those provisions of the existing Act which were supposed to operate harshly on them.

The Hon'ble Ministers were congratulated from all sides of the House for the passage of this important Bill.

The Prime Minister thanked the House and spoke obligingly in praise of friendly spirit with which they treated him in helping the distressed peasantry.

The Council then adjourned till the next day the **23rd. December** when after an hour's sitting it was prorogued by order of H. E. the Governor.

The U. P. Legislative Council

LIST OF MEMBERS

President —Hon. Rai Bahadur Dr. Sir Sita Ram
Dy President :—Begum Aizaz Rasul
1 Mr Baij Nath
2 Rai Amar Nath
3 " Bahadur Babu Brijendra Swarup
4 Mr Mohan Krishna Varma
5 " Chandra Bhal
6 Rai Sahib Lala Mathura Das
7 Lala Janardan Sarup
8 " Babu Lal
9 Mr. Lakshmi Narayan
10 Lala Har Sahai Gupta
11 " Radhey Raman Lal
12 Thakur Gopal Singh
13 Babu Ratan Lal Jain
14 Rai Bahadur Chaudhri Badan Singh Tewari
15 Rai Sahib Lala Roop Chandra Jain
16 Kunwar Rameshwar Pratap Singh
17 Babu Badri Prasad Kakkar
18 Pandit Beni Madho Tiwari
19 Rai Bahadur Thakur Lakshmi Raj Singh
20 Mr. Ram Chandra Gupta
21 Rai Bahadur Lala Raghuraj Singh
22 Lala Mohan Lal Sah
23 Rai Bahadur Seth Kedar Nath Khetan
24 Raja Ashtbhuja Prasad, Rai Bahadur
25 Babu Madho Prasad Khanna
26 Dr Ram Ugrah Singh
27 Pandit Rama Kant Malaviya
28 Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh
29 Raja Sri Ram
30 Kunwar Diwakar Prakash Singh
31 Rai Bahadur Babu Mohan Lal
32 Kunwar Rajendra Singh
33 Bhaya Durga Prasad Singh
34 Rai Bajrang Bahadur Singh
35 Mr Islam Ahmad Khan
36 " Muhammad Faiyaz Khan
37 Dr. Mahmud Ullah Jung
38 Khan Bahadur Syed Ahmad Husain Rizvi
39 Khan Bahadur Muhammad Zaki
40 Syed Agha Haider
41 Khan Bahadur Syed Akbar Ali Khan
42 Mr Muhammad Abid Khan Sherwani
43 Khan Bahadur Shaikh Masood-uz-Zaman
44 Hafiz Ahmad Husain
45 Mr. Waheed Ahmad
46 " Muhammad Faruq
47 Khan Bahadur Haji Maulvi Muhammad Nisarullah
48 Sayed Kalbe Abbas
49 Begum Aizaz Rasul
50 Chaudhri Akhtar Husain
51 M. Izhar Ahmad Faruqi
52 Sir Tracey Gavin Jones
53 Dr Sir Sita Ram
54 C St L Teyen
55 Mrs H S. Gupta
56 Rai Bahadur N K Mukerji
57 Risaldar Major & Honorary Captain Amir Muhammad Khan Sardar Bahadur
58 Babu Ram Sahai
59 Lady Wazir Hasan
60 Pandit Harihar Nath Shastri

The U. P. Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

Speaker —The Hon Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon
Dy Speaker —Mr. Abdul Hakeem
1 The Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant (*Premier*)
2 The Hon'ble Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai (*Minister for Revenue*)
3 The Hon'ble Dr. Kailash Nath Katju (*Minister for Developments & Justice*)
4 The Hon'ble Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit (*Minister for Local Self-Govt.*)
5 The Hon'ble Pandit Pyare Lal Sharma (*Minister for Education*)
6 The Hon'ble Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim (*Minister for Communication*)

Parliamentary Secretaries

7 SYED HUSAIN ZAHEER
8 MR. AJIT PRASAD JAIN
9 ACHARYA JUGAL KISHORE
10 SRI ATMA RAM GOVIND KHER
11 THAKUR HUKUM SINGH
12 SRI KARAN SINGH KANE
13 PADIT VENKATESH NARAYAN TIVARY
14 CHAUDHRI BIHARI LAL
15 MR. SULEMAN ANSARI
16 SRI GOPI NATH SRIVASTAVA

Members

17 MR. CHANDRA BHAN GUPTA
18 MR. NARAIN DAS
19 DR JAWAHAR LAL
20 BHAGAT DAYAL DAS
21 SETH ACHAL SINGH
22 BABU SAMPURNANANDJI
23 MR. HARI
24 PROFESSOR RAM SARAN
25 MR. NARENDRA DEVA
26 BABU BINDBASINI PRASAD
27 MRS SHARMADA TYAGI
28 THAKUR PHUL SINGH
29 CHAUDHRI MANGAT SINGH
30 BABU KESHO GUPTA
31 SRIMATI SATYAVATI DEVI
32 MR. CHARAN SINGH
33 CHAUDHRI KHUSHI RAM
34 CHAUDHRI RAGHUVANSH NARAYAN SINGH
35 CHAUDHRI VIJEYPAL SINGH
36 MR. BRIJ BEHARI LAL
37 THAKUR MANAK SINGH
38 MR. BHIM SEN
39 THAKUR TODAR SINGH
40 MR. JWALA BRASAD JIGYASU
41 THAKUR MALKHAN SINGH
42 PROFESSOR KRISHNA CHANDRA
43 CHAUDHRI SHIVA MANGAL SINGH
44 MR. RAM CHANDRA PALIWAL
45 DR MANAK CHAND
46 MR JAGAN PRASAD RAWAT
47 PANDIT JIVA LAL
48 MR. MIZAJI LAL
49 MR. BIRESHWAR SINGH CHAUDHRI
50 MR. BABU RAM VERMA
51 SHRIMATI VIDYAVATI RATHOUR
52 KUNWAR SHAMSHAR JANG
53 CHAUDHRI KHUB SINGH
54 MR. DAU DAYAL KHANNA
55 PANDIT SHANKAR DUTT
56 THAKUR PIRTHIVI RAJ SINGH
57 PANDIT DWARKA PRASAD
58 PANDIT DEO NARAYAN
59 THAKUR SADHO SINGH
60 MR RUKUM SINGH
61 MR. LAKHAN DAS JATAV
62 CHAUDHRI BADAN SINGH
63 THAKUR BHAGWAN SINGH
64 PANDIT RAMESHWAR DAYAL
65 MRS UMA NEHRU
66 MR. BALWANT SINGH
67 CHAUDHRI BUDDHU SINGH
68 MR. HOTI LAL AGARWAL
69 MR. RAM SARUP GUPTA
70 DR. MURARI LAL
71 BABU BANSHGOPAL
72 PANDIT SHEO DAYAL UPADHYA
73 MR. RANJIT SITARAM PANDIT
74 MR. LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI
75 PANDIT RAGHUNATH VINAYAK DHULEKAR
76 PANDIT BHAGWAT NARAYAN
77 PANDIT MANNI LAL PANDEY
78 CHAUDHRI LOTAN
79 DIWAN SHATRUGHAN SINGH
80 THAKUR KESHAVA CHANDRA SINGH
81 THAKUR HAR PRASAD SINGH
82 PANDIT YAJNA NARAYAN UPADHYAYA
83 PANDIT KAMLAPATI TEWARI
84 MAHARAJ KUMAR SIR VIJAYA OF VIZIANAGRAM
85 MR. VISHWANATH
86 RAJA SHARDA MAHESH PRASAD SINGH SHAH
87 THAKUR BIRBAL SINGH
88 PANDIT KESHAVA DEO MALAVIYA
89 MR. PARASRAM RAI
90 PANDIT INDRADEO TRIPATHI
91 THAKUR RADHA MOHAN SINGH
92 THAKUR SURYA NARAYAN SINGH
93 THARUR SINHASAN SINGH
94 PANDIT MOHAN LAL GAUTAM
95 DR. BISWANATH MUKHERJI
96 MR. PRAYAG DHWAJ SINGH
97 PROFESSOR SHIBBAN LAL SAKSENA
98 MR. PURNAWASI
99 PANDIT RAM DHARI PANDE
100 MR. KASHI PRASAD RAI
101 PANDIT BISHAMBHAR NATH
102 MR. SITA RAM SHUKLA
103 MR. HARNATH PRASAD
104 MR. RAM CHARITRA
105 „ SITA RAM ASTHANA
106 „ GAJADHAR PRASAD
107 PANDIT RADHAKANT MALAVIYA
108 PANDIT ALGU RAI SHASTRI
109 KUNWAR ANAND SINGH OF KASHIPUR
110 PANDIT HAR GOVIND PANT
111 MR. RAM PRASAD TAMTA
112 THAKUR JAGMOHAN SINGH NEGI
113 PANDIT ANSUYA PRASAD BAHUGUNA
114 PANDIT VISHWAMBHAR DAYAL TRIPATHI

115 Pandit Jita Shankar Shukla
116 Lal Surendra Bahadur Singh
117 Mrs Suniti Devi Mittra
118 Mr. Bhawani
119 Pandit Lakshmi Shankar Bajpai
120 Mr Chheda Lal Gupta
121 Pandit Shanti Swarup
122 Rai Sahib th Bhabhuti Singh
123 Pandit Shiva Ram Duvedi
124 Mr. Paragi Lal
125 Vacant
126 Thakur Lalta Buksh Singh
127 Pandit Bansi Dhar Misra
128 Kunwar Khushwaqt Rai
129 Maharani Jagdamba Devi
130 Pandit Krishna Nath Kaul
131 Mr. Paltu
132 Thakur Ramnaresh Singh
133 Rajkumar Jung Bahadur Singh
134 Mr Sundar Lal Gupta
135 Pandit Bhagwan Din
136 Mr Lal Behari Tandon
137 Mr. Ishar Saran
138 Kunwar Raghuvendra P Singh
139 Rai Sahib Hari Prasad Tamta
140 Pandit Harish Chandra Bajpai
141 " Govind Malaviya
142 Mr. Krishnanand Nath Khare
143 Rajmata Thakurain Parbati Kunwar
144 Mr Chet Ram
145 Mr Muhammad Ismail Khan
146 Shaikh Ghalib Rasul
147 Khan Bahadur H Ghazanfarullah
148 Maulvi Aziz Ahmad Khan
149 " Karimul Raza Khan
150 Khan Bahadur Mr Akhtar Adil
151 Captain Nawar Bahadur Nawabzada Muhammad Abdus Sami Khan
152 Dr Abdus Samad
153 Mr Zahur Ahmad
154 Mr Muhammad Ekram Khan
155 Maulvi Rezwan Ullah
156 Chaudhri Khaliq-uz-zaman
157 Mr Muhammad Wasim
158 Qazi Abdul Wali
159 Khan Bdr H M Maqsud Ali Khan
160 Khan Bahadur Shaikh Muhammad Ziaul Haq
161 Syed Hasan Ali Khan
162 Nawabzada M. Liaquat Ali Khan
163 Mr Tahir Husain
164 Captain Nawab Muhammad Jamshed Ali Khan
165 Khan Bahadur M. Rahmat Khan
166 Nawab Dr. Sir Muhammad Ahmad Sa'id Khan
167 Khan Bahadur Haji Muhammad Obaidur Rahman Khan
168 Khan Bahadur Shaikh Badruddin
169 Haji Maulvi M. Jan Khan
170 Khan Bahadur Shaikh Khalil-uu-din Ahmad
171 Khan Bahadur M. Raza Khan
172 Chaudhri Islam Ullah Khan
173 Mr Akhtar Hasan Khan
174 Chaudhri Jafar Hasan Khan
175 Mr Muhammad Ismail
176 Mr Zainul Abdin
177 Khan Bdr Maulvi Fasih-uddin
178 Khan Bahadur Maulvi Muhammad Fazlub Rahman Khan
179 Khan Bdr Shaikh Imtiaz Ahmad
180 Khan Sahib Lieutenant M. Sultan Alam Khan
181 Mr Nafisul Hasan
182 Mr. Mahmud Husain Khan
183 Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf
184 Mr Rafi-ud-din
185 Khan Sahib M. Muhammad Hasan
186 Mr. Muhammad Athar
187 Mr Muhammad Farooq
188 Mr Zahirul Hasnain Lari
189 Qazi Muhammad Adil Abbasi
290 Mr Muhammad Ishaq Khan
191 Mr Iqbal Ahmad Khan
192 Mr. Zahir Uddin Faruki
193 Raja Saiyid Ahmad Ali Khan
194 Chaudhri Hyder Husain
195 Mr. Mubashir Hussain Kidwai
196 Saiyid Aizaz Rasul
197 Saiyid Sajid Hussain
198 Raja Saiyid Muhammad Mehdi
299 Mirza Mahmud Beg
200 Mr. Ghulam Hasan
201 Raja Saiyid Muhamnad Sa'adat Ali Khan of Nanpara
202 Raja Muhammad Ahmed Ali
203 Khan Bahadur Shaikh Said Uddin Ahmed
204 Raja Sir Muhammhd Ejaz Rusul Khan
205 Dr. Bolar Thungama
206 Srimati Prakashvati Sud
207 Srimati Lakshmi Devi
208 Begum Habibullah
209 Begum Shahid Husain
210 Mr H. G. Walford
211 Mr Desmond Young
212 Captain S. R. Pocock
113 Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh
214 Mr. S C. Chatterji
215 Dr. Sir Jwala P. Srivastava
216 Mr. E M. Souter
217 Lala Padampat Singhania
218 Rai Bahadur Lala Prag Narayan
219 Shaikh Muhammad Habibullah
220 Raja Jagannath Bakash Singh
221 Raja Bisheshar Dayal Seth
222 Major Raja Durga Narayan Singh
223 Rai Govind Chandra
224 Mr. Raja Ram Shastri
225 " Suraj Prasad Avastai
226 " B. K. Mukerji

Proceedings of the Assembly

Lucknow—29th. July to 3rd. August 1937

Election of Speaker & Dy. Speaker

Amidst scenes of unprecedented enthusiasm the first session of the U P. Legislative Assembly under the New Act opened at Lucknow on the **29th July 1937**. *Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant*, the Premier, performed the flag salutation ceremony attended by thousands of persons.

Oath-taking started shortly after The Premier first took the oath and was followed by other Congress Ministers. Then came the turn of the *Nawab of Chhatari*, the late Premier, and other interim Ministers. Lastly, the non-official members barring 18 who were absent were sworn-in. The session was then adjourned.

31st. JULY :—Babu *Purshottamdas Tandon* and Mr. *Abdul Hakim*, both Congress nominees, were unanimously elected Speaker and Deputy Speaker respectively of the Assembly.

The announcement was received amidst deafening cheers by the members and this was followed by the *Vande Mataram*, the whole House standing

Mr. *Govind Ballabh Pant*, Premier, the Nawab of Chattari, ex-Premier, Mr Khaliquzzaman, leader of the Muslim League Party, the Maharaj Kumar of Vizianagram and Sir J. P Srivastav joined in welcoming and felicitating the Speaker, the latter making a suitable reply. The House then adjourned till the 2nd. Aug.

Cabinet's Policy Outlined

2nd. AUGUST :—A statement by *Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant*, Premier, on the immediate programme of the Ministry, and an adjournment motion tabled to discuss the Palestine Report, which was subsequently disallowed by the Governor, were the features of the Assembly to-day.

Outlining the Ministry's programme and the Congress policy, the Premier said that the Congress "would continue to combat the Government of India Act and the policy underlying it." In its attitude towards minorities they would be guided by the declaration of the fundamental rights adopted at the Karachi session of the Congress The Ministry would endeavour to promote unity between all communities, caste and creed. The Premier appealed for co-operation to all sections of the House for the attainment of this object.

Pandit Pant briefly reviewed the measures adopted by the Congress Ministry during the short time they had been in office regarding the release of prisoners, and the return of security deposits of newspapers and presses. For the future he outlined a comprehensive programme of prison reforms, improvement in the administration of the Local Self-Government department, a drastic change in the present excise policy and the immediate tackling of agrarian problems.

Referring to the latter, the Premier said that two committees consisting of all sections of the legislature would be set up, one for examining the existing laws relating to land revenue and tenancy with a view to revision, and the other to consider the steps necessary to remove the burden of rural indebtedness and proposed relief measures.

Salaries Bills

The Assembly next passed the U. P. Legislature (Officers' Salaries) Bill, Ministers' Salaries Bill and Parliamentary Secretaries (Removal of Disqualification) Bill, fixing the Speaker's salary at Rs. 500 per mensem with a furnished house, Deputy Speaker Rs. 2,000 annually, President and Deputy President Rs. 6,000 and Rs. 1,000 annually respectively, Ministers Rs. 500 per mensem and free furnished residence.

Moving the Salaries Bill, Dr. *Kailashnath Katju*, Minister for Justice, said that salaries should have some proportion to the incomes of the people whose rights and privileges they guarded. He believed that the Services were very able and

sympathetic to the people and he expected that they would voluntarily submit to a cut in a spirit of service. He believed that the time would come when Parliament would bend to their wishes. The Minister added that a Second Chamber had been inflicted on them. That Chamber was not representative of the people.

APPROVAL OF PREMIR'S POLICY

3rd. AUGUST —*Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant's* motion for general approval of the Congress Government's policy, as outlined by him yesterday, was adopted by the House to-day. *Nawab Sir Mahomed Yusuf*, Deputy Leader of the Party, wanted to initiate a discussion on the statement made by the Premier regarding the Government's policy without any definite motion The Premier pointed out that the general discussion could be initiated without any formal motion and, therefore, moved that the House extend its general approval of the Government's policy

It was the signal for a concerted opposition from the Independent Party to the Premier's motion The *Nawab of Chattari*, the Leader of the Party, *Raja Maheswar Dyal Seth* and others took strong exception to the Premier's motion as it gave them no other option than either to approve or reject the Government's policy. *Pandit Pant* pointed out that the Government had only laid down a general policy as they had been in office only for the last six weeks and that the Opposition would get ample opportunity to discuss measures in detail later. All that he wanted was the approval or disapproval of the House of the policy of the Government After 5 hours' discussion the House adopted the motion, the Opposition not challenging a division. The House then adjourned *sine die*

Budget Session—Lucknow—2nd. Sept. to 5th. October 1937

DEMAND FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Budget session of the Assembly commenced on the **2nd September** The Congress Government despite the huge majority were forced to yield to the wishes of the Opposition today and agree to a postponement of the discussion of their resolution denouncing the Government of India Act and demanding its repeal and replacement by a constitution 'for a free India framed by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise which allows the Indian people full scope for development according to their needs and desires'

The leaders of the Opposition parties lodged an emphatic protest against the way in which the Government had treated the House in connection with this resolution, their complaint being that they did not know of it until they saw the agenda to-day and that it was flung upon them as a surprise They appealed to the Speaker to protect their rights

The *Speaker* fully appreciated the difficulty of the Opposition parties in being called upon to discuss the resolution without previous notice and frankly told the House that the Assembly office was still waiting for details of official business. After ascertaining that the sense of the Opposition parties was against discussion of the resolution today he considered that he would not be protecting their rights if he suspended rules in favour of Government The Speaker's decision was received with loud and prolonged applause from the Opposition benches in which the Congress party members did not join It was finally agreed by all parties that the resolution would be taken up for discussion afterwards.

The Hon. Mrs. *Vijayalakshmi Pandit*, Minister for Local Self-Govt, moved the resolution. In the course of her speech, she said —

"Congress hopes to strengthen the Opposition to act by assuming responsibility wherever possible and by using such measures as possible so that the voice of the people may be heard effectively and their organisation increase in strength from day to day in order that the opposition to the will of the people may be abandoned. For sixteen years Congress worked on the basic policy that it is the right of Indians to frame a constitution for India. At the time when the British Government were engaged in England in framing the constitution for India political organisations in India declared it unacceptable. The new constitution was an attempt to perpetuate British Imperialism and was therefore wholly inadequate as a solution of India's pressing problems. On the other hand it sought to rivet British control on India.

"Congress majority in the six provinces made it clear what the popular verdict is,"

said Mrs. Pandit. 'India claims to be free as any other free nation in the West She has a perfect right to be mistress of her own affairs uncontrolled from outside."

Nawab Mahomed Ismail Khan, on behalf of the Muslim League Party, agreed to the resolution provided the agreed settlement on the representation of Muslims on the Constituent Assembly was the same as was provided in the Communal Award and the personal law or the existing civil and political and religious rights of Muslims were unaltered or varied without the consent of three-fourths of the Muslim representatives. They were however apprehensive if they allowed the resolution to be passed without amendment. They would be taken later to have given their agreement to the proposition unconditionally. He hoped that if the Constituent Assembly was summoned there would be an agreement between the various communities. He wanted the House that unless some agreement was reached before going to the Constituent Assembly it would be very disastrous to the country

The *Nawab of Chhatari* moved an amendment adding at the end of the resolution "provided landlords, depressed classes, and other minority communities receive adequate special representation on the Constituent Assembly and the Constituent Assembly shall not interfere in the lawful and legitimate rights and interests in private properties."

The *Nawab of Chhatari*, moving his amendment on behalf of the Independent Party, agreed that the present constitution was un-acceptable and did not satisfy Indian aspirations and also that another constitution should be substituted and that the constitutions should be framed by the people of India. A constitution framed according to the conditions, circumstances and traditions of the country and framed by the people will flourish more rapidly than a European constitution He, however, doubted whether the proposal for a Constituent Assembly was really feasible. He added that those had something to do with making the constitution knew how many interests had to be adjusted and any Constituent Assembly which was composed of so many thousand people could hardly be able to make a constitution. If it really meant soverance with the British Empire, he wondered how far it was in conformity with the Oath of Allegiance the members had taken to the King and to his successors.

Mr. *Aziz Ahmed,* while accepting the original resolution, wanted the "immediate" repeal or replacement of the Government of India Act by a Constituent Assembly "

Dr. *Manikchand* (Depressed Class) whose amendment was disallowed as not being in proper form, uged the necessity for safeguards for the depressed classes, which if they had not been in the present constitution they would not have been in the House. The House then adjourned

Financial Statement for 1937-38

6th SEPTEMBER.—In presenting the Budget to-day the Premier, *Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant,* stated that the revenue receipts for 1937-38 are expected to yield an income of Rs. 12,54,07,000 against an expenditure of Rs 12,66,75,000.

Pandit Pant stated that the budget for 1935-36 and that for 1936-37 had an estimated revenue deficit of Rs. 30 lakhs and Rs. 63 lakhs, respectively. The original deficit this year was Rs. 41 lakhs, but, owing to changes primarily in increase of receipts estimated under certain heads, the deficits at the time the present Government took over charge was reduced to Rs 30 lakhs

The expenditure of the departments was examined and retrenchment was undertaken. It was decided to save Rs 6 lakhs from travelling allowances and after effecting other adjustments the deficit was completely wiped out, and a surplus of Rs. 4,50,000 realised. The Government made a provision towards new schemes for Rs. 17 and half lakhs. In place of the deficit anticipated in the revenue Budgets for 1935-36 and 1936-37 of Rs. 93 and half lakhs, the actual deficit amounted to Rs. 17 lakhs.

The features of the Budget were the provision for Rs. 26 and half lakhs for the beneficent departments, as compared with the actual expenditure of 1936-37. There has been an increase of Rs. 23 lakhs in the nation-building departments, while there was decrease of over Rs. 12 lakhs under heads "general administration", "justice" and "police."

The Premier announced a provision for Rs. 10 lakhs for rural development, Rs 20,000 for rural libraries, Rs. 20,000 for promoting schemes to supply pure milk in larger towns, Rs. 12,500 for improving production and sale of pure ghee, Rs. 3 lakhs for the supply of good seed to villagers, Rs. 2 lakhs for the supply of fertilizers,

Rs. 37,500 for the development of animal husbandry, Rs 2,000 for fruit development, Rs 5,000 for potato research, Rs. 31,000 for intensive development of agriculture in tubewell areas.

Ten thousand rupees have been set apart for research work in *khadi*, Rs, 1,24,000 for the development of handloom industry, Rs. 10,000 for labour welfare work, Rs. 38,000 for improvement of manufacturing processes of *gur*, Rs 80,000 for combating malaria, Rs. 1 and half lakhs for improvement of medical relief in rural areas, and one lakh of rupees for granting subsidies to enable young men to establish industrial undertakings

Pandit Pant further announced that it was intended to take up the prohibition scheme in the beginning of the next year since sales have already been made under the previous Government and it was not open for the present Government to make any changes in the excise policy.

A provision of Rs 10,000 has been made for a special officer who would work for removing "corruption in Government Services", said the Premier. He also stated that services rendered to the cause of rural development would be taken into account in the appointment of honorary magistrates, judicial officers and even selection of candidates for Government services

The debt deposit heads show a yield of Rs 251 lakhs and disbursements Rs. 270 lakhs The capital expenditure comes to Rs 117 lakhs The amount of loan to be ultimately raised will be Rs. 105 lakhs The opening balance is Rs 75 lakhs and closing balance is about Rs 56 lakhs

CAWNPUR LABOUR SITUATION

After the presentation of the Budget Mr. *Z H Lari*, moving the adjournment of the House, remarked that it was a slur on a Congress Ministry to rely on ordinances like Section 144, Cr P. C., which had been promulgated in Cawnpore. He asked if they had been promulgated with the consent of the Government and urged their withdrawal Mr. Lari added that the right to strike was a fundamental right of every labourer He said he had personally visited Cawnpore and seen the hardship of the labourers.

Congress speakers criticised the Opposition for mere lip sympathy with the labourers and said that Section 144 had a different significance now It was not meant for a lathi charge but to avoid riots and disturbances The adjournment motion was meant to harass the Government as the Opposition knew fully well the Congress policy Dr *Kailas Nath Katju*, the Minister of Justice, added that the matter had been brought to make capital out of the labour situation The Government were holding the scales even in the matter of law and order. He suspected a hidden hand behind the movement

The Assembly sat till six in the evening, to-day's proceedings being marked by the sustained interest in the speeches on the Constituent Assembly resolution and the adjournment motion Though not yet fully recovered, the Premier was again present in the afternoon and participated in the adjournment debate.

OFFICIAL BILLS

7th SEPTEMBER —*Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant*, the Premier, moved a Bill to-day for the imposition of a tax on entertainments and other amusements and on certain forms of betting which was referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Minister-in-charge and 20 others

The Revenues Bill, moved by Mr *Rafi Ahmed Kidwai*, Minister, providing for the stay of proceedings in certain cases under the Agra Tenancy Act and the Oudh Rent Act passed through two stages, the House deciding that they be taken into consideration.

8th. SEPTEMBER —Having passed the Bill providing for the stay of proceedings of certain cases under the Agra Tenancy Act and the Oudh Rent Act and Bills amending the Agra-Tenancy Act of 1926 and the U P. Municipalities Act of 1916 and referring the Bill to impose a tax on entertainments and other amusements on certain forms of betting to the Select Committee the Assembly took up to-day the general discussion of the budget.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

All sections of the House joined in showering praises on Pandit *G B. Pant*, the Premier, for presenting an excellent budget within such a short time, *Maulvi*

Fasihuddin (Non-party) one of the oldest members of the House, describing the Premier as "one in the constellation of the ablest Indians"

The Opposition, however, made capital of the Finance Minister's inability to introdnce Prohibition in view of the previous Government's undertakings or to reduce canal rates.

THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS

9th. SEPTEMBER :—The following statement was made by *His Excellency the Governor* in addressing the joint session of both Houses to-day —

"The Legislature is the source of power in the Constitution. On it depends the nature of the Government and its policy. It represents, moreover, the principle of democracy It is a link between the people and the Government, and finally its conduct will be the touchstone of working the democratic system."

Touching upon the relations between the Services and the Government, His Excellency said: "The principle of these relations is perfectly clear. The Government lays down the policy and the Services are to carry it out. Their activities are directed, and the policies they are to follow are prescribed by the Government."

His Excellency added "I would mention another character of the Services and that is their primary obligation to maintain strictly a non-party attitude They are outside all party considerations Members of the Services must not identify themselves with any political party."

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

The Assembly sat till seven o'clock in the evening to conclude the general discussion of the budget, a feature being that about ninety per cent of the speeches were in Hindustani.

General disapproval was expressed against the Niemeyer Award which was declared to be unduly unjust to the United Provinces While the Government were criticised for not introducing prohibition or reducing canal rates, other suggestions included the amalgamation of the Allahabad High Court and the Oudh Chief Court, the abolition of the institution of honorary magistrates, the decentralisation with the formation of village units and the constitution of a woman police force The top-heavy administration was generally criticised by all sections of the House and retrenchment of posts and amalgamation of departments were suggested.

Replying to the debate, the Premier, the Hon. *Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant*, said that the tenants' burden must be reduced and the subject would be further considered by the Rent Revenue Committee The Premier stated that he wanted direct contact between the Government and the districts by the abolition of intermediary posts and by constituting advisory councils in the districts. Referring to cuts in salaries, the Premier said he wanted to give more time to the Services to adjust themselves, watch the needs of the province and, by the time the next budget came along make a voluntary surrender for the benefit of the masses They should see the disparity between themselves and those who day in and day out were working in fields and factories. The Government did not want discontent in the Services who could always count upon their goodwill and support It should be a joy to them if this province forged ahead of other provinces The Premier warned the Services against corruption and advised them to be courteous to the people.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

10th SEPTEMBER —The Assembly to-day voted the entire sums of Rs. 23,37,919 under the sub-head "public health", all the cut motions being withdrawn The grant of Rs. 29,11,080 under the sub-head "Jails and convict settlements" was under discussion when the House adjourned.

Mr. *Rafi Ahmed Kidwai*, Minister-in-charge, moving the grant said that it might be wondered that the Congress being the greatest advocate of jail reform made no alteration in the grants. He announced that the Government were considering the question of jail reform and by October would have a scheme complete.

13th SEPTEMBER :—Discussion on cut motions on Budget grants was continued to-day but, as usual, they were either withdrawn or not moved. The whole day was spent in discussion on cut motions under the head "general administration" for which Rs. 1,14,92,989 had been allotted.

Mr. *Muhammad Farooq* did not move his cut motion as a protest against the method of appointment of Parliamentary Secretaries to Moslem Ministers.

Mr. *Z. H. Lari's* cut motion to urge the desirability of having a lesser number of Parliamentary Secretaries evoked a keen debate.

14th SEPTEMBER—For the first time in the present Assembly a division was claimed by the Opposition on a cut motion under the demand "general administration" urging the separation of the judicial and the executive services. The cut motion was rejected by 116 to 36 votes.

The Premier, Pandit *Govind Ballabh Pant* assured the Opposition that the Government had decided to give effect to the suggestion and were considering practical measures in this connexion.

15th SEPTEMBER—Two cut motions under the head "Land Revenue," in connection with the recent stay orders passed by the Government, were discussed and withdrawn in the Assembly to-day

Regarding rent collections, it was urged by zemindars that they should be given a proportionate remission in revenue and this formed the subject-matter of the first cut motion moved by certain members, many of whom made no secret of their hostility to the zemindari system. They dwelt upon the atrocities perpetrated by the zemindars and talukdars on the tenantry and one of them declared that there was no good zemindar in the whole Province.

That the promulgation of the stay orders entailed no injustice on the zemindars at all was the view expressed by the Hon'ble Mr *Rafi Ahmed Kidwai*, the Minister for Revenue and Mr. *A. P. Jain* his Parliamentary Secretary. The motion was eventually withdrawn.

The second cut motion, moved by Raja *Jagannath Baksh Singh* raised the question of the policy of the Government towards the tenants in Government estates. It was emphasised that tenants in Government estates laboured practically under the same disabilities as under private management This motion was also withdrawn.

16th. SEPTEMBER—The zemindars were again the target of attack by Congress members when the *Nawab of Chhatari's* cut motion to discuss the Government's revenue policy was taken up today. The Nawab said that the zemindars were more sinned against than sinning and he accused the Congress benches of being prejudiced against them He asked the Government to help in improving the lot of those landholders who were unable to pay their revenue dues and who had applied for relief.

A Congress member retorted that the motion was intended to put the Government in a false position Two Congress members, however, supported the motion demanding the suspension of the settlement operations The entire land revenue demand was voted

When the Police budget came up all sections joined in demanding a "radical reorientation" in the organization of the Department Stoppage of the recruitment of police officers in England was also demanded and the Premier, replying, said that the position in this matter was anomalous "if not worse." The position that while a province was in charge of its law and order it could not appoint its higher police officers, was incompatible with provincial autonomy. The demand was later passed.

17th SEPTEMBER—His Excellency the Governor withheld consent to discuss the adjournment motion to-day of Mr. *Aziz Ahmed Khan* (Moslem League) relating to Rampur State. Mr. Khan sought the permission of the House to discuss the situation prevailing in the State He said "that the State was bounded on all sides by districts which were included in the Province and any disturbance there was likely to affect the adjoining districts as well as the life and property of British subjects residing in those places."

The *Speaker* said that as the matter referred to an Indian State the permission of His Excellency the Governor was necessary.

18th. SEPTEMBER:—That the rural development work so far done had only touched the fringe of the population in the province and that the concensus of opinion was that it had not been a success was the view expressed by Dr.

Kailas Nath Katju, Minister for Justice, in connection with the cut motion under the demand for agriculture in a lengthy and comprehensive survey of the problem. The Minister outlined the new orientation of policy in connection with the uplift of villages where conditions were pitiable and miserable in the extreme. The Minister stressed the need for non-official workers fired with a missionary zeal and imbued with a real spirit of service and appealed for the co-operation of all parties in an earnest endeavour to better the lot of the villagers. He annouced that Government intended to appoint a development officer for the whole province the salary not exceeding Rs. 500 and one or two assistant development officers.

After the House had voted the demands under 'agriculture veterinary and co-operative credit' the Revenue Minister introduced the Bill to amend the Agriculturists Relief Act and it was referred to a Select Committee.

20th. SEPTEMBER.—The members of the Muslim League party staged a dramatic walk-out from the Assembly to-day when *Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim*, Minister for communications, who had left their party after election and joined the Congress party, got up after question time and moved the demand for grant under expenditure on public works to be met from revenue. They remained absent for the whole day during the discussion of budget connected with the P. W. D. Walk-outs used to be the sole monopoly of the Congress party when they were in the opposition in various legislatures and it seemed that after acceptance of office they have left the practice as a legacy for others now forming the opposition Later in the day a counter-statement was issued by Mr. *Rafi Ahmed Kidwai*, Revenue Minister, that every member of the Muslim League party knew that Hafiz Saheb was resigning by the end of September in order to seek re-election and it was for them to explain why they staged a walk-out when their demand had already been conceded.

After various demands in connection with the P W. D. were voted in full, the House took up the demand under Administration of Justice. A cut motion was moved by Mr. *Mubasir Husain Kidwai* urging the abolition of the Legal Remembrancer s department and transferring its duties to the office of the Advocate-General. The motion was opposed by the Minister for Justice who said that the Legal Remembrancer had heavy duties to perform but promised to look into the question very closely, giving due weight to the opinions expressed in the House as those which would be available from other quarters. The motion was withdrawn and the House adjourned.

21st SEPTEMBER—The abolition of courts of honorary magistrates was urged by Mr. *Zahiruddin Faruki* (Muslim League) in the Assembly to-day in connection with the demand under Administration of Justice A lively debate followed in the course of which Congress party members strongly opposed the proposal. *Dr. Katju*, Minister for Justice, said that it was almost a libel to say that in U P. they would not be able to find about 1,000 persons to do honest justice between man and man. He added that if the present personnel was bad, thay should not condemn the institution itself. He agreed that honorary magistrates should be made to work during fixed hours and that no honorary magistrates should should hold court in his own house. The cut motion was rejected

Three other cut motions were also rejected by the House earlier in the day. The attention of the Government was drawn to the futility of the institution of assessors by one of them and the need for substituing it by trial by jury. Another motion suggested that 50 per cent of the posts of district and sessions judges should be filled by members of the Provincial Judicial Service and members of the bar. The demand was voted in full and the House adjourned.

22nd. SEPTEMBER:—University education needs to be thoroughly overhauled and it no longer meets the requirements of the province. This view was expressed in the Assembly to-day in connection with the demand under Education. *Maulvi Fasihuddin* who sponsored the cut motion considered that the modern system of education imparted in the provincial universities was responsible for acute unemployment among the educated classes. A Congress woman expressed the view that English education was responsible for slave mentality prevalent among Indians. Mr. *H. G. Walford* thought that English education had produced

patriots like Mahatma Gandhi and had raised national consciousness among Indians. The cut motion was withdrawn after the reply of the Education Minister.

That the creation of separate intermediate colleges in accordance with the recommendations of the Saddler Commission was directly responsible for the great deterioration in the standard of knowledge of the average graduate who could neither write nor speak correct English, was the view expressed by *Maulvi Fasihuddin* in connection with another cut motion. He asked for information whether the Government intended to make any change in this connection The Education Minister replying said that the question was under consideration of the Government in connection with the remodelling of the whole educational policy.

There was a lively debate on another cut motion urging the abolition of the Teachers' Training College at Allahabad and the training schools at Lucknow and Agra. The suggestion found no favour with the Government and the motion was eventually withdrawn.

23rd. SEPTEMBER —The voting of demands for grants was concluded to-day According to the rules the guillotine was applied at 5 p. m and all the demands which could not be discussed were voted by the Assembly An unusual feature of this year's budget session was that all demands were voted in full without reduction of even a single rupee. This was inevitable when the party in power had an overwhelming majority at its back in the House

One cut motion was moved today to press the adoption of Hindustani as the medium of instruction in the intermediate colleges and schools Except for a discordant note struck by *Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf* the motion received an enthusiastic support by all sections of the House.

The second cut motion drew the attention of the Government towards the inadequate provision for the spread of secondary education among the depressed classes Two others referred to the inadequacy of the grant given to the George School, Kaimganj, and the desirability of purchasing the building of the late Church Mission High School.

The last motion was under discussion when the guillotine was applied It stressed the need of greater expenditure on secondary education for girls. The House then adjourned

Khadi as Govt. Uniform

24th SEPTEMBER —Non-official resolutions were discussed in the Assembly to-day. The first resolution as amended and passed recommended to the Government that all uniforms of Government servants supplied by the Government should be made of handspun and handwoven *khadi* as far as possible and that all articles purchased by Government should be Swadeshi except such as were not available in India. The resolution as it was originally worded also recommended that caps of Gandhi pattern should be substituted for turbans of the police but this portion was deleted. There was no opposition to the resolution from members not belonging to the Congress party and it was accepted by Government and adopted by the house amidst cheers.

Provisions for Free Grazing Lands

There was, however, a keen divergence of opinion even among the Congress members on the second resolution moved by a Congress member about provision for free grazing lands in villages It was withdrawn after the Minister in charge, *Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim*, had promised a sympathetic consideration of the whole matter

Non-attachment and Sale of Zamindaries

Just before the House adjourned *Major Raja Durga Narayan Singh of Tirwa* formally moved the next resolution in which the zamindar community in the province was vitally interested. It recommended to Government that coercive processes should be taken against zamindars in the realization of land revenue and no attachments and sales of their properties should be made for failure to pay land revenue Mr. *Bindbasini Prasad* (Congress) raised a technical objection saying that it was *ultra vires* as it involved suspension of certain sections of the Land Revenue Act relating to realisation of land revenue for abrogation of which there was at present no legislation. He said that the resolution was against the express provisions of

the law and the law could not be modified merely by a resolution. The speaker overruled the objection, remarking: 'I am quite clear that the law will not be modified by this resolution.

25th. SEPTEMBER:—The Assembly to-day rejected the resolution moved by *Major Raja Durga Narayan Singh* The resolution was opposed by the Revenue Minister, Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, and members of the Congress party who did not accept the view that the recent stay orders passed by Government had rendered it difficult for zamindars to pay their land revenue

OTHER NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

The next resolution urging the appointment of a committee to enquire into corruption and bribery rampant in different departments was moved by a Congressite Pandit *Vishambhar Dayal Tripathi* and accepted on behalf of the Government by the Premier, Mr. Pant.

The House also passed the resolution urging that immediate steps should be taken to prevent adulteration of pure ghee and other fraudulent practices by ghee-dealers by enjoining on the manufacturers of vegetable oil and other similar products to colour their products before marketing them.

Another resolution recommended the formation of district uplift associations and urged that candidates desirous of joining public services in addition to their educational and other qualifications should have at least two years' honorary service to their credit in connection with village development work to the satisfaction of the district uplift association The resolution further recommended that for temporary appointments preference should be given to persons who have shown special zeal and aptitude for such service and they should also be required to put in two years' satisfactory honorary training in rural uplift before confirmation in their appointments. The House then adjourned till the 27th.

HINDI & URDU SPEECH IN ASSEMBLY

27th. SEPTEMBER.—Babu *Purushottam Das Tandon*, the Speaker, announced in the Assembly to-day the receipt of a letter signed by 163 members requesting him to arrange that all papers distributed to them should, also, be printed in Hindi and Urdu and that the supply of agenda alone in those languages was not sufficient. He had, also, received another letter signed by members who were not acquainted with English language requesting him to protect their rights and make arrangements to enable them to follow the proceedings The Speaker said that these letters raised an important issue. He also referred to the criticisms of the English dailies in the province

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS (CONTD)

The Assembly next adopted two resolutions, one urging the formulation of a scheme for the separation of the judicial and executive functions and the other urging the appointment of a committee to revise the present educational policy of Government Two other resolutions relating to district uplift associations and amendment of the existing law regarding submerged lands were withdrawn after discussion

A proposal was made for an all-night sitting to dispose of the remaining non-official resolutions on the agenda, but the House adjourned.

MINISTERS SALARIES BILL

28th. SEPTEMBER:—The Ministers' Salaries and Allowances Bill, fixing a salary of Rs. 75 a month and an allowance of Rs 2-8 daily during the session plus double third class fare for each member, was referred to a Select Committee.

The Assembly granted all the supplementary demands, including a sum for giving effect to a provincial marketing scheme to which there was a grant from the Centre. Another grant was intended for a committee for investigating the co-operative movement and another for advising the Government regarding the flood committee's recommendations. Rs 15,000 was granted for flood relief.

The House appointed a committee to revise the present educational policy of the Government with a view to utilizing "the available resources to the best advantage and to make education consonant with the need of the changing times. The committee was empowered to suggest the necessary modification of the existing law.

HINDI & URDU SPEECH IN ASSEMBLY (CONTD.)

Both the Premier, Pandit *G. B. Pant* and the *Speaker* referred to the representations they had received from members that the papers and the agenda supplied to members should be in Hindi and Urdu script The Speaker said that members must have observed that even the permission that had been accorded by him to members to speak in the House in Hindustani had been questioned by two English newspapers of the province who considered that as things stood he had given greater latitude to members than was permissible according to their reading of the Standing Orders. The Speaker added that the issue was important and he intended to take up the interpretation of Rule 19 the next day

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS (CONTD.)

A resolution regarding the formation of district uplift associations and suggesting that besides educational and other qualifications candidates for public services should have at least two years' experience of honorary service in connection with village development was withdrawn after the Minister-in-charge had explained the Government's rural development policy. Similarly a resolution suggesting relief to those cultivators whose lands become submerged on account of the change in the courses of rivers by giving them lands on the opposite bank, was withdrawn.

Expressing sympathy with the resolution Mr *Rafi Ahmed Kidwai*, Revenue Minister, stated that the Government were corresponding with the Bihar Government on the subject and hoped very soon to bring forward definite proposals He added that the Government of India had been referred to on the subject on three previous occasions.

HINDI SPEECH IN ASSEMBLY (CONTD)

29th SEPTEMBER.—The Assembly devoted a considerable part of the day to an interpretation of Rule 19 regarding its procedure and decided by 135 votes to 2 that the Speaker has the power to require or permit any member, who was not sufficiently acquainted with English, to address the Assembly in Hindustani"

The Speaker (*Mr P Tandon*) had received two representations on the subject signed by a large number of members and had also noticed some Press criticism, discourteous criticism he called it, that he had disregarded the rule in the past. He now sought the advice of the House on the matter

The Advocate General (Mr *N P Asthana*) said that the Speaker was right in his interpretation to the proviso The Speaker had wide discretion and could require any member to speak English, Urdu or Hindi as the occasion arose.

The Premier (Pandit *G. B Pant*) said that the Speaker was perfectly competent to give a ruling on the subject, which came within his exclusive jurisdiction, and he thanked the Chair for having set up the very wholesome procedure of consulting the House As for Rule 19, every parliamentary body, he said, had the inherent right to determine the rules regulating its course of business Rules should not stand in the way of genuine discussions or of the interplay or interaction of ideas, which was the essence of reasoned criticism It was only fair but necessary, and to some extent essential, that members should have the freedom of adopting that vehicle of expression which alone could approach the mind of every member of the House.

THE SALARIES BILL

The Assembly next rejected the amendment made in the U P Legislature (Officers' Salaries) Bill by the Council to the effect that the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly should be paid Rs. 1,000 and not Rs 2,000 annually.

Both the Congress and the Opposition felt that it was an incursion on the rights of the House The members, however, meant no disrespect to the Council and allowed the higher salary for the Deputy Speaker, compared to that of the Deputy President, in consideration of his greater duties

The Assembly next passed the Bill to amend the U P Agriculturists' Relief Act 1934. The three parts of an amendment, moved by Mr. *Obaidur Rahman Khan*, were negatived by 100 to 34 votes

The House passed the Stay of Proceedings (Revenue Courts) Amendment Bill 1937 while the motion for circulation of the U. P. Court of Wards Amendment Bill 1937 was accepted.

PRESS & LEGISLATURE—SPEAKER'S OBJECTION

30th SEPTEMBER —After questions to-day Babu *Purshottamdas Tandon*, the Speaker, said . "Honourable members will remember that in a statement which I made the day before yesterday in regard to my interpretation of Rule 19 of the U. P. Assembly Rules, I took exception to the language which was used by two English dailies of the province and said they had in their language shown utter lack of courtesy which was expected from responsible journals when speaking of this Assembly and its proceedings.

"I find that *The Leader* has, in an issue which has been put in my hand to-day, complained against my criticism of its language. *The Pioneer* also apparently believes there is nothing in its language which justified the opinion which I expressed but it has assured me that it meant no disrespect to the House or discourtesy to the Speaker. So has *The Leader*. I quite accept their statements.

"*The Leader* has invited me to say to what part of the language used by it or by *The Pioneer* I took exception I would remind these papers that reflections on members of this House or on their conduct is improper If they delve into the proceedings of the House of Commons in England, they will come across a number of cases in which such comments and such reflections upon the conduct of the Members of the House were strongly resented and taken notice of *The Leader* said 'In the circumstances we are rather surprised at the latitude allowed by the Speaker of the U. P. Assembly to members to disregard the Act as well as the Rule and allow even those who, for years, have been speaking in English to address the Assembly in Hindustani Frankly, we think he is wrong When, however, over-zealous members make a scene such as they did against a colleague for venturing to act in accordance with the act and rules we think the limit is reached'

"Here, there is a reflection upon this House and it is clearly said that the House has been acting in disregard of the Act and the Rules and that the Speaker has been allowing them to do so And then to say that 'The limit is reached'—that is the language which is not respectful to this House and I take exception to that

"Similarly I find an objectionable expression in the language of *The Pioneer* To take one sentence: 'The *Leader* does not seem to be aware how far disregard of law and rules was already gone' That is a charge against this Assembly.

"The insinuation is that this Assembly has been habitually disregarding the law and the rules in this respect Again, take another sentence 'But such changes should not be brought about by a tacit ignoring of the rules, as if this House has, of set purpose, been ignoring the rules' ! And then, speaking of the Speaker of this Assembly, the *Pioneer* said 'if he does not intend to uphold the legal practice etc.' As if the Speaker is interested in not upholding legal practice ! As if he has not only been ignoring legal practice but deliberately been trying to act in a manner which is not consistent with legal practice ! I say that all this is very very disrespectful to the House.

"Mr. Walford and a few other members the day before yesterday, dissented from my view and the general view of the House. They had a right to do so. And they expressed their dissent in proper language. These papers also have a right to dissent from the interpretation that the Speaker or the House puts upon a particular section or any particular rule. But then, to insinuate that we had been deliberately disregarding the rules—I say that is a language which is a reflection upon the House. I do not wish to go further into the matter I would only remind these papers which are edited by able, talented and responsible journalists that language of this kind in other countries having representative institutions would be regarded as improper. But of course it is a matter of taste. Probably it may not appear so to them.

"I had definitely given a ruling sometime ago that under Rule 19 Hindustani could be spoken in this House even by members who knew English. They were very likely aware of that ruling. They could have criticised me They could have said my interpretation was not correct. But they should not have attributed to the House downright disregard of the rules and the law on the subject. To use language of this kind is, to my mind, to be disrespectful to the House.

"This is my answer to the invitation which was extended to me to point out as to where I found fault with the language used by these newspapers. If representatives of these newspapers wish to go further into this matter with me, they may do so in my chamber."

There was an interesting interlude in connection with a token cut by *Khan*

Bahadur Obaidur Rahman (Independent Party). The mover, in the course of the debate, said that he would not withdraw his cut motion and would press for a division unless he received a satisfactory answer from the Revenue Minister. Later, however, when he wanted to withdraw the motion, the House refused permission and the motion was defeated without a division.

DEMAND FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (CONTD.)

1st. OCTOBER .—The Assembly devoted a full day to-day debating the Constituent Assembly resolution and its amendments

Begum Shahid Husain, speaking on the resolution, demanded that the majority should concede the demand of the minority She pleaded for a wider outlook and expected that as in the case of children, the Congress would give way to the Opposition's obstinacy and bring them round by convincing them of their sympathy

Mr *Sampurnanand* (Congress Socialist) was surprised by the amendments, though he thought that the resolution had not been properly worded He believed that in the presence of the British Government they had not the right to think of making a constitution according to their will. Tracing the history of the Constituent Assembly, he said that in India it first came through Mr M. N. Roy It meant nothing like the Round Table Conference or the Nehru Committee. The Constituent Assembly, according to him, could be called after a successful revolution in the country when there would be no question of the sort expressed in the amendments Everything has to be done on the basis of adult franchise.

Dr *Husain Zaheer* (Congress) said that the resolution had been brought up to show clearly that the Ministers had not changed their mind by accepting office.

Maulvi Muhammad Ismail (Muslim League) said they demanded safeguards for religious rights which they valued above all. The Muslims who had gone over to the Congress had represented the Muslim view A Muslim, he asserted, existed for the protection of his religion and whatever else he did should be subservient to religion. The whole world could not change the personal law of the Muslims.

Mr *Mohanlal Gautam* (Congress) said that it was a revolutionary period and they had to train the masses The revolution need necessarily be bloody. The Constituent Assembly would be called when it reached the final stage. The present House was an indication of the coming revolution.

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS TO MAHATMA

2nd OCTOBER .—The Premier, *Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant* moved to-day a resolution of greetings to Mahatma Gandhi on the occasion of his 69th birthday. The resolution was supported by the leaders of the various parties and communities and was adopted by the House amidst applause.

DEMAND FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (CONTD)

The debate on the resolution on constituent assembly was then resumed and it was wound up in the afternoon by the Premier.

In the course of an elaborate speech, the *Premier* said that the Government of India Act stood condemned. Its federal part was monstrous and it would be a calamity if they had to submit to it. The resolution, he opined, did no more than enunciate the principle of self-determination, and when they asked for a constituent assembly, they asked only for the practical application and adoption of the principle.

The Premier referred to fears of a revolution taking place in connection with the constituent assembly and pointed out that so far as the Congress, the present attitude of the people of India, and the native genius of their country were concerned, it did not involve any idea of violence or bloodshed. The use of the word 'revolutionary' should not scare anybody.

The Premier opposed all the three amendments on the order paper, and explained the attitude of the Congress towards the 'communal award' and the minorities. He asserted with the full authority of the President of the Congress that when they had reached the stage of a constituent assembly, the elections to it would be held by means of adult franchise and that if the Muslims desired, they would be on the basis of separate electorates. He personally felt that separates would have been replaced by a common, agreed solution long before that. He stressed that a free

India would be a source of strength to Islam and added that if India had been a free country, all that had now happened in Palestine would not have taken place The one panacea for all their ills was the vital principle of freedom.

After the Premier's speech, the House negatived all the three amendments. The Muslim League party pressed their amendment to a division, and it was rejected by the House by 125 votes against 45.

As soon as the result as the division was announced, the leader of the Muslim League party, *Chaudhury Khalique-uz-Zaman*, made a statement, more| or less in the same form, had been accepted by the Congress party in the Bihar Legislative Assembly and that as it had been defeated by the majority party here, the Muslim members proposed to walk out in protest. All the non-Congress Muslim members who had voted for the amendment, with the exception of Maulvi Fasihuddin, then walked out of the Assembly amidst jeers from Congress benches The original resolution was then passed amidst applause.

The House then passed the Muslim Waqfs (amendment) Bill and was adjourned till the 5th, after motions for elections to various bodies had been made.

5th OCTOBER .—After passing a Bill to provide for the temporary postponement of the execution of certain decrees of Civil Courts against agriculturists, the Assembly was prorogued amidst shouts of "Gandhiji-ki-Jai"

Proceedings of the Council

Lucknow—29th. July—3rd. August 1937

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT & DY. PRESIDENT

The U P Legislative Council (Upper House), constituted under the new Act, met for the first time on the **29th. July** in the Council Chamber for swearing in· of members.

Rai Bahadur Brijendra Swarup, after taking the oath took the chair as *interim* president After the oath-taking ceremony, the president adjourned the House till July 31.

31st. JULY —*Sir Sita Ram* (Independent) was declared elected President of the Council securing 37 votes as against his rival *Pandit Rama Kant Malaviya* (Congress), who polled 20 votes. Fifty-eight votes were cast, one was declared invalid. *Begam Aizaz-ul-Rasul* was declared elected unanimously as deputy president of the Council.

THE U P. LEGISLATURE BILL

3rd AUGUST :—Moving the United Provinces Legislature Bill to-day, *Dr. Katju*, Minister of Justice, said, "The Congress stands for reduction in salaries all round It is in the fitness of things that high and fantastic salaries be stopped and they must bear some proportion to the average national income." He added that the corruptibility is a question of temperament and environment and not a question of low or high salary.

Dr. Ram Ugrah Singh raised a point of order under sec. 82 (3) of the India Act, contending that the Governor's assent was necessary before consideration of this Bill. He was followed by *Syed Kalbe Abbas* who too argued similarly.

Dr Narayan Prasad Asthana, Advocate-General, refuting the arguments, observed that as no new expenditure was involved the House was competent to consider the Bill.

Dr. Katju remarked that as the Bill had emanated from the Lower House no objection could be taken by the Council.

The *President*, giving his ruling, observed that important and technical issues had cropped up and both the sides had adduced weighty arguments He wished he had time before deciding the same. He added that purses must remain in the hands of one authority. That was the principle underlying the section in question. Governor meant Government. The President did not agree with Dr. Katju when he said that no objection could be taken by this House because the Bill had emanated from the Lower House, nor could he agree with Dr Asthana when he said that because the salary was provided in the Act no new expenditure was involved

Then the Bill was considered clause by clause with one amendment The Ministers' Salaries Bill was also passed The Opposition challenged a division thereon but it also confirmed the President's previous declaration

Thereafter the Parliamentary Secretaries' Bill was taken up. *Dr Katju*, moving the same, commended it to the House.

Mr. *Akhtar Hussain*, opposing the same, pleaded for circulation of the Bill to elicit public opinion However, subsequently after a division it was passed. Then the President adjourned the Council *sine die*

Budget Session—Lucknow—3rd. to 11th. September 1937

LAND REVENUE POLICY—ADJ. MOTION

The Government suffered a defeat in the Council which commenced its Budget Session at Lucknow on the **3rd. September 1937**, *Sir Sitaram* presiding. Dr. *Ram Ugrah Singh* moved the adjournment of the House to discuss the serious situation arising from the recent orders of the Government. staying proceedings against tenants under proprietors, as a definite matter of urgent public importance

In the course of the debate, allegations were made that the orders were responsible for riots, disturbances and murders.

The Opposition's closure motion was carried by 30 votes to 13 and the adjournment was carried without a division

A similar adjournment motion was disallowed in the Lower House yesterday by the Speaker. The House then adjourned till September 6

6th SEPTEMBER :—The Budget was presented in the Council to-day by Dr *K N Katju.*

The adjournment motion to discuss the Council's non-representation in the proposed agrarian committee was ruled out by the President, following Dr Katju's explanation that the announcement of the personnel of the Committee given publicity to by a section of the press was not an official one.

BILLS & RESOLUTIONS

7th SEPTEMBER —The Council transacted quick business this morning Mr *Madho Prasad* introduced a Bill to amend the U P Encumbered Estates Act of 1934 and another to amend the U P Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1934

Mr *Har Sahai Gupta* moved a resolution, recommending to the Government to set up a Committee to enquire into the grievances of cane-growers in the Province, but withdrew it on an assurance from the Hon. Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, the Leader of the House, that the Government were alive to the cane-growers' interest and would do their best to ameliorate their conditions.

The House carried Mr *Ramchandra Gupta's* resolution as amended by Mr *Laxmiraj Singh*, recommending to the Government that the President of the U. P. Council be furnished the same house accommodation as the Speaker of the Assembly.

Mr *Waheed Ahmed's* resolution that steps should be taken either to abolish the Zemindary system or to detract from its inherent and statutory rights and that an assurance should be given to the Zamindars of safeguards for their legal and statutory rights was postponed further discussion.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

9th. SEPTEMBER —"The Zemindars have amply justified the existence of their class by being pioneers in charity and being foremost in paying generously towards all institutions of public benefit" was the reply to the cry of "Down with the Zamindars" when the Council took up general discussion of the budget to-day. It was

argued on behalf of the Zamindars that they were falsely accused of bringing about the poverty of the masses. The recent stay orders struck at the very root of the existence of the Zamindars and it was due to the inexperience of the Congress Government that no heed was paid to their point of view. The Zemindars had their own difficulties and recently the too exacting attitude of the Government had aggravated their lot The Government were giving relief in rent but not in revenue. Rai Bahadur Mohanlal feared that the sum earmarked for rural development would be used for furthering Congress propaganda in the countryside.

OFFICIAL BILLS

11th. SEPTEMBER :—The Council passed to-day the U P Municipalities Act, the U.P. Stay of Proceedings (Revenue Courts) Bill sent up by the Assembly while consideration of the Bill to amend the Agra Tenancy Act was postponed

The *Revenue Minister* announced that a committee for revision of rents and revenues consisting of twenty-five members was likely to be appointed on Sept 23. The Council then adjourned *sine die.*

October Session—Lucknow—29th. Sept. to 23rd. October 1937

BILLS & RESOLUTIONS

The Council commenced its October Session at Lucknow on the **29th. September**, *Sir Sitaram* presiding

Bills to amend the U. P Encumbered Estates Act 1934 and the U P. Agriculturists' Relief Act 1934 were moved by Mr *Madhoprasad Khanna* They were referred to select committees.

During the course of discussion on a resolution moved by Mr. *Ramchandra Gupta*, *Mr Mahmudullah Jung*, the Premier's parliamentary secretary, was moving an amendment when Mr *Akhtar Hussain*, on a point of order asked if it was permissible to separate the mover's private capacity from his official capacity, and whether he could move an amendment as a parliamentary secretary.

The *President* ruled as follows "It is very difficult to know when a parliamentary secretary speaks for the Government and when he speaks in his individual capacity A parliamentary secretary is a whole time officer, and he speaks on behalf of the Government on the department with which he is officially connected, but if the subject under discussion does not relate to his department, he can at times speak in his individual capacity."

ENTERTAINMENT & BETTING TAX BILL

30th. SEPTEMBER :—The Council refused permission this morning to Government to move consideration of the U P. Entertainment and Betting Tax Bill passed by the Assembly.

On the question of postponement *Dr Katju*, Minister of Justice raised a point of order that the Upper House had not the power to postpone consideration of a bill coming from the Lower House. The House could only refer to a select committee but that stage too had been gone through by the Assembly

The *President*, giving a provisional ruling, gave the benefit of doubt to the Opposition and held the motion for postponement in order. The House then adjourned

BILLS & RESOLUTIONS

1st OCTOBER .—The Council conducted to-day non-official business and referred to a Select Committee the Encumbered Estates Act Amending Bill and the Agriculturists' Relief Act Amending Bill, and passed a number of resolutions

The *President* announced that the Assembly had sent back for the consideration of the House the Salaries Bill in which the Council had inserted an amendment that the Deputy Speaker like the Deputy President be paid Rs. 1,000 a year.

Among the resolutions passed were Mr, *Radheyraman Lal's* resolution recommending that some harmless colouring be given to vegetable ghee and similar products to prevent adulteration of ghee , Mr *Babulal's* resolution urging military drill and the establishment of cadet crops in intermediate and degree colleges, and Dr. *Ramanugrah Singh's* resolution on the subject of the recovery of the arrears of land revenue under the Land Revenue Act of 1901.

A resolution recommending the appointment of a committee to inquire into the working of the system of motor transport in the province was withdrawn on an assurance by the Minister of Communications that the Government were considering the matter.

2nd. & 5th. OCTOBER :—The Council passed to-day the U. P Legislature (Officers Salaries) Bill, as originally passed by the Assembly, thus obviating the necessity of calling a joint session of the two Houses.

The Council also passed the Agra Tenancy (Amendment) Bill and the U. P. Stay of Proceedings (Revenue Courts Amendment) Bill. It postponed consideration of the U. P. Agriculturists Relief (Amendment) Bill, and adjourned till **5th October** when the Entertainment Betting Tax Bill was considered and a number of amendments were moved and withdrawn The Bill was then passed into law. The House then adjourned till 21st October.

AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF BILL

21st OCTOBER .—The Council had a brief sitting for two hours and a half when it met to-day to transact the business left over before the Dasehra recess.

The United Provinces Agriculturists' Relief (Amendment) Bill was considered and passed after a brief discussion *Lala Mohan Lal Sah* and Dr. *Ram Ugrah Singh* moved amendments which were withdrawn after the assurance given by the Minister for Justice.

EXECUTION OF DECREES BILL

Dr. *Mahmudullah Jung*, parliamentary secretary, next moved that the Temporary Postponement of Execution of Decrees Bill be taken into consideration He pointed out that this measure was intended for a brief duration until Government brought forward permanent legislation ere long Mr. *Ramchandra Gupta*, in a lengthy speech, opposed the consideration of the Bill, characterising it as absolutely unnecessary. In his opinion the effect of the Bill would be increase in litigation and fraud Khan Bahadur *Shaik Mazud-uz-Zaman* also opposed the consideration of the Bill in a vehement speech. At this stage *Syed Agha Hyder* moved that the debate be adjourned and the President taking the sense of the House announced that the House stood adjourned.

MORATORIUM BILL

22nd OCTOBER :—The Council spent the whole of this day in discussing the Moratorium Bill, though the proceedings were dull and monotonous except on two occasions when poll was demanded.

After the first reading was passed the Bill was discussed clause by clause. Out of 51 amendents in the agenda paper, 36 were disposed of when the Council rose for the day at half past five. All the amendments were negatived The chief contributors to the debate on the side of the Opposition were Mr. Ram Chandra Gupta, Lala Mohan Lal Sah, Rai Bahadur Mohan Lal, Rai Sahib Lala Mathura Das and Lala Janardan Sarup. On behalf of the Government Dr. Katju and Dr. Mahmadulla Jung replied.

At one stage of the proceedings, when *Dr. Jung* rose to reply on behalf of the Government, the *President* remarked that in the absence of the Minister of Revenue or the parliamentary secretary he had no right to speak, but he would allow him to do so as a special case Dr. Jung regretted the absence of the Minister and his secretary and explained that he began to speak on instructions received from the Minister.

EXECUTION OF DECREES BILL (CONTD)

23rd. SEPTEMBER .—The Temporary Postponement of Execution of Decrees Bill was passed to-day after it had been thoroughly discussed for nearly two days. In fact, it was the only Bill which occupied the attention of the House. All the amendments that were pressed by the Opposition members were negatived. The Bill was passed as it came out of the Assembly. Not even a comma or word was changed though it was strongly criticised at every stage.

Other items, namely, the United Provinces Muslim Waqfs Amendment Bill and the forecasts of settlements of Bareilly, Aligarh, Kheri, Fyzabad and the assessment reports of certain tahsils in Sitapur, Bahraich and Bijnor were passed without much discussion. The Council was then prorogued.

The Assam Legislative Council

LIST OF MEMBERS

President :—The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Monmohan Lahiri

1 Mrs. Zubida Ataur Rahman
2. Rai Bahadur Heramba Prosad Barua
3 Rai Sahib Sonadhar Das Senapati
4. Babu Apurba Kumar Ghosh
5 Babu Satyendra Mohon Lahiri
6 The Hon'ble Rai Bahbdur Monmohon Lahiri
7 Rai Sahib Balabaksh Agarwalla Hanchoria
8 Babu Gazanand Agarwalla
9 Rai Bahadur Rameswar Saharia
10 Rai Sahib Hem Chandra Dutt
11 Mr Sarat Chandra Bhattacharya
12 Babu Man Mohon Chaudhury
13 Babu Suresh Chandra Das
14 Maulvi Abdul Hai
15 Maulvi Tafazul Hussain Hazarika
16 Maulvi Md Asad-uddin Chaudhury
17 Khan Bahadur Maulavi Gous Uddin Ahmed Chaudhry
18 Maulvi Golam Mastafa Chaudhury
19 Maulvi Abdur Rahim Chaudhury
20 Mr H P Gray
21 Mr. W. E D Cooper

The Assam Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

Speaker .—The Hon'ble Mr. Basanta Kumar Das

Deputy Speaker .—Maulvi Muhammad Amiruddin

Ministers

1 The Hon'ble Maulavi Sayid Sir Muhammad Saadulla
2 The Hon'ble Shams-ul-Ulama Maulana Abu Nasr Muhammad Wahed
3 The Hon Rev. J. J. M Nichols-Roy
4 The Hon'ble Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri
5 The Hon'ble Maulavi Muhammad Ali Haidar Khan

Members

1 Kumar Ajit Narayan Dev
2 Babu Akshay Kumar Das
3 Mr. Arun Kumar Chanda
4 Mr. Baidyanath Mookerjee
5 Babu Balaram Sircar
6 The Hon'ble Mr. Basanta Kumar Das
7 Srijut Beliram Das
8 Srijut Bhuban Chandra Gogoi
9 Babu Bipin Behari Das
10 Srijut Bipin Candra Medhi
11 Babu Dakshianaranjan Gupta Chudhurih
12 Srijut Debeswar Sarmah
13 Ghanashyam Das
14 „ Gauri Kanta Talukdar
15 „ Gopinath Bardoloi
16 „ Haladhar Bhuyan
17 Babu Harendra Narayan Chaudhuri
18 Babu Hirendra Chandra Chakravarty
19 Srijut Jadav Prasad Chaliha
20 „ Jogendra Chandra Nath
21 „ Jogendra Narayan Mandal
22 Srijut Jogendra Nath Barua
23 „ Jogeshchandra Gohain
24 Babu Kalachand Roy
25 Srijut Kameswar Das
26 Babu Kamini Kumar Sen
27 „ Karuna Sindhu Roy
28 Mr Kedarmal Brahmin
29 Srijut Krishna Nath Sarmah
30 Srijut Lakshesvar Borooah
31 Babu Lalit Mohan Kar
32 Sj Mahadev Sarma
33 Dr. Mahendranath Saikia
34 Sj. Mani Chandra Bora
35 Mr. Naba Kumar Dutta
36 Sj Omeo Kumar Das
37 Sj. Paramananda Das
38 Rai Bahadur Promode Chandra Dutt
39 Sj. Purandar Sarma

40 Sj. Purna Chandra Sarma
41 Sj Rajani Kanta Barooah
42 ,, Rajendra Nath Barua
43 Sj. Ramnath Das
44 The Hon'ble Sj Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri
45 Sj. Sankar Chandra Barua
46 ,, Santosh Kumar Barua
47 ,, Sarveswar Barua
48 Babu Shibendra Chandra Biswas
49 Sj. Siddhi Nath Sarma
50 Maulvi Abdul Aziz
51 ,, Abdul Bari Chaudhury
52 Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan
53 Khan Bahadur Hazi Abdul Majid Chaudhury
54 Maulvi Abdul Matin
55 Maulvi Abdur Rahman
56 Maulvi Syed Abdur Rouf
57 Maulvi Md. Abdus Salam
58 ,, Dewan Muhammad Ahbab Chaudhury
59 The Hon'ble Maulvi Md Ali Haidar Khan
60 Maulvi Dewan Ali Raja
61 ,, Muhammad Amiruddin
62 ,, Muhammad Amjad Ali
63 ,, Asrafuddin Md Chaudhury
64 Maulvi Badaruddin Ahmed
65 Khan Bahadur Dewan Eklimur Roza
66 Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed
67 Maulvi Ghyasuddin Ahmed
68 Maulavi Jahanuddin Ahmed
69 Khan Bahadur Maulavi Keramat Ali
70 Maulavi Muhammad Maqbul Hussain
71 Khan Bahadur Maulavi Mahmud Ali
72 Maulvi Matior Rahman Mia
73 Maulavi Mabarak Ali
74 Khan Sahib Maulavi Mudabbir Hussain Chaudhuri
75 Khan Bahadur Maulavi Mufizur Rahman
76 Maulavi Munawwar Ali
77 Maulavi Muzarrof Ali Laskar
78 Maulavi Namwar Ali Barbhuiya
79 Maulavi Naziruddin Ahmed
80 Maulavi Sheikh Osman Ali Sadagar
81 The Hon'ble Maulavi Saiyid Sir Muhammad Saadulla
82 Khan Sahib Maulavi Sayidur Rahman
83 The Hon'ble Shamsul Ulema Maulana Abu Nasr Muhammad Waheed
84 Col A. B. Beddow
85 Mr. A F. Bendall
86 Mr J R Clayton
87 Mr W R. Faull
88 Mr W Fleming
89 Mr. B. I. Barry
90 Mr. F W Hockenhull
91 Mr D B H. Moore
92 Mr. R. A. Palmer
93 Miss Mavis Dunn
94 Mr. Benjamin Ch Momin
95 Srijut Bhairab Chandra Das
96 Srijut Bideshi Pan Tanti
97 Srijut Binode Kumab J. Sarwan
98 Srijut Dhirsingh Deuri
99 Rev L Gatphoh
100 Mr C. Goldsmith
101 Mr. Jobang D Marak
102 The Hon'ble Rev J. J. M Nichols Roy
103 Srijut Karka Dalay Miri
104 Srijut Khorsing Terang Mauzadar
105 Mr. P Parida
106 Srijut Rabi Chandra Kachari
107 Srijut Rupnath Brahma

Proceedings of the Assembly

Budget Session—Shillong—3rd. August to 1st. Sept. 1937

Financial Statement for 1937-38

The Budget session of the Assam Legislative Assembly under the new Act commenced at Shillong on the **3rd. August 1937.** *Sir Mohd Sa'adullah*, the Premier presenting the budget said that the estimated revenue for the year 1937-38 was Rs. 2,84,74,000 while the estimated expenditure was Rs 2,82,48,000 leaving a surplus of Rs. 2,26,000.

Surveying the financial position of the province from the time of the Meston Award, the Premier stressed the need for placing Assam in a better financial position. Although Sir Otto Niemeyer had wiped off all debates previous to April 1, 1936, the subvention of Rs 30 lakhs a year granted to Assam was a meagre one. The province should have been assisted by the assignment of either the whole or a portion of the proceeds of the excise duty on petrol and kerosine produced within the boundaries of the province, as was done in the case of Bengal with regard to the jute export duty All our claims for participating in this source of revenue have gone unheeded. Of course by the returen of 62 and half per cent of the jute export duty to the growing province we gain to the tune of about Rs. 11 lakhs but this gain is a very minute fraction of our present requirements. I am planning to approach the higher authorities again on the subject of suitable help to the province, the needs of which are many but which has no elastic source of revenue."

The Premier then paid a tribute to the rigid economy practised all along by the Government, for the revised estimates for 1936-37 revealed that the deficit for the year, which was estimated at Rs 46,78,000 would actually amount only to about Rs 32 lakhs. This result, he said, was due to the insistence of the Finance Department on the observance of rigid economy in every department

Sir Muhammad said that from the grant of Rs. 5 lakhs for rural uplift from the Central Government a sum of Rs. 1,55,000 had been set apart for the supply of good drinking water.

In conclusion, the Premier referred to the problem of unemployment in the province and said: To tackle this question we propose to start as an experimental measure an agricultural colony for educated youth. We also want to give training to our educated young men in cottage industries which we hope will be of benefit to the province. Similarly for expanding the activities of the Agricultural Department we are providing a sum of Rs. 20,000 to be equally divided for village reconstruction and agricultural demonstration. I am hoping the rural uplift scheme will provide for employment of some of our educated youth

Other Budgets

Then Maulana Abu Nasr Muhammad Waheed, Education Minister, presented his education budget and he was followed by Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury, Revenue Minister, Rev J J M Nichols Roy, Minister for Local Self-Government, and Maulvi Muhammad Ali Haidar Khan, Minister for Agriculture, who presented their respective budgets.

Six Government Bills, including the Salary Bills of Ministers, President, Speaker, Deputy President and Deputy Speaker, were introduced. The House then adjourned.

4th. AUGUST :—The Government scored the first victory in the Assembly to-day defeating by 51 votes to 47 the adjournment motion of Mr. *Fakhruddin Ali* Ahmed, drawing attention to the hunger-strike by Mr. Bepin Chandra Chakravarty and the sufferings of workers due to the lock-out by the management of the Assam match factory following a strike. The Congress Party voted for the motion.

The Sylhet Town Tenancy Bill was referred to a select committee.

"Line System" in Assam

5th. AUGUST :—The Assembly held a full dress debate to-day on the merits and demerits of the "line system" which was being maintained in order to confine settlement of land by immigrants to certain areas. Maulvi *Munawarali*, moving his

resolution for abolishing the "line system", said that while Indians were fighting for equal rights and privileges, it was unfair to confine immigrants within a particular area by setting up an arbitrary line—restricting immigration in this manner The economic loss to the country would be immense. The indigenous Assamese, by coming in contact with hardy immigrants, would learn a lesson, namely, that of competition Even Sylhet people were not allowed to take land outside the segregated area.

The *Speaker* asked the mover whether he would withdraw his motion, but as he did not accede to this the debate was adjourned.

Municipal Amend. Bill

6th AUGUST —The Assembly discussed to-day the Assam Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1937 moved by Mr. *Rajendra Nath Barua*. In introducing the Bill, the mover suggested, *inter alia*, that the salaried servants and ministerial officers of Government should be debarred from seeking election to the boards, that in an entirely elective body Government control should be loosened, making the Minister-in-charge the sole arbiter of self-governing institutions, and that the powers of sub-divisional officers to inspect a board's records or otherwise interfere with their international affairs, should be curtailed He suggested a select committee to consider the Bill. The motion was under consideration when the House rose

Local Rates Amend. Bill

Earlier in the day the first reading of the Assam Local Rates (Amendment) Bill 1937 brought forward by Maulavi *Abdul Matin Chaudhury* was passed

General Discussion of Budget

7th AUGUST —The Budget came in for severe criticism to-day when the Assembly took up a general discussion on the proposals put forward by the Finance Minister, *Sir Mohamed Saadullah*, the Premier.

"Hopeless and reactionary" were the epithets applied to the Budget by Mr. *Bardyanath Mukherjee*, who said there was no prospect of an expansion of provincial revenues under the principal heads such as land revenue, stamps and registration even after the enhancement resulting from the recent re-settlement proceedings and the Stamp and Court Fees (Amendment) Acts.

How were the increasing costs of top-heavy provincial autonomy to be met, he asked Taxation was out of the question. The only way left was retrenchment

Comparing the figures for 1933-34 and 1937-38, he said, the cost of general administration had increased from Rs 24 80,000 to Rs 31,03,000 and that for the police had increased from Rs 27,17,000 to Rs. 31,83 000. The total budgeted expenditure was Rs. 282,48,000 and general administration and police had swallowed a little less than a quarter of this total.

Maulvi Abdul Matin Chaudhury said the Budget revealed a bankruptcy in ideas and a bankruptcy in statesmanship For the most vital problems—the removal of illiteracy of the masses and their indebtedness—little had been done.

Mr *Lalit Mohan Kar* criticized the excise revenue of Rs. 35,48,000 as tainted revenue. He suggested retrenchment by the abolition of two commissionerships, a reduction in the salaries of Ministers and their establishments, reductions in the pay of officers of the Public Services Commission, the abolition of the posts of assistant and deputy superintendents of police, and assistant inspectors of schools.

Mr. *Omeo Kumar Das* (Congress) said the Budget was in reality a deficit budget and that the expected revenues from jute and land revenue were not likely to materialize as, in fact, less jute was being grown now. The condition of the people had not improved but had gone from bad to worse and he apprehended a failure of crops from insufficient rain.

Mr. *Krishna Nath Sarma* regretted that the Government had not spent the grant given by the Government of India last year for rural development.

Khan Bahadur Muffizur Rahman drew the attention of the Government to the deplorable condition of Balaganj, once a famous mart in Assam, and suggested its improvement by a proper motorable road connecting with the Sylhet-Sherpur road at Tajpur.

Maulvi Ashroffuddin Md. Chowdhury said that the resources of Assam depended mainly upon land revenue, excise and forest revenues.

9th. AUGUST :—*Khan Sahib Sayidur Rahman* desired members of the House to place themselves in the position of the Finance Member who had had no time to prepare well-defined schemes and had had to work under limitation of time and funds. He suggested that it would be wrong to think that Ministers were callous and indifferent to the good of the people and he deprecated mere destructive criticism.

Maulvi Muhammed Maqbul Hussain Chaudhury said that the amount of Rs. 62,633 budgeted for the Sylhet and Khanapara farms was "a colossal waste of public money." These farms, he said, were "mere depots of a wasting disease known as "Johns disease."

Mr. *Arun Kumar Chanda* criticized the administration of justice in Cachar where a garden manager was called upon to act as a judge in a case brought against him.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi Keramat Ali said that the financial condition of the province had not been happy for several years, and that for each year there had been some deficit taxation He suggested the Public Service Commission of Assam taking up the work of the Revenue Tribunal and so saving about Rs 40,000 a year. He concluded by saying that jails in Assam were full of corruption.

Mr. *Mahi Chandra Bora* asked Government to stabilize their finances. "Government spends two-thirds of their income in pay and pensions to Government officers."

Maulvi Syed Abdur Rouf suggested the abolition of the Agriculture Department if matters were not improved there.

10th AUGUST —Mr *Gopinath Bardoloi*, (Leader of the Congress party—the largest single group in the House) said that the Congress "wants to reject the Federal Constitution and will not allow it to function." If it comes at all, said the speaker, the Congress will offer resistance to it.

Dr. *Mahendra Nath Saikia* said that the present budget was nothing but an imitation of the past bureaucratic Government with some attempts at improvements in the nation-building departments. He suggested that resolutions brought forward by members for a 50 per cent reduction in land revenue, for reduction of local rates, and for writing off agricultural loans might bring the Government to a standstill. Then, there were various proposals for the formation of various committees.

Mr. *Mahi Chandra Bara* asked the Minister in a supplementary question whether he was aware that people had lost complete confidence in the Agriculture Department, and whether he was aware of the popular demand for breeding bulls in place of agricultural demonstrators

The *Finance Minister* (Mr R K. Chowdhury) replied that he was not aware of such a view That might be the view of the speaker

Maulavi *Nazruddin Ahmed* was pleased to see that the Finance Member was able to present a surplus budget after years of deficit.

Maulvi *Abdur Rahman* brought to the notice of the House that Assam, which was once governed by a Chief Commissioner with a Chief Secretary, was now being governed with one Governor, so many Secretaries and five Ministers. The cost, he said, was enormous He pressed for "the abolition of the C. I. D, as it had outlived its utility and should be disbanded."

12th. AUGUST :—The Ministers replied to-day to the criticisms made against their departments during the last three days' budget discussion

Maulvi *Mohammad Ali Haidar Khan*, Minister for Agriculture, said that several members had referred to the inadequacy of funds provided for agricultural colonies There was a misapprehension on the subject. Rs. 1,500 would be spent not for a colony but for a small training farm near Jorhat where boys would receive practical training and at the same time earn wages. This grant was for this year only and a larger grant would be provided next year if necessary. He justified the retention of such posts as agricultural inspectors and deputy directors of agriculture for supervising the work of demonstrators. Mr. Khan admitted that the veterinary staff was very inadequate but unless, he said, the local boards bore their share of the expenditure the Government could not do much. There were, he said, serious administrative and technical difficulties in amalgamating the veterinary and agricultural departments under one head.

Mr. *J. J. M. Nichols Roy*, Minister, Local Self-Government, promised to do his best

for fighting epidemic diseases in the province He suggested that local boards should start dispensaries in rural areas for the benefit of the people.

Mr. *Rohini Kumar Chaudhury*, Revenue Minister, said he expected an increase in land revenue as there had been an extension of settlement of land in different districts.

Maulana Abu Nasar Mohammad Waheed, Education Minister, sympathised with the members for demanding more money for education, but in the present state of the province's finances, it was not possible to undertake further expenditure.

Sir *Mohammad Saadulla*, the Premier, said that the suggestions made by the members of the House would be carefully considered by the Ministry Retrenchment, he said, was not the sole or sufficient remedy. He was investigating through a committee how money could be found for nation-building departments.

Local Rates Amend. Bill

The Government sustained a heavy defeat when Mr *Abdul Matin Choudhury's* Local Rates Amendment Bill, which provides one anna and four pies for every rupee of the annual value of the land in the place of the existing rate of two annas and eight pies per rupee was passed by 67 against 37 votes The *Revenue Minister's* amendment, empowering His Excellency the Governor to fix the time for the Bill's coming into operation, was lost without a division.

Removal of Disqualifications Bill

14th AUGUST —The Government scored a victory to-day, carrying by 60 to 37 votes the consideration stage of the Assam Province Legislature (Removal of Disqualifications) Bill, according to which mauzadars and Government pleaders will be eligible for election to the legislature and members of the legislature for appointment as parliamentary secretaries.

There was a heated discussion when the Removal of Disqualifications Bill was introduced. Mr *Deveswar Sarmah* (Congress) said that mauzadars were obliged to the Government in different ways and had great influence with the ryots from whom they collect revenues. They were virtually semi-Government servants and should not be allowed to stand for election to the legislatures.

Mr. *Rohini Kumar Chowdhury*, Minister, Judicial and Revenue, supporting the claims of mauzadars, said that the Punjab Government had passed a Bill on similar lines and informed the House that the *mauzadars* were not really servants of the Crown. They only received certain allowances. The Government motion being put to vote was carried by 60 to 38.

Salaries Bills

The Assembly also passed the consideration stage of the other Government Bills, namely, the Speaker's Salary Bill, the Deputy Speaker's Salary Bill, the Ministers' Salaries Bill, the Council Presidents Salary Bill, the Deputy President's Salary Bill, and the Court of Wards Act (Amendment) Bill.

Sir Mohammad Saadulla in moving for consideration of the Assam Ministers' Salaries Bill, said that formerly the Ministers' salaries were Rs 3,500 a month, but in the present Bill the Premier's salary was put down at Rs 2,800 and that of other Ministers at Rs 1,800 a month.

Mr. *Dakshina Ranjan Gupta Chawdhuri* (Congress) said that the motion, in its present form, was out of order as there was no such term as "Chief Minister" in section 51 of the Government of India Act So, in providing a salary for a "Chief Minister" they would be providing salary for a gentleman who did not exist in the eyes of the law.

Maulvi Abdul Matin Chowdhury said that salaries of Ministers should be commensurate with the responsibilities involved. At the same time, he said, the economic condition of the country must be taken into consideration. He suggested a compromise between the Congress and Government views

Second Chamber in Assam

16th AUGUST —A number of speeches were made to-day, criticising the introduction of the Second Chamber in the Province. The matter arose as the result of a cut motion by one member, refusing the provision of Rs 35,360 under General Administration for the Provincial Legislative Council. The mover said that the Upper House had been thrust upon them against the protests of the

people and that it was not contemplated by either the, Simon Commission or the Lothian Committee.

Other members said that not only had the previous Assam Council passed a resolution opposing the establishment of a Second Chamber in the Province, but that it had been repeatedly pointed out that such a second house would be against the interests of Assam, both from the general and financial points of view.

Mr. *Rohini Kumar Choudhury,* Minister of Revenue, said that the recommendation for the establishment of a second house had been made by the late Government of Assam and that there was no use in discussing that topic now, as under the law the present Government could take no action before the expiry of ten years. While the motion was still under consideration, the House rose for the day.

ABOLITION OF COMMISSIONERS

17th. AUGUST :—The Government sustained their first defeat to-day when the House refused by 63 to 11 votes the entire supply of Rs. 78,446 for the pay and establishment of two Commissioners as the result of a cut motion by the Chief Whip of the United Muslim Party.

The *Premier* said that although the Retrenchment Committee in 1931 had recommended the abolition of one of these posts, the Secretary of State for India, to whom that recommendation was forwarded, did not accept it He said that under Section 244 of the Government of India Act, the Local Government had nothing to do with the I. C. S. officers.

The Finance Minister declared that 150 clerks would be affected

The motion was put to vote and declared carried by a majority of 52 votes

SECOND CHAMBER IN ASSAM (Contd)

The motion regarding the abolition of the Second Chamber was withdrawn after an assurance given by the Government that public feeling in this matter and also the sense of the House would be communicated shortly to the higher authorities. The *Premier* observed that if the motion were carried, the Upper House would cease to function and result in all Bills, including the Member's Salary Bill, being held up as the result of the deadlock. Therefore the motion was withdrawn.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

19th. AUGUST —Two successive defeats sustained by the Government were the remarkable features of to-day's sitting of the Assembly. The cut motion tabled by Sj *Sarveswar Barua* (Congress) to criticise the progressive enhancement of revenue was carried by 59 against 41 votes while that of Sj *Shibendra Chandra Biswas* (Congress) to criticise the oppressive methods adopted by the collecting staff in realising agricultural loans was carried, the Government not challenging any division.

Another cut motion tabled by Mr. *A K Chanda* (Congress) to criticise the Government's failure to institute an enquiry into the capacity of the people of Cachar district to repay agricultural loans was withdrawn on the assurance given by the Hon'ble Revenue Minister that the latter would send a list of borrowers to Mr. Chanda for enquiry as to their capacity to repay the agricultural loan.

20th AUGUST.—The Government suffered two more defeats in the Assembly to-day, making a total of five in four days The first defeat to-day was the result of a cut motion, introduced by a Congress member, refusing the Government's new expenditure for pleaders being carried without a division.

The second occurred when a cut motion criticising the indifference of the Government towards putting an end to corruption in the civil courts was also carried without a division.

21st AUGUST.—In the Assembly to-day the Government scored a victory by defeating the cut motion of Mr. *Baidyanath Mookerjee*, who criticised the excise policy of the Government.

Mr. *Mahadev Sarma's* cut motion criticising the increase in stamp-fee revenue was carried.

The Goveaament sustained two more defeats on other cut motions bringing the number of defeats to five in four days.

A Congress motion sought to refuse new expenditure for associate pleaders when the Government pleaders were otherwise engaged and were not available. Another

cut motion criticised the Government's indifference in the matter of corruption in courts—civil, criminal and revenue.

The *Revenue Minister* appealed for co-operation of the pleaders and the public in removing the evil. The cuts were carried without division.

23rd. AUGUST.—The Government to-day sustained their seventh defeat in the Assembly when a cut motion urging the abolition of the temporary staff in the Criminal Investigation Department was carried by 52 votes to 46

Except for the cut motion the House passed the grants under Forests, Police and Registration All the remaining cut motions were either not moved or withdrawn.

The Premier, Sir *M Saadulla*, announced that the Advocate-General of Bengal would arrive at Shillong to-morrow and address the Assembly regarding the cut motion which was passed on August 17 refusing the entire provision for Rs 78,446 being the pay of Commissioners and their establishment.

The *Speaker* accordingly postponed his ruling as to whether the cut motion, as adopted, could affect the supply or not till the Advocate-General's address.

Maulana Abdul Hamid asked permission to move an adjournment motion calling the attention of the House to certain appointments made by the Government overriding the recommendations of the Assam Public Service Commission But as he could not give the source of his information the Speaker refused the permission.

24th AUGUST—The Ministry to-day sustained their eighth defeat in the Assembly when a cut motion criticizing the Government for not starting a medical school in Sylhet was carried by 32 votes to 30.

The House passed the demands for grants under Education, Loans, Public Health and Medical

As many as 100 cut motions under Education had been tabled, most of them relating to higher grants for schools and colleges, but only about ten were taken up, the remainder being guillotined

The motion criticizing the failure of the Government to start a medical school was introduced by *Maulvi Munawar Ali* of the United Moslem Party.

In moving the token cut of Rs. 100 Mr. *Munawar Ali* said that the question was marked out in 1926 when the Government accepted it and buildings were constructed at a cost of about Rs 9 lakhs.

Mr *Rohini Choudhury*, Revenue Minister and *Rev. Nichols Roy*, Minister, Sanitation opposed the motion Dilatory tactics were adopted by the Government and the backbenchers of the Ministry began speaking one after another. A division being challenged, the motion was carried by 32 voting for it while 30 against The United Moslem Party which always stood by the Ministry, on this occasion brought this cut motion. The Government presumably finding their position helpless remained neutral The Congress Party also remained neutral as they wanted to see the Government defeated by their own supporters The European block opposed the motion

The grant of Rs 33,175,00 under head education was passed About a hundred cut motions were tabled, but only six could be discussed within the allotted time which was only two hours while the rest were guillotined.

The grant of Rs 8,04,000 under head Public Health was passed

ADVOCATE-GENERAL'S ADDRESS

25th. AUGUST—Sir *A K. Roy*, Advocate-General of Bengal and Assam, made a statement holding that the verdict of the House on August 17 refusing provision for two Commissioners' establishments was not *ultra vires* and was binding. The galleries were full and his Excellency Sir Robert Reid, Governor of Assam, was also present

It may be remembered that on August 19 Sir *Muhammad Sadullah*, Premier, raised the question of the validity of the Assembly decision in that matter, pointing out that under the new Act, the Assembly had power only to reject the entire grant under any head and not to cut out any item or items composing the grant In support of his contention, he argued that Section 79 (2) of the Government of India Act of 1935 did not contain the words of Section 72D (2) of the Act of 1919 which specially gave authority to do so.

Against this the leader of the Congress Party had contended that the language of Section 79 (2) was quite general and, therefore, the House had the right to make a

general cut or a cut on a particular item. Further, his contention was that under Provincial Autonomy, the Legislature had the full and sole right to control all votable expenditure and that the decision of the House was final, as painted out in the Joint Select Committee's report. (Paragraph 149.)

The Advocate-General referred at length to the provisions in the Act of 1919 and 1935 and said that in spite of the fact that the form of the cut motion was defective, the decision of the House was perfectly binding and not *ultra vires*. Proceeding, Sir A. K. Roy said that since the motion had been admitted by the Speaker and debated upon in the House and the Assembly had recorded its verdict, the refusal of the House was legal and final.

Rai Bahadur *P. C. Dutta*, former Judicial Member desired to know from the Advocate-General whether the Government were bound to accept the cut.

Sir *A. K. Roy* said that it was a matter for the Government to consider. But when the Advocate-General was pressed again to give legal opinion on the matter, he said that he had not come there to give his opinion on whether the Government were bound to accept it or not and that he could not give his opinion on that matter on the floor of the House. However, if the matter was referred to him by the Government, he would give his opinion to the Government. Continuing, he said that as to the legal effect of the House's refusal, it was a matter between the Assam Government and the House and that he was not concerned with that question at that stage.

The *Speaker* then announced that he would give his ruling on the 27th. to which date the House adjourned.

The Assembly passed to-day the demands for grants under agriculture, industries, and jails and convict settlements.

The Speaker's Ruling

27th AUGUST:—The Hon'ble Mr. *Basanta Kumar Das*, Speaker, gave his ruling to-day on the point of order raised by the Finance Minister on the cut motion adopted by the House refusing the grant of Rs. 78,446 for the posts of two Commissioners for Assam. The Speaker held that the refusal was perfectly legal and binding on the Government. He referred to the White Paper and the Joint Parliamentary Committee's reports as also the Government of India Acts of 1919 and 1935 He stated that the Finance Minister's contention was not maintainable Mr. *Siddhinath Sarma* (Congress) then moved a resolution for reduction of land revenue by 50 per cent. and quoted extracts from the election manifesto and former speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhury, Revenue Minister

Khan Bahadur Keramatali moved an amendment for reduction by 25 per cent and Khan Sahib Sayadur Rahaman moved an amendment for 33 per cent

Earlier in the day, Mr *A K Chanda* (Congress) moved an adjournment motion to discuss the question of repatriation of the Andamans prisoners of Assam and on the Home Minister giving assurance to move the Central Government to-morrow, Mr. Chanda withdrew his motion. The Home Minister said that Assam prisoners were not suffering from tuberculosis and one was in good health.

Non-official Bills

28th. AUGUST —The Assembly considered to-day Mr *Siddhinath Sarma's* Assam Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill 1937, Mr *Abdul Aziz's* Assam Money-lenders (Amendment) Bill, 1937, Mr *Purna Chandra Sarma's* Assam Money-lenders' (Amendment) Bill, 1937 Mr. *Lakheswar Barooah's* Assam Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1937, and Mr. *Munawarali's* Assam Money-lenders (Amendment) Bill, 1937.

30th. AUGUST .—The Ministry sustained the tenth defeat during the present budget session to-day when Khan *Sahib Sayadur Rahman's* amendment suggesting the reduction of land revenue by 33 per cent was carried without the Government claiming division.

A resolution sponsored by a member of the Congress party, suggesting a reduction of 50 per cent in land revenue, was, however, defeated by 60 votes against 43.

The position of the Government was explained by the *Revenue Minister* who said that the Government agreed to a reduction of 35 per cent and offered to appoint a committee to enquire into the financial condition of persons seriously affected. He said that on the basis of recommendations made by this committee, the Government would be prepared to grant a reduction in land revenue even to the extent of 50 per

cent in deserving cases. The Government did not, however, agree to commit itself to 50 per cent or even 33 per cent as a flat rate.

31st. AUGUST :—Mr *Jadabprasad Chaliha's* (Congress) cut motion for reduction by Rs. 61,583, the grant under "Civil Works" was carried by 57 to 20 votes to-day This was the eleventh defeat sustained by the Government, Europeans and Ministers remained neutral. The provision of Rs 61,583 for a hostel for Mahomedan and Scheduled caste members in legislature was also refused Fortysix cut motions were tabled under head Civil Works but only 6 could be discussed.

Rs. 1,59,200 was sanctioned under head Veterinary and Rs. 1,00,000 under head Co-operative

A cut motion was moved criticising the bad sitting arrangements for members in the Assembly and also for Press reports and visitors but the Finance Minister and the Hon'ble Speaker having given assurance to look into the question, the motion was withdrawn

Salaries' Bills Passed

1st. SEPTEMBER —The Assembly passed to-day the Ministers' Salary Bill, the Speaker's Salary Bill, the Deputy Speaker's Salary Bill, the President's Salary Bill, the Deputy President's Salary Bill, the Court of Wards (Amendment) Bill and the Provincial Legislature (Removal of Disqualification) Bill.

Mr. *Omeo Kumar Das's* (Congress) amendment fixing the salary of the Speaker at Rs 500 and his allowance at Rs 250 was lost by 62 to 42 votes and the House fixed the Speaker's salary at Rs 1,000 per month

The Hon'ble the Speaker, Mr *Basanta Kumar Das* (Congress), announced that he would accept his salary as prescribed by the Congress Working Committee

The House then passed the amended Deputy Speaker's salary Bill fixing the salary at Re 1

The Ministers' Salary Bill as amended by Mr Savadur Rahaman providing Rs. 2,500 for the Chief Minister and Rs. 1,500 for 4 other Ministers was carried by 64 to 40 votes Mr *Omeo Kumar Das's* (Congress) amendment fixing the Ministers' salary at Rs 500 was defeated The House was then prorogued.

Winter Session —Shillong—8th. to 21st. December 1937

New Bills Introduced

The cold weather session of the Assam Legislative Assembly commenced at Shillong on the **8th December 1937**

Rev Nichols Roy introduced the Assam Local Boards (Postponement of Elections), Bill 1937 The Bill sought to postpone the elections upto the end of February 1939 if it became necessary to do so The Assam Prisoners' Probational Release Bill, 1937, introduced by Mr *Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri*, Revenue Minister was referred to a select committee

Money-lenders' Amend Bill.

9th DECEMBER —The Assam Moneylenders' (Amendment) Bill, 1937 was passed in the Assembly to-day 77 to 13 votes The Bill which was introduced by *Maulavi Abdul Aziz* amends the Assam Moneylenders' Act of 1934 It was to come into force at once and would apply to pending suits and appeals

The provisions of the Transfer of Property Act of 1882, the Indian Contract Act of 1872, the Indian Registration Act of 1908 and the Civil Procedure Code 1908, are, to the extent necessary to give effect to the provisions of the Bill, repealed or modified by it

The definition of "moneylender" is given in the measure as a person, society or bank, either private or registered under the Co-operative Societies' Act of 1912 or the Indian Companies' Act of 1912, who grants a loan.

The Bill provides that no money-lender, shall, in respect of any loan made before or after the measure is enforced as an Act, recover on account of interest and principal, whether through a court or otherwise or by way of usufruct of lands in usufructuary mortgages, a sum greater in aggregate than double the principal of the loan

At the instance of Mr. *Rohini Kumar Chowdhury*, the Revenue Minister, an amendment was passed which provides that nothing shall affect a bank

advancing money at interest not exceeding 6 per cent a year or subscribers to a loan made to, or debentures or other securities of any description issued by, the Government, a public body, a bank, or a company.

The Bill reduces the rate of interest from 12 and a half per cent to 9 per cent. on secured loans and from 18 three-fourth per cent. to 12 and a half per cent. on unsecured loans.

Secured loans are defined as mortgage debts as well as bonds in lieu of interest on which land has been given over by debtors in conformity with local customs to creditors.

Sylhet Town Tenancy Bill

The Sylhet Town Tenancy Bill was then taken into consideration. Mr *Rohini Kumar Chowdhury* disapproved the retrospective principle involved in the Bill.

Assam Municipal Amend. Bill

Mr. *J. J M. Nichols Roy*, Minister for Local Self-Government, strongly opposed the Assam Municipal (Amendment) Bill moved by Mr. Rajendranath Barua.

10th. DECEMBER:—The Assembly to-day resumed discussion on Mr. *Rajendra Nath Barua's* motion for referring the Assam Municipal Amendment Bill (1937) to a select committee.

The Bill aims at (1) doing away with the principle of nomination in municipal bodies; (2) debarring salaried servants and ministerial officers of the Government from seeking election to municipal boards and (3) loosening Government control over municipal boards by making the Minister in charge the sole arbiter of self-governing institutions, keeping the Commissioner and to a less extent the Deputy Commissioner as intermediate checks. It is sought to curtail the powers of the sub-divisional officers in regard to the inspection of boards' records or interference with their internal affairs.

The *Rev. J. J. M. Nichols Roy*, Minister for local self-Government, opposed the motion on the ground that nomination could not be done away with He said that by nomination Government provide the boards with men who may be capable of becoming officer of a board in case none of the elected members was capable or willing to serve as such Nominated members also looked after the interests of the Government in municipalities. This was a point often lost sight of by many critics.

Education Reform in Assam

11th. DECEMBER:—The Assembly passed to-day a resolution appointing a committee to readjust the curriculum of primary and secondary education in Assam up to class 8 of the high school.

The resolution which was moved by Mr. *Bhuban Chandra Gogoi* was amended in two important aspects by *Maulavi Munawar Ali* and by Sir *Mohammed Saadulla*, Premier.

"This Assembly" stated the resolution, "recommends to the Government of Assam that as the present curriculum of education of this province utterly fails to take note of the growing changes and need of society a committee be formed to formulate the principles in outline for readjustment of the curriculum accordingly for primary and secondary education up to Class 8."

Excise Duty on Petrol

13th. DECEMBER:—A resolution urging that the Assam Government should move the Government of India to grant to Assam the entire proceeds from excise duty on the petrol and kerosine produced in the Province, was unanimously carried in the Assembly.

It was contended in the course of the debate that the royalties on crude oil to the value of Rs. 5 lakhs were retained by Assam but the proceeds from the excise duty to the value of about Rs 1 and a half crores were realised by the India Government. Since Bengal got 62 and a half per cent of the jute duty Assam should get at least the same percentage of the excise duty levied on petrol and kerosene oil.

The Rev. *J. J M. Nichols Ray*, Minister for Local Self-Government withdrew his Assam Local Boards (Postponement of Elections) Bill, 1937, as the Congress Party was opposed to it.

Mr. *Gopinath Bardoloi*, the Leader of the Congress Group, said the House could not consider the supplementary demand made by the Premier when he placed before the House a statement of necessary expenditure for the Commissioners' establishment during the months of September, October, November and December.

High Court for Assam

Mr *Naba Kumar Dutta* next moved a resolution recommending that immediate steps be taken for the establishment of a High Court in Assam He said that this question had been pressed for the last seven years. Provincial Autonomy could not be complete without judicial autonomy. The dual control at present exercised over the judiciary in Assam was harmful in many respects

The resolution was under discussion when the House adjourned

Members' Salary Bill

14th. DECEMBER —The Assembly rejected to-day by 47 to 36 votes the motion moved by Hon. Maulvi Sayid *Sir Muhammad Saadulla*, Premier, that the amendments made by the Council to the Assam Legislative Chambers (Members' Emoluments) Bill 1937 be taken into consideration

The European Group, *Rai Bahadur Promode Chandra Dutta* and a few others including the Premier, remained neutral The Congress Group voted in favour of the motion. The Mohammedan Group, three Ministers and the United Peoples' Party voted against the motion The Bill would now go to the Upper House again

According to the original Bill the members of both Houses were given a salary of Rs, 100 a month each but the Upper House reduced the salary to one rupee a year.

Removal of Female Ineligibility Bill

16th DECEMBER —The Assemby passed to-day the first reading of the Assam Municipal (Removal of Female Ineligibility) Amendment Bill, 1937 which was introduced by *Miss Mavis Dunn*, the only woman member of the Assembly The Bill removes the disability of women from becoming members of municipal boards It was originally introduced in the Upper House by *Rai Sahib Hem Chandra Dutt* and passed by that House in its last session

The Sylhet Town Tenancy Bill

The House then took up the consideration of Mr *Karuna Sindhu Roy*'s Sylhet Town Tenancy Bill 1937, as it emerged from the select committee.

The Bill aims at framing, amending and consolidating the law regulating the relations between landlord and tenant within the municipal limits of the town of Sylhet The following clauses, among others, as amended by the House, were passed to-day.

Clause 7, which is the most important clause in the Bill and which was first taken up, was passed as follows Notwithstanding any contract to the contrary, every person who shall have held land as a tenant continuously for a period of ten years wholly before or wholly after or partly before and partly after the commencement of this Act shall be deemed at the expiration of that period to have acquired a permanent heritable and transferable right of use and occupation in that land, subject to the payment of rent to the landlord provided that nothing in this section shall apply to leases of land for manufacturing or industrial purposes entered into after the passing of this Act.

This clause originally provided for 12 years for the creation of occupancy right but an amendment moved by Maulvi Abdur Rahman suggesting ten years was carried by 44 to 25 votes. The House then adjourned

Demand For Commissioners' Establishment

17th. DECEMBER :—The Assembly debated to-day whether a supplementary demand on an item already refused by the House was in order when *Sir Muhammad Saadullah*, the Premier, moved a supplementary demand of Rs 25,300 for the Commissioners' establishments for the four months from September to December 1937.

Rai Bahadur Promode Dutt opening the discussion said that the supplementary demand was out of order and could not come under section 81 of the Government of India Act. He pointed out that since the House had specifically sanctioned the expenditure only up to August 30 in the last budget session and had specifically made

a cut on the office of the Commissioners the establishments could not continue beyond that date He admitted that under the Civil Service Regulations the staff might demand three months' salary in lieu of notice but that relief had to be given by the Government in a way other than by a supplementary demand. The verdict of the House had made it clear that the service had not to be carried beyond September 1. He argued that under cover of granting relief the Government were extending the office for four months.

Mr *Gopinath Bardoloi*, leader of the Congress Party, said that the House had refused to sanction the pay of the Commissioners' staff not because they wanted to be rid of the clerks' services but because the Government had refused to take any note of the feelings of the House on this matter. In all parliaments of the world supplementary grants had to receive the assent of the sanctioning authority before expenditure could be incurred. In the present case the Finance Minister had had more than enough time to secure that assent.

The House had refused the demand on August 17. The Advocate-General had given his opinion on August 24 and the authenticated schedule of expenditure had been presented on September 1. The Finance Minister had therefore had a week to submit a supplementary demand If the expenditure had been enforceable by any statute, or rule having the force of a statute, His Excellency the Governor would have, by virtue of his special powers, charged it to the revenues of the province in the authenticated schedule. If, on the other hand, there was no such statutory obligation the whole expenditure was illegal and the House had no authority to pass it.

Mr. *Baidyanath Mukherjee* held that Rule 16 of the Assam Legislative Assembly Rules only permitted the bringing in of such demands as the present one before the last of the days allotted for the moving of grants.

Sir Muhammad Saadulla, replying, said that under Section 81 of the Government of India Act the supplementary demand was in order. The staff of the Commissioners' office had to be given at least three months' notice and expenditure on their account had to be incurred over and above the expenditure sanctioned on September 1. The Assam Assembly Rules permitted the bringing in of this motion for a supplementary demand. In order to maintain the dignity of the House he had brought forward this motion instead of advising His Excellency the Governor to certify it.

The *Speaker* reserved his ruling on the point raised and adjourned the House.

The Speaker's Ruling

18th. DECEMBER —Mr. *Basantakumar Das*, Speaker gave his ruling to-day on the point of order raised yesterday by *Rai Bahadur P. C. Dutt* objecting to the presentation of a supplementary demand for Rs, 25,300 for the Commissioner's establishments for the four months from September to December, 1937

This sum represents a part of the Rs 78,446 under the sub-head "Commissioners" which was refused by a vote of the Assembly during the last budget session when the Assembly was called upon to vote on the annual estimate of expenditure for the current year.

Mr. Das said : "The ruling of the Chair is that a supplementary demand in respect of any demand to which the Assembly has refused its assent or in respect of the amount which the Assembly has previously reduced would be in order if it can be shown that it has become necessary.

"In this particular case, relying upon the speeches of the Finance Minister and on the assurances given by him, I find there are sufficient grounds for me to hold that the present supplementary demand is in order. It is now for the House to consider whether they would act upon the assurance of the Finance Minister and vote for the demand or reject it"

The Finance Minister had said that he was always anxious to uphold the dignity and prestige of the House and that he had already decided to discharge the staff of the Commissioners' establishment from January 1, 1938. The speaker held, therefore, that he could not dispute his sincerity and in that view he held that a *prima facie* case for further expenditure had been in terms of Section 81 of the Government of India Act.

The House then proceeded to discuss the demand. after which it adjourned.

Removal of Female Ineligibility Bill (Contd.)

20th. DECEMBER :—The House passed to-day the Assam Municipal (Removal of Female Ineligibility) Amendment Bill, 1937. The measure was introduced

by *Miss Mavis Dunn* and wass passed unanimously by the House. It had been previously passed by the Council.

THE SYLHET TOWN TENANCY BILL (CONTD.)

The House then took up the consideration of Mr. *Karuna Sindhu Roa's* Sylhet Town Tenancy Bill, 1937. Twenty clauses were dealt with in the discussion.

Considerable discussion took place over Clause 14 (1) of the Bill which states that every occupancy tenant shall on ejectment be entitled to be paid as compensation the value of any building which may have been erected by him or by his predecessors in interest upto a value of Rs. 1,000. Provided the value of such a building exceeds Rs 1000 the excess shall be payable only if the express consent of the landlord shall have been obtained for the erection of such a building.

Mr. *Rabindra Nath Aditya* moved an amendment deleting the words "up to a value of Rs. 1000." He argued that an occupancy right was the right to the free use of land and if the tenant was handicapped in this way it would prove an obstacle to the creation of better houses in the town of Sylhet

Mr. *Rohini Kumar Chaudhury*, the Revenue Minister, objecting to the amendment said that a landlady who was a poor widow might be adversely affected by such an amendment The amendment being put to vote was carried by 46 to 35 votes. The European Group voted against it.

COMMISSIONERS' ESTABLISHMENT—SPEAKER'S RULING

21st. DECEMBER —The Speaker, Mr. *Basanta Kumar Das* ruled that the Assembly could not take up to-day the supplementary statement for a supplementary demand for the Commissioners' Establishments as conveyed in a message from His Excellency the Governor to the House to-day.

The message from His Excellency was made under Section 63(2) of the Government of India Act for the presentation of a statement with regard to a demand for a supplementary grant of an additional Rs. 15,164 to defray the charges for retaining the Commissioners establishments from January 1, 1938 to March 31, 1938

The grant originally passed by the Assembly was Rs. 18,63,254. A supplementary grant already voted by the Assembly was Rs. 25,300. The present supplementary demand consists of pay for officers—Rs 1,629 , pay for establishment—Rs. 11,467 , allowances—Rs 128 , contingencies—Rs. 1,940

Rai Bahadur P C Dutt raised a point of order asking whether a message from His Excellency justified cancelling the rules made by His Excellency himself.

He said the House had been taken by surprise by this demand and pointed out that according to Rule 17(2) of the Assam Legislative Assembly rules made under Section 81(3) of the Government of India Act, 1935. the Governor, exercising his individual judgment, should allot one or more days not earlier than three days after the day allotted for such a representation, for voting on the demands for supplementary grants or for a discussion of the estimates of the expenditure charged or for both such voting and discussion as the case may be He said that according to the above rule the supplementary demand could not be put to-day.

Mr. *Gopinath Bardoloi*, leader of the Congress group, on behalf of his party, expressed his resentment at the presentation of this demand He said that on the last occasion that the Premier had represented a supplementary demand for the retention of the offices of the Commissioners up to December 31, the Premier had made it clear that he would not present a further supplementary demand for the Commissioners' offices Mr. Bardoloi was of the opinion that His Excellency was acting against the Government of India Act He further said this was against the wishes of the House and also against the powers vested in the House and pointed out that according to Section 52 of the Government of India Act, which defines the special responsibilities of the Governor, such a supplementary demand could not be presented.

Sir Muhammad Saadulla, the Premier, said that the Ministry stood by what he had said on the last occasion viz. that he would not ask for a further supplementary demand for the Commissioners' offices. He had spoken on the subject to His Excellency. The Speaker held that the House could not consider the supplementary statement to-day and as there was not a formal motion for the supplementary demand such a demand could not be considered.

The position of the Speaker in relation to the Executive Government was the subject of a statement in the House to-day by Mr. *B K. Das.*

The statement was evoked by a question asking whether the travelling allowance in connexion with the recent visit of the speaker (Mr. Das) to Calcutta had been sanctioned by the Government under the fundamental and subsidiary rules—a question to which the Premier replied in the negative.

In regard to certain matters, Mr. Das said, the question arises whether the Speaker is a Government servant and the Head of a Department.

"I at once say that the Speaker is not a Government servant and cannot be so," Mr. Das added. He owes his position to the House which elected him and if he is a servant of anybody he is the servant of this House

"Government servants in a province belong to the provincial executive , the Speaker belongs to the provincial legislature. Government servants are civil servants as described in Chapter 2 of Part 10 of the Government of India Act , the Speaker is a free agent.

"Although drawing a salary from the Government the President of the old Council regulated his own travelling and was entitled to go anywhere where there was business to be transacted in connexion with his duties as President of the Council. His decision was not liable to be examined by anybody else. He was considered to be a free agent.

"Speakers of Assemblies are guided by these rules in the absence of rules specifically made to cover such cases The question is whether there are any rules by which the Speaker is required to obtain any sanction from the Government for undertaking a journey beyond the province for transaction of business connected with the legislature

"If an objection is raised by the Audit authorities that the journey was not made on legitimate legislative business an inquiry would naturally be made from the Speaker As to the circumstances under which the journey was undertaken a certificate from the Speaker that the journey was official is considered sufficient

"As to whether the Speaker is the head of a Department I should point out that treatment accorded to him as the head of a Department conflicts with the dignity of the House. The Head of a Department must be under the control of some Minister. It is obvious that the Speaker is not so. The Legislative Assembly Department is an autonomous Department Under no circumstances can the Speaker of a Legislative Assembly be treated as the Head of a Department under Ministerial control."

The House then unanimously passed the motion of Khan Sahib Maulavi Sayidur Rahman urging the implementation of the amendment adopted by the House during the last session for the remission of revenue at a flat rate of 3½ per cent as soon as funds permitted The House was then prorogued

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Proceedings of the Council

Augvst Session—Shillong—16th. to 18th. August 1937

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

The first sitting of the Assam Legislative Council was held at Shillong on the **16th. August 1937.**

On the motion of the *President*, the House decided to send a condolence resolution to Lady Keane, expressing regret at the death of Sir Michael Keane

The House adjourned as a mark of respect to the late Governor.

17th. AUGUST —Five resolutions were taken up to-day. One was carried without division, one was accepted with certain modifications and the remaining ones were withdrawn.

Sj *Sarat Chandra Bhattacharjee's* resolution recommending for the appointment of a Retrenchment Committee with the object of finding some funds for nation-building measures was accepted by the Government.

Maulvi Abdur Rahim Chowdhury's resolution recommending to the Government of Assam to hold the examinations of all High and Middle Schools in the province and to commence the academic session with the calender year was passed without division.

Maulvi Abdul Hai's resolution recommending the Government to open a new portfolio under the heading 'unemployment' to be in charge of one of the Hon'ble Ministers was withdrawn on an assurance given by the Hon'ble Chief Minister that the question of unemployment has been seriously taken up by the Government. The education Minister said that he was technically in charge of the portfolio of 'unemployment.'

Babu Satyendra Mohan Lahiri's resolution for the separation of judiciary from executive was also withdrawn on the ground stated by the Hon'ble Judicial Minister that it would involve an additional expenditure of three lakhs of rupees. The Council then adjourned.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

18th. AUGUST.—General discussion of the Budget commenced in the Council to-day. Mr. *Suresh Chandra Das* subjected the Budget to a searching scrutiny and expressed, on behalf of the House, disappointment at the way in which the Council had been called upon to deal with the financial statement of the province. Discussing the Budget, Mr. Das said that, but for the wiping out of all previous debts, a subvention of Rs. 30 lakhs and a contribution of 62 and a half per cent of the jute export duty, all mainly due to Sir Otto Niemeyer's financial adjustment —the prosperity of the province would not have been so manifest as had been made to appear Mr Das was surprised that education was practically "starved." Where literacy was 5 per cent to spend only 6 per cent of the total revenue was nothing but culpable negligence, he said.

Mrs. *Zubida Ataur Rahman*, the only lady member and Deputy President of the House, thanked the Finance Minister for presenting a surplus Budget. She asked for fair treatment for female education She said that in the Budget, against Rs. 80,10,191 for boys, a sum of about Rs. 84,864 had been provided for girls. She suggested that more stipends should be given to girls to enable them to go in for higher training in medical nursing and midwifery.

Rai Sahib *Hem Chandra Dutta* wanted that the outsiders living in Shillong permanently should be allowed to be enfranchised for the Shillong backward constituency. He also criticised the Government for the delay in coming up with the Ministers' Salary Bill.

Rai Bahadur *Heramba Prasad Barua* (nominated) made a grievance of the fact that Budget was not presented before them simultaneously with the Assembly which, he said, was directly in contravention of the provisions of the new Constitution and this failure on the part of the Government was characterised by him as showing disrespect to the House. As regards the Budget itself, he thought that though it was not an ideal one, yet it could not be said it was wholly unacceptable

Mr. *Mon Mohon Choudhury* said that the surplus did not reflect to the credit of the Ministry and that the credit rightly belonged to the Central Government He appealed in the name of humanity to devote more attention and money to the welfare of the masses. Referring to the plight of Sunamganj people, he said that place was completely isolated from the rest of the world for want of proper communication.

Mr. *Apurva Kumar Ghose* appealed to the Government for a further reduction of land revenue.

Mr. *Satyendra Mohan Lahiri* said that they had been ignored in the matter of presentation of Budget as also the allotment of days for their business. As regards the Budget itself, he referred to the section 68 (2) of the Government of India Act and said that it would have been more proper, if the expenditure of the charged and voted items were shown separately. He criticised the Government for the inclusion of 5 Ministers in the Cabinet and he thought that work could be done by 3 Ministers. As regards the salary of Ministers he said that they should draw a salary sufficient enough to enable them to live not in luxury, but in comfort and in a decent manner and as such he thought that the Congress ideal of a maximum of Rs. 500 should be followed. In short, the Ministry should work in a spirit of service and sacrifice.

Hon'ble Saiyed Md. Sir Saadulla, replying on the debate, spoke for one hour. Referring to the objection of some of the members that they had not been treated properly and courteously in the matter of presentation of the Budget, he said that

it was far from the intention of Government. By way of explanation he said that the Council was summoned 12 days later than the Assembly commenced in the belief that by that time, some bills might come out of the Assembly to be presented before the Council. As regards the allotment of more days for the business of the House, he assured that he would consider the matter. As regards the various suggestions made by the members in the course of their speeches, he assured the House that those would be carefully considered and taken note of for their guidance in preparation of future Budgets. As regards the objection that the Assam Compulsory Primary Education Act had not been given effect to as yet, he said in Assam Primary Education was free but to make it compulsory, he said a further sum of 3 crores of rupees was required which could not be found in the present state of finances of the Province.

The Council was at this stage prorogued.

October Session—Shillong—25th. to 30th. October 1937

Salaries Bills

The October Session of the Council commenced at Shillong on the **25th. October 1937**, under the presidency of Rai Bahadur *Monomohon Lahiri*. The Speaker's Salary Bill, the Ministers' Salary Bill, the Court of Wards' Amendment Bill, the Members' Emoluments Bill and the Members' Removal of Disqualification Bill were taken up for consideration. The Members' Removal of Disqualification Bill was referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. *Satyendra Mohon Lahiri* contended that the Members' Emoluments Bill was not in order as it provided for a salary with a retrospective effect. *Rai Sahib Hem Chandra Datta and Abdur Rahim Choudhury* said that the bill was in order.

Mr. Satyendra Mohon Lahiri tabled a resolution for bringing the civil courts at Shillong under the Calcutta High Court.

Assam Local Rates Amend. Bill

26th. OCTOBER :—The Council passed for consideration to-day the Assam Local Rates (Amendment) Bill, 1937, which provides for a reduction of the local rates levied in the permanently settled areas of Sylhet and Goalpara.

Introducing the Bill, *Maulvi M Asaduddin Chaudhury* said that the economic condition of the residents of these areas did not justify the imposition of enhanced local rates at the rate of two annas and eight pies. This high tax occasioned hardships to both landlords and tenants If the Government would inquire into the number of estates sold in order to meet arears in local rates they would find out the real position.

Biological Studies

Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bhattacharjee* moved that in view of the intention of the University of Calcutta to reduce the theoretical course of the Medical College by one year for those students who had passed in biology as an additional subject in their I Sc. examination early steps should be taken to provide facilities for the study of biology in the Cotton and Murarichand colleges.

Maulana Abu Nasher M Wahed, Minister for Education, said in reply that he had already asked the Director of Public Instruction to prepare a scheme on this subject. Classes would be started as soon as funds were available.

Other Non-Official Resolutions

Rai Sahib Hem Chandra Dutt moved a resolution recommending the restoration of the 10 per cent cut in the provincial grants to the different municipalities and town committees, because they were in need of funds for improving sanitation and water supply.

Sir Muhammad Saadulla, the Premier, gave an assurance that the cuts would be restored when funds were available.

Mr. Satyendra Mohan Lahiri's resolution recommending that steps be taken to bring the British Civil Courts of Shillong under the jurisdiction of a High Court was accepted by the Premier with reservation.

The Premier also accepted another resolution by the same member recommending Government that early steps be taken to bring the criminal courts in the partially

excluded areas in Assam—the Garo Hills, the Mikir Hills and the British portion of the Khasi and Jaintia Hill districts (other than the Shillong municipality and cantonment) under the jurisdiction of the High Court of Calcutta.

MUNICIPAL AMENDMENT BILL

27th OCTOBER—Two important municipal amendment Bills, the aiming at a reduction of a tax on unoccupied houses and the other to allow of women becoming municipal commissioners, were introduced in the Council to-day.

Mr. *Suresh Chandra Das* moved a Municipal Amendment Bill urging abolition of the holding of the tax on unoccupied houses in Municipal areas.

Rai Saheb Hem Chandra Dutt moved another resolution to amend the Municipal Act with a view to enable women to become Municipal commissioners.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

Mr *Sarat Chandra Bhattacharya* withdrew his resolution urging introduction of Compulsory Primary Education in at least one police station in each sub-division in Assam after the Chief Minister and the Education Minister had pleaded inability of the Government to adopt the measure in view of financial stringency.

28th. OCTOBER—Mr. *Satyendra Mohan Lahiri* moved a resolution to-day for the deprovincialisation of Government High Schools so as to set free money for aided high schools. The resolution was lost by 9 to 8 votes

Another resolution moved by Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bhattacharya* to remove the Shillong Cantonment to a suitable distance to provide accommodation for the steadily growing civil population was lost, the Chief Minister opposing it.

ASSAM LOCAL RATES AMEND. BILL

29th OCTOBER—The Assam Local Rates (Amendment) Bill of 1937, moved by *Maulvi Md Asaduddin Chaudhury* and the Assam Municipal (Removal of Female Ineligibility) Amendment Bill of 1937, brought by Rai Sahib *Hem Chandra Dutt* were passed to-day.

The former Bill enforces the local rates at one anna and four pies in the rupee in Sylhet and Goalpara, and the latter enables women to become municipal commissioners.

An amendment moved by Rai Sahib *Sonadhar Das Senapati* to make the local rates one anna and eight pies, and the amendment moved by Rai Bahadur Heramba-prosad Barua to make the local rates one anna and six pies, were not moved.

The Government, who had pressed for higher rates when the Bill was first introduced, also did not move any amendment, and the Local Rates Bill was passed without opposition.

SALARIES BILLS PASSED

30th OCTOBER—The Council passed to-day the Assam Speaker's Bill, the Deputy Speaker's Salary Bill, the Assam Ministers' Salary Bill. the Assam President's Salary Bill. the Assam Deputy President's Salary Bill and the Assam Court of Wards Bill in the same form as passed by the Lower House.

Mr. *Suresh Chandra Das's* amendment to reduce the Chief Minister's salary from Rs. 2500 to Rs. 2000 and that of other Ministers from Rs. 1500 to Rs. 1300 were negatived.

Rai Bahadur *Heramba Prasad Barua's* amendment reducing the salary of the members of both Houses from Rs. 100 a month to one rupee a year was carried by 9 votes to 6 thus revising the Bill originally passed by the Lower Houses.

The daily halting allowance was raised from Rs. 5 to Rs 10 and the travelling allowance to rates admissible to first grade officers. The Council was prorogued.

The C. P. & Berar Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

Speaker :—THE HON. MR. GHANASHYAM SINGH GUPTA

Dy. Speaker :—MR ANUSUYABAI KALA

THE HON. DR. NARAYAN BHASKAR KHARE (*Minister*)

MR. L. N. HARDAS

„ CHATURBHUJBHAI JASANI

„ KHUSHALCHAND GHASIRAM KHAJANCHI

„ NARMADA PRASAD MISHRA

„ MR. KESHAORAO RAMCHANDRARAO KHANDEKAR

DR. JAGANNATH GANPATRAO

MR. PYARELAL SINGH

„ SAMAHAJIRAO V. GOKHALE

THE HON. Mr. P.B. GOLE (*Minister*)

Mr. BAJRANG THEKEDAR

„ SITARAM LAXMAN PATIL

„ BHIKULAL LAXMICHAND CHANDAK

„ A. N. UDHOJI

„ T. J KEDAR

„ PUKHRAJ KOCHAR

„ DASHRATH LAXMAN PATIL

„ R. S. DUBE

„ D. B. KHOBERGADE

„ NILKANTH YADAORAO DEOTALE

„ DHARAMRAO BHUJANGRAO

„ SETH DIPCHAND LAKSHMICHAND

„ BIHARIAL DEORAO PATEL

„ GULAB CHAND CHOUDHARY

„ G. R JAMBHOLKAR

„ PRABHAKAR D JATAR

THE HON. MR. DURGASHNKAR KRIPASHANKAR MEHTA (*Minister*)

THE HON. PANDIT DWARKA PRASAD MISRA (*Minister*)

MR. MATUA GHAITU MEHRA

„ KASHI PRASAD PANDE

„ N. HANUMANTHA RAO

„ JALAM MOTI

„ VASUDEORAO VENKATRAO SUBHEDAR

„ PREMSHANKAR LAXMISHANKAR DHAGAT

„ BHAGIRATH RAKHAN CHAUDHARI

„ MAHENDRALAL

„ LALCHOODAMAN SAH

LALA ARJUN SINGH

MR. DATTATRAYA BHIKAJI NAIK

„ SHANKERLAL CHAUDHURI

„ RAMESHWAR AGNIBHOJ

MR. BHAGWANTRAO ANNA BHOW MANDLOI

„ M. R. MAJUMDAR

„ ANANTRAM

MAHANT PURANDAS SUDDIN SATNAMI

MAHANT LAXMINARAYANDAS BAIRAGI

THE HON. PANDIT RAVI SHANKER SHUKLA (*Minister*)

MAHANT NAINDAS RAJARAM SATNAMI

MR. JAMNALAL TEJMAL CHOPDA

DR. E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO

Mr. SUKRITDAS

„ RAMGOPAL TIWARI

„ MUKTAWANDAS AJABDAS

SARDAR AMARSINGH BAIJNATHSINH SAIGAL

TAHKUR CHEDDILAL

MR. BAHORIK LEDWA RABIDAS

„ M. L. BAKLIWAL

„ POSU SATNAMI

„ VISHVANATHRAO YADAORAO TAMASKAR

MR. KANHAIYALAL

SETH BADRINARAIN AGARWAL

Mr. GANPATRAO PANDE

„ RAGHOBA GAMBHIRA GHODICHORE

„ V. M. JAKATDAR

„ SUGANCHANDRA CHUNILAL

„ R. A. DESHMUKH

„ GANESHRAO RAMCHANDRA DESHMUKH

„ LAXMAN NARAYAN NATHE

„ GANESH AKAJI GAVAI

„ MR. BHIMSING GOVINDSINGH

„ KESHAO JANUJI

„ UMEDSING NARAYANSINGH THAKUR

„ VITHALRAO NARAYANRAO JAMADAR

„ RAO SAHIB DINKARRAO DHARRAO RAJURKAR

„ BHIMRAO HANMANTRAO JATKAR

„ DAOLAT KISAN BHAGAT

„ NARAYAN BALAJI BOBDE

„ M. P. KOLHE

„ PANDHARI SITARAM PATIL

„ LAXMAN SHRAWAN BHATKAR

„ TUKARAM SHANKAR PATIL

MR. KRISHNARAO GANPATRAO DESHMUKH
KHAN SAHIB SYED MUZAFFAR HUSAIN
MR MOHAMMAD MOHIBBUL HAQ
THE HON. MR MOHAMMAD YUSUF SHAREEF (*Minister*)
KHAN SAHIB SYED YASIN
MR ABDUL RAZAK KHAN
„ IFTIKHAR ALI
„ MAJIDUDDIN AHMAD
KHAN BAHADUR SYED HIFAZAT ALI
MR S. W A. RIZVI
„ MOHIUDDIN KHAN
„ HIDAYAT ALI
KHAN BAHADUR MIRZA RAHMAN BEG
MR SYED ABDUL RAUF SHAH
KHAN SAHIB ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN
MRS ANASUYABAI KALE
„ SUBHADRA KUMARI CHOUHAN
„ DURGABAI JOSHI
THE REVD G C. ROGERS
MR L H BARTLETT
„ UDEBHAN SHAH
„ CHHAGANLAL JAIDEO PRASAD BHARUKA
SETH GOPALDAS BULAKHIDAS MOHOTA
BEOHAR RAJENDRA SINHA
MR MADHAV GANGADHAR CHITNAVIS
THE HON MR R M. DESHMUKH (*Minister*)
MR GANPATI SADASHIV PAGE
„ V R. KALAPPA
MR B G KHAPARDE

Proceedings of the Assembly

Nagpur—30th. & 31st. July 1937

There was considerable obstruction from the visitors' galleries when the C P and Berar Legislative Assembly held its first meeting under the New Constitution at Nagpur on the **30th. July 1937.**

The meeting began with the usual Congress ceremonial with Congress members walking in procession to the Assembly Chamber from the Premier's house, accompanied by large crowds

Having held a flag hoisting ceremony outside they then entered the Hall where packed and excited galleries awaited the start of the swearing-in ceremony.

There were hostile demonstrations from the galleries when the former interim Ministers took the oaths and Mr *S W A Rizvi* had to seek the protection of the chair (occupied temporarily by *Khan Bahadur Syed Hifazat Ali*)

Dr *Khare*, the Premier, appealed to the galleries to maintain order but shouting continued and the President then warned the visitors that he would have the galleries cleared. Thereafter quite prevailed and the House adjourned.

31st. JULY.—The Assembly discussed to-day an adjournment motion alleging that Government officers had unduly influenced an election, the resolution was withdrawn after the Premier (Dr *N. B Khare*) had made a statement on his Government's policy regarding the subject under debate.

Mr *Ghanashyam Singh Gupta*, the Congress nominee, was elected Speaker with 78 votes, while his rival, the Rev. *G. C. Rogers* secured 26 votes. Mrs *Anusuyabai Kale* (Congress), the only nominee, was elected Deputy Speaker.

REMOVAL OF DISQUALIFICATION BILL

The House then took into consideration Mr. *M. Y. Shareef's* C. P. and Berar Offices of Profit (Removal of Disqualifications) Bill of 1937. He said that the Bill intended that a person should not be disqualified for being choosen as, and for being a member of the Assembly by reason only of the fact that he held certain offices of profit under the Crown. It, however, made an exception that a person who was an employee of a State Railway should be disqualified to fill a seat other than a Labour seat in the said Assembly. The Minister accepted certain amendments in the list of offices and the Bill was passed into law without a division. The House then adjourned *sine die.*

Budget Session—Nagpur—10th. to 22nd. September 1937

Financial Statement for 1937-38

The Budget session of the Assembly commenced on the **10th. September 1937.** The Budget for 1937-38 was presented to the Assembly by Mr. *K D. Mehta*, Finance Minister. It showed a small revenue surplus of Rs 31,000, the estimated revenue being Rs. 474.84 lakhs, and the expenditure charged to revenue Rs. 474.53 lakhs.

Presenting the Budget the Finance Minister said. "Excluding the transactions of the Famine Relief Fund and the Public Debt, the net result of the debt, deposit, and capital heads is a debit of Rs. 56 51 lakhs, of which Rs. 45.80 lakhs is for repayment of last year's short-term loan from the Government of India. This will be covered by the permanent loan of Rs. 50 lakhs raised during the year, the balance being met by temporary borrowing.

"On the receipt side the land revenue estimates allow for the large suspensions and remissions that have been granted in respect of the last *rabi* season owing to damage by untimely rain and other calamities Some allowance has also been made for the possibility of collections in the next *kharif* season being affected by any abatements or reductions in land revenue that may be made in pursuance of the Government's intention to give relief in that form wherever detailed examination shows this to be justified."

Outlining the policy of the Government, Mr Mehta said that a retrenchment committee would be appointed to effect drastic economy in the cost of administration The question of separation of judiciary from executive, the possibility of a reduction in scales of pay of subordinate services, overhaul of administration and local bodies with a view to making them more efficient and jail reform, were all under consideration of the Government. The Government was likely to undertake a commercial survey of forests which would indicate possibilities of starting new industries. They were also considering the problem of agricultural improvement and the proposals for the reduction of grazing dues, and irrigation rates were being examined. The Government would also take up shortly the problem of water supply and communications in rural areas, and Mr. Mehta hoped that next year's budget would show the fruits of their efforts.

He referred to the policy of prohibition and announced that, as the first step, they had decided to stop liquor sales in Saugor district and Narsingpur subdivision, and also intended to discontinue sales in Akot taluk in Berar. The Government had also decided to introduce prohibition in select industrial areas and carry on temperance propaganda all over the province The anticipated loss to the general revenues from excise source of Rs 33 lakhs spread over a period of years and during this period it would be employed in financing schemes of rural development and village uplift Referring to the question of immediate relief to the peasantry, he said that they would examine the position and adopt all possible ameliorative measures. He concluded that the budget next year would demand sacrifices from all sections of the community, except the poorest and hoped that none would be found waiting.

Before the Finance Minister had presented the Budget Mr G. S. Page (Unity Party) sought leave to move an adjournment motion to discuss the non-inclusion of a harijan in the Ministry, in view of the fact that harijan members numbered 30 in the House and represented an influential minority. The Speaker disallowed the motion stating that the matter was not urgent and could have been discussed in the last session.

Official Bills

The C. P. and Berar Legislative Assembly Committee Summons Enforcement Bill and another the Police Act Amendment Bill authorizing the Provincial Government to appoint honorary police officers to deal with certain types of offences were passed by the House.

Salaries Bills

The Premier, Dr. Khare introduced the Bill providing for salaries and allowances of Ministers, the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker, the Parliamentary Secretaries and the Members. Amendments reducing allowances to Ministers moved by non-Congress Members were rejected without division. The House voted the salaries of the Speaker, Deputy Speaker and Parliamentary Secretaries. The salary for members was under discussion when the House adjourned.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

11th SEPTEMBER —The Assembly devoted the whole day to the general discussion of the Budget. Rao Saheb *D. Y. Rajurkar*, Leader of the Opposition, opening the debate, complained that the budget did not treat the claims of Berar for revenue expenditure as enjoined by the Government of India Act, and said that he was compelled to appeal to the Governor to look into the matter as one of His Excellency's special responsibilities.

Mr. *Abdul Razak Khan* felt that the budget did not bear "the Congress stamp." Mr. Maindas, a Congress Harijan member from Bilaspur, recalled the Congress election pledges regarding reduction of land revenue, and in case no relief was forthcoming, he and his six Harijan colleagues would resign from the party.

Mr Beohar Rajendra Singh said that the Congress Ministry had little time to scrutinize the budget in detail, and had no doubt that the Ministry would devote its first attention for improving the condition of the masses. The Rev. G C Rogers advocated great caution regarding prohibition policy.

The Finance Minister, Mr. D. K. Mehta, replying to the criticisms, appealed to all sections of the House to co-operate with the Ministry. The granting of considerable relief to ryots would, he stated, entail exploration of fresh avenues of income. He assured the House that the Congress Ministry would try to redeem their election pledge by giving immediate relief to the smaller peasantry. Referring to the complaint of unfair treatment of Berar, Mr. Mehta asked the Opposition not to embarrass the Government at the outset.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMAND

13th SEPTEMBER :—Voting on Budget Domands commenced to-day. The first divisiona was taken when Mr. G S. Page (Nagpur Labour) pressed a token cut under "land revenue." It resulted in a victory for the Government, 25 voting for Mr Page's motion and 68 against it Mr Page sought to express the desire of the Assembly that the Government should reduce rents of holdings by 20 per cent.

Mr. P. B. Gole, Revenue Minister, made the following statement regarding the revenue policy of the Cabinet. "In consultation with my colleagues I have decided to give reduction in the land revenue at a flat rate throughout the province In pursuance of the present Ministry's policy small holdings would be given immediate relief. We will decide what should be treated as small holdings in each tract, and the flat rate to be given. The relief now given will not be withdrawn, but the question would be considered in all its bearings with a view to seeing if further relief should or should not be given to bring about an equitable adjustment throughout the province"

14th SEPTEMBER :—The excise policy of the Government was discussed at length in the Assembly to-day. Several cut motions on the excise grants were moved, but later withdrawn. Mr. Abdul Razaque, Deputy Leader of the Independent party, sought elucidation of the Government's prohibition policy by means of a cut motion.

Mr. D K. Mehta, Finance Minister, stated that it was wrong to say that the Government prestige in the market did not stand high He thought that there was some misunderstanding with regard to the recent C. P. Loan, being under-subscribed. It was agreed when the loan was issued, that loans of all Governments should open and close at the same time and that such of the loans that were under-subscribed would be made good from those over-subscribed The loans were closed after two hours of their opening. As some of these were over-subscribed and when it was found that the C. P. Loan applications did not come up to Rs. 50 lakhs, a portion of the Madras loan was allotted to this province. He had no doubt that it would have been fully subscribed had the subscription list been kept open for a longer time.

With regard to the fears expressed by the mover that pursuance of this policy might lead to financial crisis, Mr. Mehta said that his Government stood for balanced budgets, and fears were groundless. He also said that there was equally no foundation for the belief that prohibition was being adopted all at once. The policy was being pursued by stages and the Government hoped to make the province dry in three years.

15th SEPTEMBER :—A cut motion to raise a debate over rates of court-fee, process fee and registration fee of moneylenders was thrown out by the House by 71 votes to 31. A similar cut motion was defeated 31 voting for and 69 against it.

Mr. Y. M. Sareef, Law Minister, replying, stated that the present Government was not responsible for the court on process fees now in force.

The demand under excise and stamps were voted, and the grants under forests were under consideration when the House rose for the day.

16th. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly passed the Forests and Registration demands to-day and the demand under the head Irrigation was under discussion when the House adjourned. The Finance Minister, Mr. D. K. Mehta, who on the previous day had given the impression of speaking in a "bureaucratic vein" placated his party members by assuring that every grievance brought to his notice would be examined He announced that the Government would undertake a commercial survey of the forests.

17th. SEPTEMBER :—The demands under irrigation and public works were voted by the Assembly to-day, all cut motions being withdrawn.

Mr. Thakur Chedilal moved a token cut under general administration, urging that all Government servants who put in 25 years' service, should be retired with a view to relieving unemployment. The Premier, Dr. Khare said that the question was under examination. The Congress Ministry, he said, favoured economy.

By another cut motion Rao Saheb D. V. Rajurker urged Government to impose a graded salary cut in the emoluments paid to Government servants pointing out that in Madras the Congress Ministry had already imposed reductions.

Dr. Khare expressed himself in agreement with the principle underlying the motion, but said it was a mistake to say that Madras had already imposed a graded cut. The local Government would strongly urge the Central Government to agree to the imposition of such cuts. The matter was at present before the Secretary of State. The cut motion was withdrawn.

18th. SEPTEMBER :—"There can be no two opinions as to the attitude Government servants should adopt in dealing with the public and, as pointed out by the Governor of the United Provinces in a recent speech, that attitude should be one of carrying out the orders and policy of the Government of the day loyally, and I hope that Government servants in the C. P. and Berar will loyally carry out the policy of the present Government."—This statement was made by Dr Khare, Premier, in course of a reply to a token cut brought by a Congress member when a demand under general administration was under discussion. During discussion several Congress members made certain allegations regarding the attitude of police officials at several places during the last general elections. Proceeding Dr. Khare said that there was no material at his disposal to enable him to verify the accuracy or the exaggerated character of the allegations but if specific complaints were brought to his notice they would be inquired into He added that instructions had been issued to Government servants that they should keep themselves strictly aloof from party politics and should be polite and courteous to the public

After discussion the cut motion was withdrawn. The need for the abolition of the posts of commissioners was raised by another member. Mr. D K Mehta, Finance Minister, stated that the views of the House would be conveyed to the Secretary of State.

20th SEPTEMBER —The whole of the provincial Budget was passed to-day by the Assembly. The guillotine was applied when the demand under Administration of justice was under discussion, and all subsequent demands, numbering 20, were passed without discussion.

By another cut motion Mr. C. J. Bharukha (Congress) urged that the Advocate-General should be paid Rs. 500 a month. On an assurance by Mr. Shareef that the question would be examined by him in consultation with other members of the Cabinet and then submitted to the Governor for decision, the cut motion was withdrawn.

Salaries Bill

21st SEPTEMBER :—When the Assembly met to-day the first part of the day was spent in discussing the Payment of Salaries Bill. After fifty minutes' discussion the Bill authorising the payments of salaries to Ministers, the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker, the Parliamentary Secretaries and others was passed.

DEMAND FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

21st. SEPTEMBER :—Lively debate ensued to-day when the Hon'ble Dr. *N. B. Khare*, Prime Minister, moved the official resolution on Constituent Assembly. The Prime Minister traced at length the constitutional development of the country to show how the demand formulated in the resolution was a logical sequel. In a thirty minutes' speech Dr. Khare made it clear that financial, economic; and political evolutions of the country were inter-dependent He said that the Congress demanded that the present constitutiou should be forthwith repealed as inadequate and insulting to the dignity of India.

Immediately had the Prime Minister finished, Dr. *Raghavendra Rao* rose to oppose the motion He regretted that the speech of the Prime Minister was full of inaccuracies The Prime Minister had also omitted from the resolution the essential ingredient from the Working Committee's approved draft. Whatever one might say about the inadequacy of the constitution, there had been great changes in the political situation. As a result of these constitutional changes the gravity of political power had been shifted to Provinces. The Prime Ministers had now occupied the place hitherto occupied by Governors. Proceeding, he said that the federation of the people of provinces and of Indian States was an ideal worthy of any sacrifice and worthy of collaboration of Indians and Britons The Constituent Assembly presupposed a high degree of homogeneity and unity of purpose Such an experiment had never been tried in the sub-continent, possessing such a diversity of races and interests He asked what guarantee would there be that if the Constituent Assembly was convoked on the basis of adult franchise for the determination of India's future constitution, the Communist party in India would not get hold of the machinery and oust those who were now clamouring for the Constituent Assembly on peaceful and non-violent lines.

Mr *T. J Kedar* (Congress) showered invectives on Dr. Rao. He wondered how Dr. Rao could praise the present Government of India Act when the whole country condemned it. He asked them to follow the example of Ireland which had shaped its own constitution They were, by bringing this resolution, following in the footsteps of the country which fought for a constitution after its liking and ultimately got it Referring to the fear of Dr. Rao of the capture of the Congress by Communists, Mr Kedar declared that he had not come across a single Communist in India who was imbued with violent ideas. They were not dangerous people as Dr. Rao thought them to be. To consider the Communist as a terrorist was nothing but a flight of imagination They never wanted Federation and he asked Dr. Rao to preach his gospel in Indian States Assumption of office by the Congress did not mean surrender of the national demand On the contrary, the Congress was out to shake off the shakles of British Imperialism

Hon'ble Mr. *Mishra* said that Mr Raghavendra Rao in course of his speech had tried to have a dig at the Congress at every stage He referred Mr. Rao to a speech delivered by him in 1921 In which Mr. Rao had said that the link between India and England was an artificial one and he was surprised to notice that one who was a sharp critic of Government in those days had turned into a defender of the British policy.

Mr. *Gulabchand Choudhuri* (Congress) supporting Dr Khare's resolution said that the Government of India Act did not aim at giving Swaraj to India but merely made a provision for the Government India. It was, therefore, idle to hope anything tangible from the scheme outlined therein. Only a Constituent Assembly could not draw up a Constitution that would satisfy the aspirations of India The Congress, he added, had accepted office not for working the Act but to prevent self-seekers and other undesirable people from usurping power.

Mr. *Pandhari Patil* (Non-Brahmin) led an ironical attack on the Congress by saying that the exclusion of a Harijan member from the Cabinet had roused suspicions in the minds of people about its bonafides vis-a-vis the poor and illiterate people who constituted an important minority community in the province. He was afraid that the Constituent Assembly would result in concentrating power in the hands of the rich and would be a signal for the spread of Bolshevism.

Mrs. *Anasuyabai Kale* refuted the allegation of Mr. Patil by pointing out that the Congress had all along advocated adult franchise which gave power to the poorest of the poor. The Congress also favoured the imposition of death duties—a suggestion which it would have never made had it favoured the rich as alleged.

Mr. Bikhulal Chandak also supported the resolution while Mr. Ghodichor Dashrath

Patil supported Mr. Harda's amendment. Mr. Agnibhoj supported the Congress resolution. Khan Saheb Muzaffar Hussain alleged that the minorities were afraid of the Congress because of the Congress lip sympathy to democracy which was not found in actual practice. It was also not free from the Hindu Sabha influence. It was not proper for those who accepted office to say that their action did not amount to surrender of the national demand. Congressmen during their term of office so far had not given any proof that they were wrecking or attempting to wreck the new Constitution.

22nd. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly session, came to a close to-day after it had adopted the resolution on the Government of India Act 1935, and the Constituent Assembly demand. The first part of the resolution communicating to the Government of India the emphatical opinion of the Assembly that the Act should be replaced at the earliest possible date by a constitution in consonance with the aspirations of the people of India was unanimously adopted, while the latter part, viz., "as expressed in the resolutions of the Indian National Congress" and "that assumption of office by the Ministers should by no means be understood as a surrender of the National Demand for a Constitution to be shaped by representatives of the people of India duly summoned to a Constituent Assembly convened for the purpose" was adopted without a division.

The three amendments to the resolution were lost by an overwhelming majority of votes. The House then adjourned *sine die.*

Winter Session—Nagpur—7th to 16th December 1937

The Prohibition Bill

Reference of the Central Provinces and Berar Prohibition Bill to a Select Committee and a "victory" for the Opposition in the debate on the Berar Land Land Revenue Amendment Bill marked the first day's proceedings of the Assembly's winter session which began on the **7th. December.**

Moving that the Prohibition Bill be referred to a select committee Mr *P. B. Gole*, Minister for Excise claimed that the measure had public support to an extent never before extended to any other. Replying to those who doubted the wisdom of prohibition, the Minister said that illicit distillation had thrived in the past because of the public's apathy but here, as elsewhere in India, there was great social, religious and traditional disapproval of the drink habit and this sentiment against liquor could be marshalled through systematic propaganda Government proposed to appoint a number of anti-drink committees in selected areas in addition to a provincial committee. As regards the financial aspect of the problem the Minister said they must be prepared to face a loss He asked the House to remember that the object of taxation was to spend the proceeds on the betterment of taxpayers. What better object could they spend on it than the improvement of the living condition of the poorer sections of the community who constituted the majority of those given to drink ? The Government were determined to suffer any loss involved and would find the money either by retrenchment or by devising measures of taxation that would not affect the poorer classes of the community. The Minister pointed out that it would be unwise to be hasty in the establishment of prohibition They had first to have a clear idea of the difficulties involved Their decision was irrevokable and they could not risk failure by haste. The experience they would gain by introducing prohibition in the areas now selected would give them confidence for extending the movement in the next two or three years.

Khandwa Ginning Tax Validity Bill

Pandit *D. P. Misra*, Minister for Local Self-Government moved that the Khandwa Ginning and Pressing Tax Validating Bill, occasioned by the recent ruling of the Privy Council that the municipal committee of Khandwa when it imposed the tax in 1922 had not gone through all the necessary legal formalities, be referred to a select committee with instructions to report by December 15 The motion was carried.

Berar Land Revenue Amend. Bill

The Opposition scored a virtual victory over the Government when the Berar Land Revenue Amendment Bill was taken up for discussion.

Mr. *Gole* had originally moved that the Bill be referred to a select committee but opposition from Berar members that the Bill sought to expropriate the cultivator and confer wide and unwarranted powers on the Government lead to the Minister agreeing to circulate the Bill for eliciting public opinion.

The Bill seeks to give the Government power to appropriate land which is outside the margin of profitable cultivation and has been abandoned by the cultivator.

Messrs B G. Khaparde, M M. Huq, Pandhari Patil, Khan Bahadur Mirza Rahaman Beg, Rao Saheb Rajurker and others contended that the Bill would lead to the displacement of thousands of tenants

The Minister replying said that the Opposition had misinterpreted the object of the Bill. The Government was not keen on entering on the land. The object of the Bill was to see that no cultivable land lay waste. He would be prepared to extend the period of its abandonment by a cultivator from three years to five in order to allay the fears of the Opposition. The House then adjourned,

C. P. INDIAN CONTRACT ACT AMEND. BILL

8th. DECEMBER —In the Assembly to-day, the hon Mr *Shareef*, Minister for Law, introduced the C. P. and Berar Indian Contract Act Amendment Bill for empowering civil courts to set aside champertous agreements between nominal plaintiffs and maintainers upon such terms and conditions as the courts deem fit to impose

The statement of objects and reasons of the Bill refers to the recommendations of the Civil Justice Committee which inter alia recommended that the Indian Contract Act should be amended on the lines of the provision obtaining in English Law

In moving that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee the Minister referred to the evils arising out of persons who gave encouragement to or assisted one of the parties to a suit or proceeding without having any interest therein or any motive recognised by law as justifying their interference and pointed out that it was against public policy to encourage such litigation

Mr *Abdul Razaque Khan*, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, strongly opposed the provisions of the Bill and contended that the majority of the provinces and legal authorities were opposed to the recommendations of the Civil Justice Committee being taken up piecemeal, as also this particular recommendation He added that the conditions in India differed widely from those in England and the Bill was unwarranted He moved that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon. Mr. Razaque's motion was thrown out without a division and the Government motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee was carried The House then adjourned.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

9th. DECEMBER —The Assembly devoted to-day's entire sitting to a discussion on 31 non-official bills Twenty-nine of these were circulated for eliciting public opinion and one was passed into law.

The first Bill to be introduced was that of Mr. *M G. Chitnavis*, representing the C. P. South Landholders' Constituency, seeking to prevent the slaughter of milch cattle, especially cows. When this Bill was introduced, some members of the Ministerial Party cried "no" to the question of the speaker

Mr. *V R Kalappa* introduced his C. P. and Berar Payment of Salaries Amendment Bill, providing a house and motor allowance to the Speaker The Bill was passed into law. The Speaker's allowances will be on a par with those of Ministers.

A number of Congress Party members tabled Bills, affecting the rights of tenants and malguzars and suggesting changes in the tenancy system Others tabled Bills seekings to remove the social disabilities of Harijans and conferring on them the right to use all public places

Mr. *Kalappa* also introduced the Nagpur House Rent Bill, seeking to regulate the rents of houses in Nagpur.

Another interesting Bill was that tabled by *Syed Rouf Shah*, authorising the Deputy Commissioners to issue permits without payment of licence fee to Shikarees to shoot man-eating tigers, panthers, leopards in areas infested by such animals, notwithstanding the provisions of the C. P Game Act. The statement of objects and reasons of the Bill says that one human life is more valuable and important than any amount of money that might be recovered in the form of licence fees for shooting. The proposed provision in the C P. Game Bill is necessary to expedite the destruction of man-eaters. The House then adjourned.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

13th. DECEMBER .—The Assembly discussed 5 non-official resolutions demanding

the institution of an enquiry into the causes of the communal disturbances in Jubbulpore during the Dasara festival.

Congress members, supporting it, urged the Government thoroughly to investigate the cases of the riots and to take steps in order to prevent a recurrence in future but Muslim members thought that no useful purpose would be served at this stage by an enquiry of the nature proposed

The Premier, the hon. Dr. *N. B. Khare*, speaking on the motion, stated that the Government would accept the motion if he, along with the Minister in charge of Law and Order, were asked to make an enquiry into the disturbances. The House assented to the Premier's suggestion and the resolution was carried unopposed. The Premier thanked the House for its confidence and said that communal riots should make every Indian hang down his head in shame. He appealed to the leaders of all communities to see that there was no repetition of such ugly disturbances.

Discussion on another resolution, urging that the enhancement of revenue made as the result of the last settlement in seven taluks of West Berar be reduced and that land revenue in these Talukas as collected at the pre-settlement rate from the current year, had not concluded when the House rose for the day The motion was supported by several members, Congress and non-Congress, hailing from Berar.

14th. DECEMBER.—Mrs. *Durgabai Joshi* was granted leave by the Assembly today to withdraw her resolution demanding a reduction in land revenue in seven taluks of Berar to the rates prevailing before the settlements of 1934.

The *Revenue Minister*, replying to the debate, stated that the question of relief in the more highly assessed areas had been engaging the attention of the Government ever since they had taken up office Their examination was nearing completion and a decision would be reached shortly The Minister added that he felt that temporary relief was necessary and that it should take the form of abatement over a period of years. He had not yet decided what the percentage of relief should be and for that every effort would be made to mitigate hardship and remove the sense of grievance. The Minister hoped that it would be realised that financial considerations were limiting factors in this as in any other matter of relief

C. P. AND BERAR ENQUIRY COMMITTEE BILL

15th DECEMBER.—"It should be the concern of everybody to see that the laws we make here are very good laws and that they are hundred per cent good," said Mr. *G. S. Gupta*, Speaker, while adjourning the House in order to facilitate full discussion of a Government Bill.

The Bill in question was one of the most controversial that had ever come up before the Assembly. It was described as the Central Provinces and Berar Enquiry Committee Bill and sought to empower the Provincial Government to appoint an enquiry Committee to deal with any matter of public importance and record evidence from "any person or summon him to produce any document in his possession, and to tender an explanation either personally or through a legal practitioner."

When the Bill was introduceed by the hon *Dr. Khare*, the Premier, Mr. *Rizvi* (Raipur) raised objections. Firstly he contended that the Bill was ultra vires of the Legislature inasmuch as it sought to empower the Government to enquire into the conduct of persons outside its purview, such as members of the Naval Military or Air Forces and secondly, assuming that the House was competent to deal with the measures, the previous sanction of the Governor-General had not been obtained for its introduction.

Several speakers supported Mr. Rizwi's contention and others opposed it

Mr. *Rizvi* further contended that in accordance with the Standing Orders and the rules of procedure, where a question arose as to whether it was competent for a Provincial Legislature to legislate on the subject without the sanction of the Governor-General, it was mandatory on the Speaker to refer the question to that authority whose sanction would have been necessary to introduce it. He, therefore, appealed to the Chair to withhold leave to introduce the Bill.

After some discussion, the Speaker gave his ruling in favour of the introduction of the Bill. He admitted the existence of the rule quoted by Mr. Rizwi but also referred to another rule which permitted the Speaker to allow such legislation to be introduced as, he felt, lay within the competence of the Legislature. It was only when a doubt arose in the mind of the Speaker that the rule quoted by Mr. Rizwi came into operation.

In order to judge whether discussion on the Bill was permissible, the Speaker referred to the Statement of Objects and Reasons and pointed out that the object of the Bill was to authorise the setting up of an enquiry committee to investigate a matter of public importance.

In regard to the interpretation of rules, the Speaker stated that his policy would be to protect and enhance the rights of the House and not to seek to curtail them. The authorities concerned could interfere with his decision if they chose as they had ample powers under the Government of India Act to do so The Bill was only an enabling measure and contained no penal provision. He, therefore, held that the House was competent to discuss the measure

Dr. Khare next moved that the Bill be taken into consideration at once

Mr. *B. G Khaparde* moved that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion. Mr. Khaparde was supported by Rao Saheb Rajurker, Leader of the Opposition, and several members from the Opposition benches

Members of the Congress Party appealed for the application of the closure in order to curtail the debate, but the Speaker refused to apply closure as the Bill was very important and he would not like to shut out discussion.

The Assembly was adjourned while Mr. Khaparde's motion was under discussion.

16th DECEMBER —When the Assembly met to-day. Mr Khaparde moved that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion Messrs Abdul Razaque and S W A. Rizvi supported the motion. Mr Rizvi failed to understand why the Government should bring forward a Bill of the present nature since there was nothing in the past to show that enquiry committees appointed by Government had been precluded from taking the evidence which they wanted to record The Hunter Committee after the incident of the Jallianwalla Bagh and the United Provinces Labour Enquiry Committee were instances in point Further, the Bill contained no provision for compensation to officers against whom allegations might be made and who might be held to be innocent by the Committee of Enquiry

The hon. Dr. *N. B. Khare*, Premier and Leader of the House, said that the Government, who appointed their servants, were more concerned about the latter's welfare and about maintaining their dignity. There was no need for nervousness on the part of the Opposition.

Mr. Khaparde "Our nervousness comes from the fact that the present Government have come here to wreck the Constitution and to break Government"

The hon. Mehta "We have not come to wreck the Government servants"

Mr Khaparde's motion for circulation was pressed to a division and was defeated by 63 votes te 19.

Mr Khaparde next moved that the Bill be referred to the Select Committee but this motion was also defeated by 61 votes to 23.

Dr *Khare's* motion for the immediate consideration of the Bill was also pressed to a division and carried by 61 votes to 23

Messrs. Khaparde, Abdul Razaque and Rizwi next moved a number of amendments, which were all defeated The Government opposed every amendment.

When Mr. Khaparde's amendment that the power to summon persons to give evidence or produce documents should be vested in all members of the Committee and not only in the Chairman, as provided in the Bill, was not accepted by the Government, he exclaimed. "We have still to see the benefits of democracy, the curses of which are already evident." His amendment was thrown out by 62 to 19.

Rao Saheb Rajurker led the attack on clause 5 of the Bill which Mr. A. Razaque moved, should be deleted. The clause runs as under "If during the course of an inquiry, the Committee considers it necessary to investigate the conduct of any person, the Committee shall give an opportunity to such person to take part in the proceedings of the Committee either in person or through a legal practitioner."

The Leader of the Opposition described the Clause as misrule by the majority and such as would make it difficult for any man to live honourably.

Mr. T. J. Kedar intervened, asking if there was any penal provision in the Bill compelling the attendance of such persons.

Mr. Rajurker said that if the Committee appointed had no power to deal with the offenders, then there was no justification for wasting the public time and money by appointing an Enquiry Committee.

Mr. Rajurker's as also Mr. Rizvi's amendment, excluding acts of Government servants purported to have been done before 1st April 1937, the date of introduction

of Provincial Autonomy, as provided for in Section 270 of the Government of India Act, were thrown out.

Mr. *Rizvi* next moved an amendment, which required the suspension of Standing Orders by the Speaker as also the previous sanction of the Governor-General. He claimed that notice of the Bill was first given to members on December 7, which had left no time for them to get the sanction of the Governor-General before they could give notice of amendments. The members of the House had the right to move amendments, of which they have been deprived on account of the failure of the Government to give sufficient notice to the members. He, therefore, appealed to the Chair to adjourn the sitting to enable members to obtain the requisite sanction. He reminded the Speaker that it was his duty to protect the rights and privileges of the members

The *Speaker* gave his ruling against Mr. Rizvi, remarking that the House having decided to proceed with the consideration of the Bill, suspension of business at this stage would amount to flouting its decision which he was not prepared to do He recognised the difficulty of the members but was helpless in the matter. The situation once again showed the undesirability of rushing through legislation and he appealed to the Government to proceed slowly. He could not adjourn the business because there would be nothing before the House for consideration since Mr. Rizvi's amendments were not actually before the House

The Bill was passed into law, after the disposal of the amendments Mr Rizvi offered the most strenuous opposition to the motion for its passage and hoped that before giving his consent to the Bill, His Excellency the Governor would consider all his objections

The House adjourned amidst dramatic scenes. Just when the Speaker was announcing the adjournment, Mr. Rizvi wanted to know the duties and privileges of the Leader of the House and further complained that some Secretaries to Government were intervening in the course of the debates and confabulating with the Ministers While Mr. Rizvi was on his legs, a member on the Treasury Bench said that members of the Congress Party could leave the House.

Mr. Khaparde protested against this and said that the Minister's order to his men was an insult to the Chair and to the House.

Amidst confusion, the Speaker adjourned the House *sine die*.

The Orissa Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

1 Babu Raj Krushna Bose
2 Babu Bichitrananda Das
3 Babu Atala Behari Acharya
4 ,, Kinai Samal
5 ,, Nabakrushna Choudhury
6 The Hon'ble Babu Nityananda Kanungo (*Minister*)
7 Babu Jadumani Mangaraj
8 ,, Gobinda Prasad Singh
9 ,, Lokenath Misra
10 ,, Birakishore Behera
11 ,, Dwarakanath Das
12 ,, Birabar Narayan Dhir Narendra
13 ,, Sadhu Charan Das
14 ,, Girija Bhusan Dutta
15 ,, Mohan Das
16 ,, Jagabandhu Sinha
17 ,, Biswanth Behera
18 ,, Jagannath Misra
19 ,, Prannath Patnaik
20 ,, Godavaris Misra
21 The Hon'ble Babu Mukunda Prasad Das (*Speaker*)
22 Babu Nanda Kishore Das (*Dy Speaker*)
23 ,, Charu Chandra Ray Mahasaya
24 ,, Chakradhar Behera
25 ,, Nidhi Das
26 ,, Jagannath Das
27 ,, Nrupalal Singh
28 The Hon'ble Babu Bodhram Dubey (*Minister*)
29 ,, Prahaladrai Lath
30 ,, Fakira Behera
31 ,, Bisi Bibhar
32 Lal Artaran Deo
33 The Hon'ble Babu Biswanath Das (*Chief Minister*)
34 Raja Bahadur Sri Rama Chandba Mardaraja Deo
35 Sriman Mandhata Gora Chand Patnaik Mahasayo
36 Babu Gobindo Podhano
37 ,, Punya Naiko
38 ,, Divakara Patnaik
39 Sri Ramachandra Debo
40 Vysyaraju Kasi Viswanadham Raju
41 Sri Gobind Chandra Thatraj Bahadur
42 Catain Maharaja Sri Sri Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo
43 Sriman Sadasibo Triprti Mahasayo
44 Sriman Radhamohan Sahu Mahasayo
45 Babu Radhakrishna Biswas-roy
46 Khan Bahadur Saiyid Ahmad Baksh
47 Saiyid Fazle Haque
48 Maulavi Abdus Sobhan Khan
49 ,, Latifur Rahaman
60 Srimati Sarala Devi
51 Mrs A Lakshmi Bai
52 Mr Premananda Mohanty
53 Babu Ranga Lal
54 Mr. Braja Sundar Das
55 Raja Krishna Chandra Mansingh Harichandan Mardaraj Bhramarbar Rai
56 Babu Pyari Sankar Roy
57 Rev. E. M. Evans
58 Mr Hari Pani Jennah
56 Sriman Balabhadra Narayan Samanta
60 Sriman Radha Mohan Panda

Proceedings of the Assembly

Opening Day—Cuttack—28th. July 1937

ELECTION OF SPEAKER & DY. SPEAKER

The members of the Orissa Legislative Assembly formally assembled at Cuttack on the **28th. July** to elect their Speaker and Deputy Speaker. **Mr.** *B. N. Das*, who had been nomitated by His Excellency the Governor to occupy the chair pending formal election of the Speaker, made a short speech welcoming the newly-elected members of the House. "Government of the people was being inaugurated for the first time to-day," said the Chairman, as he announced that Mr. *Mukund Prasad Das* (Congress Nominee) had been elected Speaker uncontested.

Mr. *Nanda Kishore Das*, also nominated by the Congress Party, was thereafter declared elected as the Deputy Speaker without contest

After the election of the Speaker, Congress members sang the "Bademataram" song, all elected members in the House standing up in their seats.

The excellent atmosphere which prevailed in the House so long was marred by a a small incident when it was noticed that Mr Mansfield, Chief Secretary to the Orissa Government and one or two other Government officials, remained seated while the "Bandemataram" song was being sung.

Pandit *Godavaris Misra* immediately drew the attention of the Speaker to this fact and asked for his ruling as to whether it was permissible for a Government official to show this affront to the House.

The Speaker promised to enquire into the matter and give his ruling after ascertaining the facts from the members referred to.

The Speaker announced that he had decided to accept Rs. 400 only per month as his salary, an announcement which was greeted with cheers from all sections of the House.

Budget Session—Cuttack—30th. August to 28th. Sept. 1937

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1937-38

30th. AUGUST.—Mr *Biswanath Das*, Premier, introduced to-day the Budget for 1937-38 The budget shows a surplus of Rs 5,20,000, total receipts and expenditure being Rs. 1,89,57,000 and Rs. 1,84,37,000 respectively

In his opening remarks the Premier dwelt on the past sufferings of Utkal due to political and administrative vivisection. The National Congress was fighting for Swaraj and was opposed to the imposed Government of India Act. The new legislatures, however, enjoyed some measure of provincial autonomy

Mr Das regretted that the Congress Ministry in Orissa lacked time to give close attention to the present Budget. Besides, the Orissa Budget suffered from peculiar difficulties. New areas had been added to the province Their estimates of income and expenditure were very rough. Madras officers serving in Orissa had the option to return and their pay, pension charges and travelling allowances were uncertain and upset the budget provision once made

Proceeding, the Premier referred to the need to maintain Rs 5 lakhs as minimum balance with the Reserve Bank consequent on the Niemeyer settlement and as a corollary of the introduction of Provincial Autonomy. Now, after wiping out the interest charges on the two protective canal systems in Orissa amounting to Rs 10 to 11 lakhs, the Central Government were giving a recurring grant of Rs 40 lakhs annually towards the normal expenditure. In the current year Orissa had obtained Rs. 47 lakhs. The revised budget for 1936-37 revealed a closing balance of Rs. 3.55 lakhs, which was really made up of Central Government grants for specific purposes. If the provincial revenues alone were considered, it was a deficit of Rs. ·04 lakhs.

Excluding special grants, the Budget made no room for new schemes. Mr. Das, therefore, appealed to officials to accept a similar pay. The revenue was likely to fall owing to the recent unprecedented floods. The grant of Rs. 40 lakhs as subvention from the Central Government was due really to the presence in the Orissa province of a large undeveloped area and heavy overhead charges. The distribution of assets between Madras, Bihar and Orissa had been unfare to the new province,

which got nothing from the huge opening balance, the accumulated Famine Relief Fund etc Orissa also had to pay huge contributions to other provinces for admission of Oriyas in technical institutions. Mr. Das urged the reopening of the entire question.

After referring to the recent floods, Mr. Das said Orissa had the largest extent of excluded areas (20,000 square miles with 2 67 million population). The development of these areas was legitimately a charge on the Central Government. The question needed agitation.

Regarding irrigation, Mr Das said the State should have full control over the water courses with a view to preventing floods and co-ordinating irrigation activities. Ryotwari landholders in South Orissa were affected by fall in prices and a remission of 1 and a half annas in the rupee was announced as in Madras.

The Government were considering proposals to make forests remunerative A co-operative inquiry would be undertaken by Mr. Daivasikamani Mudaliar of Madras and the possibilities of the development of cottage industries would be explored by Mr. Kumarappa head of the India Village Industries Association.

Prohibition, the Premier declared, was not practicable at the present moment as the question was bound up with the attitude of Orissa States. It also involved loss of revenue and more expenditure on the prevention of illicit distillation

The improvement of national wealth, as for instance, by the revival of the salt industry, would be undertaken.

Concluding Mr Das said, "It is hard to tax people when the universal cry consists of demands for lightening the taxation burden. We recognise the unequal distribution of wealth and the consequent grinding poverty of the people. The immediate relief will only be in respect of uneconomic rents and illegal cesses." Mr Das said he was not in favour of imposing a tax on agricultural incomes in the current year

Ministers' Salaries Bill

After the presentation of Budget a lively exchange of thursts and counter-thursts was witnessed when the Assembly discussed the Orissa Ministers' Salaries Bill.

The *Raja of Khallikote* proposed an amendment favouring Rs 400 for Ministers' salary instead of 500 provided in the Bill. He admitted that Rs. 500 was not a high pay for Ministers, but pleaded that though the Congress had allowed that as the maximum, in view of the poverty of Orissa, Ministers here should forego Rs 100 accepting Rs 400 only.

Mr. *Latifur Rahaman*, ex-Minister, said something, which was inaudible but which provoked a Congress member to remark : "Gentlemen who are not worth anything otherwise have drawn Rs 6000 as salaries in Orissa"

Replying to the debate, the Raja of Khallikote said he would appeal to the Minister to accept a smaller salary He would not take notice of the personal attacks made against him and if the Ministers did not respond to his appeal, he would withdraw the amendment

The Ministers remaining silent, the Raja of Khallikote withdrew his amendment.

Earlier in the day, Mr Bira Behara Hariwan raised the question of language

The *Speaker* ruled that rules would shortly be made allowing Oriya speeches to be made Meanwhile such speeches would be allowed. The Speaker requested members who were sufficiently able to express themselves in English to do so in consonance with the Government of India Act.

Official Bills

The following Government Bills were next passed : Orissa General Clauses Bill, 1937, introduced by the Hon Mr Bodhram Dubey, the Orissa Legislative Assembly Speaker's and Dy. Speaker's Salaries Bill, the Orissa Ministers' Salaries Bill.

The Orissa Offices of Profit (Removal of Disqualification) Bill, allowed Parliamentary Secretaries and others to draw salaries was referred to a Select Committee on the motion of Mr. Bichitrananda Das. The Assembly then adjourned till the 3rd September.

"Bande Mataram" in Assembly

3rd. SEPTEMBER.—When the Assembly reassembled this morning, the Speaker, Mr. *Mukunda Prasad Das* gave a ruling on the point of order raised by Mr. Godavaris Misra on the 28th July last

It will be recalled that on that day when the "Bande Mataram" was sung in the Assembly Hall, Mr. P.T Mansfield, Chief Secretary to the Orissa Government and two European Secretaries did not stand up.

The Speaker ruled that Mr. Mansfield and the other officials did not form part of the House. Technically they were invisible to the Speaker. At the same time, the Speaker felt sure that no insult was meant to the House or the song by the gentlemen concerned. He also quoted a ruling of the late President V. J. Patel in the Central Assembly supporting the present ruling.

KHADDAR AS UNIFORM

Srimathi *Lakshmi Rai* next moved a resolution that khaddar be supplied for uniforms of Government servants and employees of local boards and municipalities.

The *Premier* accepted the principle of the resolution, but objected to the inclusion of local boards and municipalities on the ground that their autonomy should be left untouched.

Mr. *Raj Krishna Bose* moved an amendment for deleting the words to which the Premier had taken exception. The House accepting the amendment, the resolution was carried unanimously.

ORISSA'S FLOOD PROBLEM

The Assembly next took up non-official resolutions, two of which related to flood problems in Orissa, which afforded the Government an opportunity to declare their intention of pushing through with the recommendations of the Flood Committee.

Mr. *Nityanando Kanungo*, in the course of his speech, stated that it was a shame that whenever the question of solving the flood problem was raised the interests of owners of private embankments came up against demolition even though technical opinion strongly favoured demolition in the interests of the general public. The law also seemed to be in favour of the embankment owners, In the near future he hoped to announce a comprehensive policy of the Government in regard to the flood problem In the meantime he would state that the Government were taking every step for getting over any difficulty, local or otherwise and would try to push through the recommendations of the Flood Committeee. He accepted the two resolutions The House then adjourned till the 6th.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

6th. SEPTEMBER .—The Assembly met to discuss non-official Bills to-day

Raising a point of order, Mr. *Misra* stated that on the second day of this session the Raja of Khallikote had been allowed a right of reply to an amendment to the Ministers' Salaries Bill But on Friday Mr Jagannathdas was refused a similar right on the ground that a mover of an amendment had no right of reply. Referring to rules he pointed out that a mover of an amendment could be allowed to have a right of reply. The *Speaker* said he would frame rules after consultation with party leaders and members would not have any grievance.

The House refused leave to Mr. *M. G Patnaik* to introduce a Bill to repeal the Madras Stamp Amendment Act The same member's Agriculturists Loans (Orissa Amendment) Bill was however accepted by the House

The Orissa Moneylenders' Bill of Mr *Patnaik* then came up for discussion. The Bill aims to give relief to debtors from exorbitant rates of interest.

Mr. *P. S. Roy* moved for the circulation of the Bill The Rev. Mr. *Evans* (nominated), supporting the Bill stated that it was a Bill to protect poor people from exorbitant rates extorted by moneylenders The moneylenders were sucking the life-blood of poor people. He felt that the House should at once refer the Bill to a select committee.

The *Premier* supported the motion for circulation for the purpose of ascertaining the views of different parts of the province and for examining the question thoroughly so that the measure might be made comprehensive.

The Assembly conducted most of its business in Oriya When another of Mr. *Patnaik's* Bills to amend the Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Societies Act came up for discussion, Mr. *Godavaris Misra* raised a point of order stating that the Bill was not in the hands of the members for seven days as required by the rules. Consequently, he wanted the discussion to be postponed. The Speaker agreeing, the House adjourned after the introduction of six more Bills.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

7th. SEPTEMBER :—The general discussion of the Budget commenced to-day. Opening the discussion, Mr *Latifar Rahman* said that the Premier had denied responsibility, but the Congress was wholly responsible for the unhappy Budget because of their demand for assurances before accepting office. Referring to the need for the prevention of floods, Mr. Rahman stated that if the demolition of embankments was not possible the waters of the Mahanadi could be utilized for irrigation as had been done by the Sukkur Barrage even though it meant a heavy cost He urged the overhauling of the Engineering Department He suggested that the Government should take up the question of the establishment of a separate High Court for Orissa

Srimati *Sarala Devi* regretted that there was no mention in the Budget of any remission of rents and water rates The Ministry, she said, should have acted boldly and cut down the salaries of officials and taxed the zamindars She urged retrenchment of expenditure in the Police Department

Mr *Sadasiva Tripathi* felt that the Budget was disappointing from the point of view of Excluded Areas. The contribution from the Government of India, he thought, was inadequate Mr *Girijabhusan Dutt* referred to grievances of the Angul people.

The Congress Socialist members, Messrs *Prannath Patnaik* and *Mohan Das* severely criticised the budget as not containing any provision for poor people.

Mr *Chakradhar Behra*, a tenant of the Raja Bahadur of Kanika, described certain illegal levies and oppressions of the ryots and demanded the abolition of permanent settlement Mr *Pyari Shanker Roy* drew the attention of the House to labour conditions in rice factories in Orissa and pleaded for the appointment of women welfare workers as recommended by the Labour Commission

Reverend *Evans*, nominated member, made a fighting speech urging the launching of a vigorous campaign against malaria, which was very widely prevalent in Orissa and specially drew the attention of the administration to the deplorable health conditions of the Khonds. Mr Evans fully supported the Premier's plea for increased help from the Centre towards the administration of the backward areas The Assembly rose at 4 p to meet again on the 9th.

9th SEPTEMBER —General discussion of the Budget concluded to-day. Mr. *Bichitrananda Das*, supporting the Budget, stated that the Ministry could change the policy but could not change the framework of the Budget during the short space of time There were sufficient constructive ideas in the Premier's speech.

Mr *Nityananda Kanungo*, Revenue Minister, stated that it would cost fifty lakhs for giving effect to the Flood Committee's recommendations and take ten years to complete the works suggested by it and Government had already started examination of the legal difficulties in the way of enforcing the recommendations

The *Premier* made a spirited reply to the criticism that the Ministry was "bureaucratised" In Bihar even though tax on land incomes was announced, Zamindars came out with help to the Congress Ministry but he was sorry to find that even though there were no tax proposals, Zamindars here had not come out to help the Ministry. Regarding the criticism that the cost of the Police administration was heavy, he stated that they were cutting down as much as possible and compared the cost with those of other provinces to show that Orissa's expenses were far less.

DEMAND FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

10th. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly continued discussion on the rules of the House for some time and later continued the debate on the Constituent Assembly resolution moved by Mr. *Biswanath Das*, Premier, on the 30th August

Mr *Latif-ur-Rahaman*, ex-Minister, moved the following amendment. "Provided the rights and privileges of minorities should be settled by mutual consent and agreement in the said Constituent Assembly." The mover asked the Government to accept the amendment and did not make a long speech.

The *Raja of Madhupur* next moved an amendment for securing more representation of the propertied classes and adequate representation of minorities in the Constituent Assembly.

The *Raja Bahadur of Khalikote* moved a third amendment substituting the words "unsatisfactory on the whole" for the words "wholly unsatisfactory" in the resolution. The Raja of Khalikote said that undoubtedly the present Act gave more powers to the people than the 1919 Act. For instance, the division of powers into "reserved half" and "transferred half" had been ended, Safeguards existed but

circumstances. He believed in neither Fascism nor revolution but in orderly progress Thus far the constitution was fairly satisfactory but the Federation was not conceived in India's interests. The Congress was fully justified in fighting the Federation. The Government of India Act had relaxed British hold on the provinces but tightened the grip at the Centre The Raja asked the House to accept his amendment which was highly reasonable.

After other speeches, Mr. *M. G. Patnaik*, supporting the Raja of Khallikote, pointed out that the Congress in accepting office had shown that the reforms were not wholly unsatisfactory. The capacity to defend the country was essential for independence, which was otherwise meaningless. China's plight must be warning to Indian political dreamers.

At this stage, as it was past four and many members wished to speak on the motion to-day, the House adjourned.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

13th SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly took up voting on demands for grants to-day. Mr. M G. Patnaik moved a cut motion on the management of Government estates and wanted the replacement of *sarbarakars* (revenue collectors) by village officers, which was the system prevailing in south Orissa. On an assurance given by Mr. Nityananda Kanungo (Revenue Minister) that the system would be inquired into, Mr. Patnaik did not press his cut motion.

14th. SEPTEMBER :—Mr.Divakar Patnaik moved a cut motion to-day, on the demand for land revenue to raise the question of "inequitable, uneconomic and uncodified" assessment of land and the "apathy of the Government" towards improving the fertility of lands.

Mr Nityananda Kanungo, (Revenue Minister) replying to the debate, said that it was wrong to suppose that the Government was afraid to launch on a scheme of resettlement for fear that the land revenue of the Government would be reduced. He assured that 'all possible steps would be taken to ensure a uniform system of land revenue Regarding ryots' indebtedness he said that the question had become very acute and some avenues must be found out to give relief to the tenants.

The mover withdrew his motion.

Replying to another cut motion urging the necessity of granting immediate suspension of the recovery of rent in the flood affected areas, Mr. N Kanungo observed that the Government have already indicated the measures they proposed to take for the permanent solution of the flood problem.

15th SEPTEMBER :—Mr. Bodhram Dubey moved today the demand under excise of Rs. 1 and a half lakhs. Four Congress cut motions regarding prohibition were withdrawn with the leave of the House. Mr. Jagannath Das (Congress), next moved a motion advocating preparation of gur from date and palmyra juice. The Minister promised to explore the possibilities of preparation of gur. Messrs M G. Patnaik and Latif-ur-Rahaman accused the Congress of breaking its pledges

Mr. Biswanath Das, Premier, replying to the debate, said prohibition would certainly be enforced according to their pledges. But it was impossible to give any definite date. The Premier accepted the cut motion and promised to examine methods of preparation of gur from date and palmyra juice

Mr. Bodhram Dubey moved the full demand of Rs. 6 and half lakhs odd under provincial excise. The House granted the demand. The only cut motion under stamps was withdrawn and the Premier's demand for Rs 37,000 odd under that head was passed without discussion.

Moving the demand under forests, Mr. Bodhram Dubey wanted Rs. 3,30,000 during the current year.

Moving a cut motion, Mr. Sadasiv Tripathy alleged the existence of various illegal levies in Jeypore Samasthanam. Replying, the Minister promised that all illegal exactions would be stopped. He also admitted that the forest rules needed change giving more rights to tenants. Mr. Tripathy withdrew the motion.

Moving next another cut motion, Mr. Nandakishore Das, Deputy Speaker, complained that the Forest Department was a losing concern in Orissa The Department was now a drag on other departments and must be made remunerative immediately.

Mr. Bodhram Dubey, replied that the Government were considering the question of making the department paying. Mr. N. K. Das withdrew his motion.

Mr. Dibakar Patnaik, moving next a cut motion, wanted the removal of the boundary of reserve forests to one mile from the villages and the introduction of the forest panchayats system The *Premier* assured the House that the matter was being considered The motion was withdrawn

The last motion under the head of forests was moved by Mr *Godavaris Misra* who asked for an inquiry committee into the administration of forests in the Government estate at Khurda for remedying popular grievances

The Government had not replied when the House rose for the day.

16th. SEPTEMBER.—The Assembly passed the demands under the heads Stamps, Forests and Excise to-day Through a cut motion the Government were asked to keep down expenditure on forests and also to increase the revenue yield from forests.

17th SEPTEMBER —The Assembly resumed discussion to-day on a cut motion on the irrigation demand. Representatives of all parties spoke in favour of the cut motion. It was pointed out that the canal system was costly and that it was doing more harm than good

Mr *Nityananda Kanungo*, Revenue Minister, replying to the criticism said, "The Government realize the gravity and urgency of the flood problem and are determined to go ahead with the work of investigation and are considering the projects and recommendations of the Flood Committee But each project is so inter-related to others, that we dare not take steps in a hurry. But in the back-ground of all these, looms large the very grim fact of finance We are prepared to forego any necessity of a civilised people in order to tackle this problem on which depends the very existence Proceeding, the Minister admitted that the canals were not productive He appealed to the members and the public to create a strong public opinion in favour of the recommendations of the Flood Committee. The mover withdrew his motion.

18th. SEPTEMBER:—The first division was pressed by the Opposition in the Assembly to-day on a cut motion on grants for general administration It resulted in a victory for the Government, 13 voting in favour of the motion and 32 against it.

Replying to another cut motion Mr *Biswanath Das*, Premier stated that it would not be in the interests of the public to move courts of sub-magistrates to villages, as it would mean difficulty in obtaining lawyers The Ministry was contemplating the establishment of village courts for dealing with petty offences.

20th SEPTEMBER.—Mr *Giriya Bhusan Dutt* moved a cut motion in the general administration demand. He complained against the prevalence of *bethi* (supply of food) to officials in the "partially excluded" areas at nominal prices The Premier, replying, said that the Government did not approve any supplies being received by officials without payments according to the market rate He said that no amount of rules and regulations would be effective unless officials and non-officials joined together in creating public opinion against *bethis* He suggested that meetings of tenants and hill tribes should be convened and the people informed of their rights and asked to communicate their grievances which would be considered by the Government. The cut motion was withdrawn and the administration grant passed.

21st. SEPTEMBER.—Replying to a cut motion under head "Administration of Justice" to discuss the necessity of changing the personnel of the Advocate-General for Orissa with the change of Government, the Hon'ble Mr *Biswanath Das*, Chief Minister stated that the Advocate-General should be a person on whom the Government might rely for interpretation of the Acts in their favour. Interim Ministers, the Chief Minister said, established a precedent by appointing a man of their own party and the present ministry were also aware of the feelings expressed in the House for appointing an Advocate-General from their own party. He assured that he would convey the matter to the Cabinet which would do all it could in the matter.

The mover thereupon withdrew his motion. The grant for Rs. 5,14,072 under head "Justice" was then passed.

DEMAND FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

22nd SEPTEMBER:—The Assembly passed to-day the resolution demanding Constituent Assembly, the Premier accepting the amendment of Mr. *Latifar Rahaman* for separate electorate (for Constituent Assembly).

The Assembly rejected *Raja Bahadur of Khallikote's* amendments to declare the the Act on the whole unsatisfactory instead of wholly unsatisfactory and "designed to perpetuate subjection" to be replaced by "will perpetuate subjection."

The *Premier* replied that the amendments would strike at the very root of the spirit of the resolution He asked zemindars not to be led by the cries of socialists but follow the Karachi Congress resolution which defined the Congress policy regarding zemindary system and wanted them to support the resolution.

The resolution was passed by a large majority and the adjournment was marked with cries of "Gandhi-ki-jai."

OFFICIAL BILLS

23rd. SEPTEMBER:—The Assembly considered Government Bills to-day. Mr *Biswanath Das*, Premier, submitted the report of the Select Committee on the Orissa Offices of Profit (Removal of Disqualification) Bill The Bill is intended to enable members of the Assembly to hold the office of Parliamentary Secretaries

Opposing the Bill, Mr. *M. G Patnaik* said that a poor province like Orissa did not need Parliamentary Secretaries.

The *Speaker* replied that the present Bill was merely permissive and did not make any appointments The Bill was next taken into consideration and passed.

MORATORIUM & INAM BILLS

Then Mr. *B. N. Das* introduced the Madras Estates Land Orissa Amendment Bill, 1937, commonly known as the Moratorium Bill. The Bill protects the occupancy rights of Inam ryots in Ganjam and Koraput Districts prohibiting the eviction of such tenants and staying proceedings in ejectment suits till 1st March 1938 Full legislative protection to Inam tenants will be given before that date by the main Bill

Mr. *N. Kanungo*, Minister, moved an amendment for extending the protection to Inam tenants in rent suits before revenue courts also and giving them the option to transfer such suits from civil courts to revenue courts

Mr *B. N. Das* accepted the amendment and the Bill was next passed.

Mr. *B. N. Das* then moved the Madras Estates Land Orissa Amendment Bill, 1937, commonly known as the Inam Bill, extending rights to the Inam tenants from the Madras area in Orissa Province which were lost by separation from Madras. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee

The next Bill introduced was the Madras Estates Land Orissa Amendment Bill, 1937, obliging Zamindors to give up collecting half the gross produce as rent and making it imperative that revenue officers settling the rent in proprietory areas should have regard to the rates of rent prevailing in the neighbouring ryotwari area

The *Raja Bahadur of Khallikote* opposed the Bill The Bill, he said, encroached on the rights of permanently settled areas and was therefore ultra vires. Half the gross produce was fixed as the rent in the Zamindari areas as a result of long and impartial inquiries by the Government But the settlement in ryotwari tracts was only by executive rules. Landholders, he said, were prepared to make all reasonable changes, but the present Bill was expropriatory. He was willing to have an Inquiry Committee as in Madras The Bill prepared by Mr. M. G Patnaik providing for reduction of rents according to fall in prices was much more reasonable

Introduction of the Bill, however, was allowed by the House.

THE CAPITAL OF ORISSA

24th. SEPTEMBER.—The public galleries were over-crowded this morning, when the Assembly took up consideration of the question of Orissa's capital

The *Speaker* announced that the main resolution and the amendments will be moved successively and discussion will proceed on all at the same time The Speaker also limited the time for speeches of movers of the resolution and the amendments to 15 minutes and of others to 10 minutes.

Mr. *Biswanath Das*, the Premier moved that the question of the selection of a site for the construction of a capital for the Orissa province be taken into consideration.

Mr. *Bichitrananda Das* moved an amendment recommending to the Government to take immediate steps for the location of the said capital at Cuttack. In the

course of his speech, Mr. Bichitrananda Das said Cuttack was the historical and cultural capital of the province. The controversy over it had been raised by the officials throwing an apple of discord among the public. The officials disliked centres of national life and preferred to build new cities for luxurious living.

Mr. *Pyari Shanker Roy* then moved an amendment recommending Cuttack as capital, with provision for expansion towards Chowdwar. Mr. Roy disliked spending more money on capital construction than was granted by the Government of India.

Mr. *Girija Bhusan Dutta* then moved an amendment favouring Cuttack with Chowdwar as capital of the Province. Mr. *Godavaris Misra's* amendment asking for examination of a less costly place between Cuttack and Puri was lost.

The *Raja of Khallikote's* amendment for asking the Dam Committee to report on all the available sites including Rangailunda was lost. A division was demanded and the result showed that 37 were against, 5 for and 6 remained neutral. Two other emendments were lost

Messrs *Pyari Shankar Roy* and *Bichitrananda Das* withdrew their amendments

The only amendment remaining was the one moved by Mr *Girija Bhusan Dutt* favouring Cuttack and Choudwar. It was carried without opposition

The *Speaker* then put the main motion as amended to vote and it was carried

25th SEPTEMBER.—The Madras Estates Land Act (Orissa Amendment) Bill was referred to a Select Committee by the Assembly to-day, a motion for circulation being rejected. The Bill aims at extending the principles *ryotwari* revenue settlement to proprietory estates.

Mr *Nityanand Kanungo*, Minister of Revenue, introduced the Orissa Tenancy Act Amendment Bill regarding the right of free transfer of occupancy holdings, the right of cutting trees and the penalizing of illegal exactions. A motion for circualtion was lost and the Bill was referred to a Select Committee.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS

27th SEPTEMBER.—The Assembly agreed to the demand for Rs 2000 under head "forest" for appointing a committee for the investigation of defects in the administration Another supplementary grant under head "education" was moved, which was required for the appointment of a committee for investigating the two different systems of education prevailing in the province

The Assembly assented to all supplementary demands, including the sum for giving effect to the provincial marketing scheme to which there was a grant from the Centre. Another grant was intended for the committee for investigating the co-operative movement and another for advising the Government regarding the flood Committee's recommendations Rs. 15 000 was assented to for the flood relief.

Members' Salaries and Allowances Bill, fixing Rs. 75 monthly and an allowance of Rs. 2-8 daily during the session plus double third class, was referred to a Select Committee Replying to a cut motion the Premier estimated that it would save the Government about 33-1-3 per cent over the present rates of daily allowances.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

28th SEPTEMBER:—The Assembly continued to-day discussion on the Orissa Tenancy Act Amendment Bill 1937. of Mr. *M G Patnaik* and rejected the proposal for referring it to a Select Committee.

The next two measures, concerning the Puri Jagannath Temple moved by Messrs *M G. Patnaik* and *Jagannath Misra*, were sent for circulation for eliciting public opinion before 1st January 1938

The House next referred to a Select Committee Mr *M G. Patnaik's* Madras Estates Land Orissa Second Amendment Bill. Mr Patnaik then withdrew the Moratorium Bill and the Inam Bill.

Mr. M. G. Patnaik introduced the Orissa Hindu Religious Endowments Bill, which the House sent for circulation. Mr *Godavaris Misra* also introduced a Bill on the same subject.

Mr. *Jagannath Das* introduced the Bihar and Orissa Public Safety Orissa Amendment Bill, The Bill sought to repeal certain emergency measures in force in Orissa.

The *Premier* agreed with the need for removal of the emergency powers now vested with the Executive and accepted the Bill. The Bill was promptly considered and passed and the House was *prorogued*.

The Sind Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

1 Abdul Majid Lilaram
2 Abdul Satar Abdul Rahman
3 Akhji Ratansing Sodho
4 K. S. Allah Bakhsh Khudadad
5 K. B. Allah Bakhsh Muhammad
6 K. B. Mir Allahdad Khan Imam
7 K. B. Haji Amir Ali Tharu
8 Arab Togachi Mir Muhammad
9 Hon. Mir Bandeh Ali Khan, Mir Haji Muhammad Hussain Khan (*Minister*)
10 Dewan Bhojsing G. Pahalajani (*Speaker*)
11 Dialmal Doulatram
12 Doulatram Mohandas
13 Ghanshyam Jethanand Shibdasani
14 Ghanumal Tarachand
15 Mir Ghulam Ali Khan
16 Mir Ghulam Allah Khan
17 Hon. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah (*Chief Minister*)
18 Makhdum Ghulam Hyder Makhdum Zahir-ud-din
19 Pir Ghulam Hyder Shah Sahibdino Shah
20 Ghulam Muhammad Abdullah Khan Isran
21 Sayed Ghulam Murtaza Shah Muhammad Shah
22 K. B. Saied Ghulam Nabi Shah Maujali Shah
23 Hon'ble Mukhi Gobindram Pritamdas (*Minister*)
24 R. S Gokaldas Mewaldas
25 Hassaram Sunderdas Pamnani
26 Hemandas Rupchand Wadhwani
27 Hotchand Hirachand
28 Pir Illahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali
29 Diwan Bahadur Hirananda Khemsing
30 Issardas Varandmal
31 K S. Jaffer Khan Gul Muhammad Khan Burdi
32 Jamshed Nusserwanjee Mehta
33 Jam Jan Muhammad Khan Muhammad Sharif Junejo
34 Mrs. Jenubai Ghulam Ali Allana
35 Miss Jethibai Tulsidas Sipahimalani
36 K. B. Kaiser Khan Ghulam Muhammad Khan
37 Sayed Khair Shah Imam Ali Shah
38 Col. H. J. Mahon
39 Miran Muhammad Shah Zainulabdin Shah
40 Sayed Muhammad Ali Shah Allahando Shah
41 K. B Muhammad Ayub Khan Shah Muhammad Khan Khuhro
42 Muhammad Hashim Faiz Muhammad Gazdar
43 Mir Muhammad Khan Nawab Ghaibi Khan Chandio
44 Muhammad Usman Muhammad Khan Sumro
45 Muhammad Yusif Khan Khan Bahadur Muhammad Khan Chandio
46 Narainbas Anandji Bechar
47 Newandram Vishindas
48 Nihchaldas Chatumal Vazirani
49 Sayed Nur Muhammad Shah Murad Ali Shah
50 J J Flock
51 Partabrai Khaisukhdas
52 Dr Popatlal A Bhoopatkar
53 Raschen, G. H
54 Rasul Bakhsh Khan Muhammad Bakhsh Khan Uner
55 K. S. Rasul Bakhsh Shah Mahbub Shah
56 Rustomji Khurshedji Sidwa
57 Shamsuddin Khan Abdul Kabir Khan
58 Sitaldas Perumal
59 K. S Sohrab Khan Sahibdino Khan Sarki
60 Mir Zenuddin Khan Sunder Khan Sunderani

Proceedings of the Assembly

Budget Session—Karachi—3rd. August to 1st. Sept. 1937

Financial Statement for 1937-38

The second session of the Sind Legislative Assembly opened at Karachi on the **3rd. August 1937** under the presidency of Mr *Bhoj Singh* when the Premier and Finance Minister, Sir *Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah* introduced the budget proposals for 1937-38. Dealing with the main items, the Premier pointed out that they had budgetted for revenue receipts of Rs. 3,47,50,000 and revenue expenditure of Rs. 3,47.01,000 leaving a small revenue surplus of Rs. 49.00 0. Mass education was their goal, said the Premier, and towards this they intended to advance as fast as they could They had provided for the restoration of full grants to the local authorities for primary education for improving *mulla* schools and for grants to secondary schools. Additional provisions have been made for the extension of medical relief and grants to hospitals and dispensaries. A scheme has been drawn up for assisting and establishing small industrtes.

Referring to the insistent demand from the House for an increased expenditure on nation-building schemes, the Premier urged the members to consider fairly the revision of land revenue assessments The Government had not lost sight of the need for securing the utmost economy in expenditure Concluding, Sir Ghulam declared that their scope for the levy of new taxes being very limited, the Government had decided to proceed slowly in the matter. The House then adjourned

General Discussion of Budget

4th. AUGUST :—The general discussion of the Budget commenced to-day.

In the course of discussions Mr *Jamshed Mehta* held that there was scope for increasing the revenue by 20 per cent from certain departments, for which he suggested a conference of the heads of all the departments.

Mr. *G. H. Ruschen* urged the scrutiny of the existing system of higher education, holding that they must cry a halt to turning out more and more educated youths if there were no room for affording them adequate employment.

The Congressmen opposed the repayment of the Barrage debt and emphasised the need for improving communications all over the Province.

5th AUGUST —Mr. *Bechar*, Labourite, urged the Government to undertake an industrial survey of the province and encourage small industries.

Miss *Jethi Sipahimalani* (Congress) next made a stirring speech. "Why tax the poor people and not the rich ? Why don't you tax yourself also," asked Miss Jethi, referring to the speech made by a member from the Treasury Benches. Miss Jethi repudiated the statement made by a member of the Treasury Benches that industries and factories, if opened by the Government, would send the poor private enterprises home. "Where will they go ?" she asked. Miss Jethi regretted that no provisions had been made in the budget for female education and maternity homes. She added that much saving could be made by reducing high salaries and allowances. Concluding, she urged that prisoners should be taught art and industry, so that, when they came out of the prisons, they might have an occupation.

Various other members of the Opposition, including *Prof. Ghanshyam*, the Congress Party Leader, made speeches on the budget, urging the abolition of certain Government posts, and the reduction in the allowances of Government Officials and expenditure on police and under various other heads. They also suggested more money being spent on the education and health of the masses and the nationalisation of kdaddar.

The discussion came to a close after the three Ministers had delivered their speeches. The *Chief Minister* observed that the Government had removed the ban on newspapers and enquiries were being made to restore the Press securities. Police was necessary. But if alleged police tyrannies were reported they would be investigated. Without the police there would be no protection and no nationalisation. More money was being spent on irrigation, because without irrigation there could be no nationalisation.

SPEECHES IN VERNACULAR

6th. AUGUST:—In the Assembly this evening, over a point of order raised by a European Member, Mr. *G. H. Raschen* regarding the language to be used in the House, the Speaker, Mr. *Bhojsingh*, gave a ruling that any member who did not know English at all could speak Sindhi, but if he knew English well and at the same time could speak Sindhi it was his duty, if he was called upon, to give the purport of his speech in English.

The House proceeded to discuss the official Bill to establish a Famine Relief Fund and later adjourned.

LAND ASSESSMENT IN SIND

7th. AUGUST:—A Government motion was moved to-day by the Revenue Minister, Mir *Bande Ali Khan* to consider the report of the settlement officers and to make proposals for Land Revenue assessment rates in the Barrage areas. Two amendments were moved when the House adjourned till the 9th.

9th. AUGUST:—The House continued discussion on the Government motion in respect of the Settlement Officer's report on land assessment in the Barrage area. Mr. *Jamshed Mehta* suggested a round table conference between the Government and the Zamindars so as to reach an amicable settlement over the question in discussion. Two amendments were moved but discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned.

10th. AUGUST:—The members, opposing the proposals to-day, pointed out the difficulties in the Zamindars paying the enhanced assessment.

The Leader of the House, replying to the debate, said that conditions after the construction of the Barrage had improved and the cultivation of the main crops, wheat and cotton, had abnormally increased. He added, "The money I get from the assessment shall be spent on beneficial activities."

On the conclusion of the debate, the *Speaker* announced that he would convey the overwhelming sense of the House to the Government through two amendments, namely, those of *Dewan Bahadur Hiranand Khem Singh* and *Khan Bahadur Allaha Bux*, the former recommending to the Government to reject the report and the latter recommending its revision.

Some members demanded voting on the above two amendments. The *Speaker* held that the Government had not reached any decision, that objections from the public would be received till August 14 and that the Government were not prepared to call for a division. He added the Government motion had placed the report before the House for its consideration. Hence he could not allow the amendments to be voted upon.

11th. AUGUST:—In the Assembly to-day, the Speaker, Mr *Bhoj Singh*, explaining why he did not think it proper to accept a division last evening over the Government motion to consider the Settlement Officers' Report on land assessment in the Barrage area, made a statement, pointing out that the Government expressed the view that they had not yet made up their mind on the Report and that the matter was brought before the Assembly only for their consideration and merely for eliciting their opinion, the duty of fixing the land assessment rate being entirely the function of the Government under Section 102 of the Land Revenue Code. It did not appear to him to be a question to be determined by the Assembly under Section 66 of the Government of India Act.

Following this, the Opposition members, including Congressites and the Sind United Party, entered a protest against the procedure adopted by the Speaker, holding that under Section 66 of the Government of India Act, all questions before the House should be determined by a majority of votes.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

The voting on Budget demands commenced to-day, the first item being land revenue. Mr. *M. H. Guzdar's* amendment to reduce the grant by Rs. 1,000 was discussed and members criticised the land revenue policy of the Government. Mr. *N. A. Bechar* held that Sind's potentialities were great and urged the introduction of the latest methods of scientific farming to make the Barrage zone yield more.

Many Speakers protested against alleged coercive measures of collecting land revenue and one member suggested the introduction of assessment on income-tax basis. The House at this stage adjourned.

12th. AUGUST —*Khan Bahadur Allaha Bux* held that the Congress formula of grades of taxation was inequitable and unworkable.

Other members stressed the need for the establishment of an Agricultural College in Sind to afford agricultural training to the youth of the Province.

Mr. *G. H. Raschen* (European) opposing the cut motion, said that the production and prices of wheat and cotton had enormously increased in the last eighteen months. Discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned.

13th. AUGUST :—14 cut motions under the Land Revenue head having already been withdrawn, the remaining two cut motions were withdrawn by the members to-day, thus allowing the estimated expenditure of Rs. 17,57,000 under the Land Revenue head to be passed.

Replying to the discussion on this question, Mr. *Bande Ali Khan*, the Revenue Minister, said : "The Government are anxious to adopt the new policy suggested by the members. We are calling a meeting of the members of this House to consider the subject. We will do everything to ameliorate the condition of the people" The Revenue Minister concluded by announcing that the Government had decided to offer many concessions to the people regarding the taccavi loans and rebate.

Thereafter, the cut motions under Excise were taken up when out of 10 motions, nine were withdrawn and the discussion on the remaining tenth motion by Prof. *Ghanshyam*, Leader of the Congress Party, was taken up The Professor informed the Speaker that the cut motions were meant not to censure the Government, but to express opinions and ventilate grievances.

16th AUGUST —Twenty-three members of the Assembly, including all Congress members and a few from Government benches, staged a walk-out this afternoon when an adjournment motion of Mr. *G. M. Sayeed* was under discussion over the alleged "undue influence of a Collector and two Deputy Collectors in Dadu District, in affairs of the District Local Board resulting in the unjust, improper and summary removal of its chief officer."

The adjournment motion was talked out, after which the members who had withdrawn, re-entered the Assembly In a statement as to why they had walked out, the members stated that the Speaker had said that the nature of the adjournment motion was such that he was unable to accept any request for a closure. On the one hand, the reputation of responsible public servants was at stake while on the other, allegations had been made against some members of the House whose reputation was equally dear to him The members held that if the motion was passed to a division it would have been carried Closure was refused thrice, the Speaker, according to them, giving an indication that he would allow the motion to be talked out.

19th. AUGUST .—"The Government cannot release Hansraj of the Punjab, at present confined in the Hyderabad Central Jail, because he is not a political prisoner. He has several convictions to his credit under the Lahore Conspiracy Case, the Arms Explosives Act and counterfeiting coins. Every respectable citizen should be ashamed of such a man." With these remarks *Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah*, the Prime Minister, opened his speech on the Sind Budget which was passed to-day while explaining the policy and programme of his Government.

The Prime Minister said that the Government were purchasing mostly things made in India. The Government had accepted the suggestion made in the House and were calling an informal conference of the Members of the House to consider the various problems, such as the question of nominations of local bodies, joint electorates, unemployment and economic betterment. A Retrenchment Committee had been appointed. The Government were purifying the administration.

The Government were introducing free compulsory primary education. Better water-supply and rural uplift were also items in the programme. Regarding rural indebtedness, the Premier said land mortgage banks were being opened.

As regards the depressed classes, the Premier promised that he would educate them. With reference to Parliamentary Secretaries, the Premier said that they were making them as responsible as Ministers themselves and would allow them to answer questions in the Assembly. The Secretaries would look into the grievances of the public. They would not draw any travelling allowances.

SPEAKER WARNS PRESS

A warning to the press not to publish any communications, letters or statements, even if they emerged from the Assembly members, which were likely to cast

aspersions on the Chair, was administered by the Hon. *Speaker* to-day, referring to a letter reported to be from an Assembly member, appearing in an English daily, which the Speaker said, conveyed insinuations of partiality against the Chair."

The Speaker added : "The Speaker must guard and maintain his reputation, which he cannot do if he allows such suggestions or insinuations to pass unnoticed."

The Speaker expressed surprise that a member of the House should have committed a breach of privilege by commenting upon the Speaker's conduct in the chair. Such aspersions had been considered in the Houses of Parliament as a serious breach of privilege and had been severely dealt with.

It may be added that the letter referred to was in connection with the Speaker's refusal to accept the closure motion for a division on the adjournment motion on Monday, which resulted in a walk-out of 24 members from the Assembly.

Grazing Fees In Sind

24th. AUGUST :—Mr. *Rasul Bux* moved to-day that in view of the interest evinced by H. E. the Viceroy in cattle improvement, the Government should abolish grazing fees from revenue areas and reduce by one-third the existing fees in forest areas, upon which the mover withdrew his resolution.

Salaries And Allowance Of Members

The House passed on to a discussion of the resolution urging the fixing of salaries and travelling and daily allowances and other privileges of the members on the lines of the Bill before the Punjab Assembly.

26th. AUGUST :—The Assembly passed the resolution to-day, regarding the salaries and allowances for the members of the Assembly, on lines similar to those suggested by the Congress Working Committee's resolution and differing only in respect of the travelling allowance clause.

The resolution recommended to the Government to bring forward a bill in the Assembly, fixing the salary of each member at Rs. 75 a month with Rs. 2-8 daily allowance plus one and a half second class railway fare.

30th. AUGUST :—The *Speaker* disallowed to-day an adjournment motion moved by Mr. *R. K. Sidhwa* regarding the framing and publication in the Sind Government *gazette* of the Governor's rules for the Sind Legislative Assembly without the House being consulted.

The Assembly passed to-day a resolution recommending to the Government to abolish the system of nominations to local bodies.

The *Chief Minister* declared in the course of his speech on this subject that officials would not be nominated in future. Only non-officials would be nominated, as it appeared to him that the House was opposed to the nomination of officials.

New Constitution Rejected

A resolution rejecting the present constitution was moved to-day by *Miss Sipahimalani*, a Congress member, who drew attention to its defects and urged the House to adopt the resolution unanimously.

The *Premier* pointed out that so long as Hindus and Muslims did not patch up their differences, intervention by a third party was inevitable. He said that the present constitution had some defects but it was surely a step forward so far as the the provinces were concerned. Discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned.

31st AUGUST :—The Assembly passed the resolution to-day with an amendment, rejecting the new Constitution. In the course of two days' discussions six amendments were proposed of which three were withdrawn and two rejected, while Mr. *Jamshed Mehta's* amendment, adding the proviso that an agreed solution of the minorities problem should be considered by the constituent assembly was accepted, and the resolution as amended was adopted without a division. The *Premier* undertook to forward the proceedings to the British Government through the proper channel.

1st. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly was prorogued this afternoon after passing an official bill establishing a Famine Fund with a minimum of ten lakhs of rupees.

The N. W. F. Pr. Legislative Assembly

(*For List of Members See Vol. I Page* .....)

Budget Session—Abbottabad—1st. to 30th. September 1937

Financial Statement for 1937-38

The Budget session of the N. W Frontier Legislative Assembly commenced at Abbottabad on the **1st. September**. *Rai Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna*, in the course of his Budget speech, anticipated receipts at Rs. 179 69 lakhs and expenditure at Rs. 185.31 lakhs, meeting the deficit from the opening balance of Rs. 7 61 lakhs, which at the close of the year would be reduced to Rs 1 99 lakhs Compared with the revised estimates of 1936-37 an improvement of Rs 5.75 lakhs was anticipated in the receipts and an excess of Rs 5 12 lakhs in expenditure, of which the "beneficent department" would receive Rs 2 21 lakhs.

Under capital debt head transactions, receipts were estimated at Rs 177 64 lakhs, and disbursements at Rs 181.67 lakhs, the former including a loan of Rs 60 lakhs raised in the open market for the repayment of the Central Government loan, and expenditure on the Malkand Hydro-Electric scheme.

Indicating the policy of the Government the Finance Minister said that it had been decided to construct a tuberculosis sanatorium, recognize primary education and afford further facilities in technical and industrial training Old arrears of land revenue and *abian* (Rs 84,000), would be remitted. Wholesale remissions could not reasonably be expected, but it was proposed to examine individual cases for relief. Regarding augmentation of Provincial resources, the Finance Minister said that the motor tax, which had been imposed, would bring Rs 1 40 lakhs annually, while an entertainment tax Bill would shortly come before the House Retrenchments had been effected under the heads, contingencies and travelling allowances, which would yield Rs. 100,000 this year and double the amount in future years.

Ministers' Salaries Bill Postponed

2nd. SEPTEMBER —When the Assembly met to-day to transact official business, including consideration of the Ministers' Salaries Bill, the following resolution moved by *Kazi Ataullah*, the Congress Party's Deputy Leader, was allowed by the Speaker and carried by the House.

"The Assembly recommends that in view of the fact that a motion of want of confidence in the Council of Ministers has been tabled and fixed for discussion on the 3rd instant and further that 27 members out of 48 rose to support consideration of it, the official business fixed for to-day be postponed to such date as the Speaker, in consultation with the Governor, may fix."

Kazi Ataullah said that it would be unfair to bind a future Government with the bills put by the present Government. Amendments had been tabled but these were considered insufficient.

Sir *Abdul Qaiyum*, Prime Minister, said that the Government did not object to the acceptance of the motion, but asked the Opposition whether, if the Government accepted the amendments, they would still insist on moving the motion. The Ministry's fate had practically been decided by yesterday's walk-out though a formal decision was yet to come He, however, did not object to the postponement of business. The Speaker at this stage adjourned the House.

Non-Confidence in Ministers Passed

3rd. SEPTEMBER :—Dr. *Khan Sahib's* motion of "no-confidence in the Council of Ministers" consisting of Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum, Khan Bahadur Saadullah Khan and Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna, was passed by 27 votes to 22. The 27 comprised 19 Congressmen, 4 Democrats, 3 Independents and two who recently resigned from the Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party. The 22 included the three Ministers. Every member of the House was present.

Sir *Abdul Qaiyum* the Prime Minister, made a lengthy statement claiming credit for the Ministry's achievements with their financial handicap and saying that his Ministry did not lag behind the Congress Ministries in the matter of the removal of

bans on political externees, etc. The result was received with loud cheers by the Opposition. The House then adjourned till the 17th. September.

The Ministry having resigned, His Excellency the Governor invited Dr. Khan Saheb, to meet him on the next day to form a Ministry. With the approval of His Excellency the following were appointed Ministers: Dr. *Khan Sahib*, Prime Minister, *Lala Bhanju Ram Gandhi*, Finance Minister and *Kazi Ataulla*, Education Minister.

THE CONGRESS MINISTRY'S BUDGET

17th SEPTEMBER :—The Congress Ministry's budget was presented in the Assembly to-day by the Finance Minister, Mr. *Bhanjuram Gandhi*. He said that the Government took office on September 7. In the short time available there were many changes and they had been able to effect an elimination of one lakh from the contingencies from Rs. 20,000 from travelling allowances. Besides it was proposed to reduce the salaries and allowances of the Ministers and the Speaker to an amount consistent with the financial condition and poverty of the people. The total reduction thus effected amounted to 2 31 lakhs on the Revenue Account, two and a half lakhs on the capital account for the remaining half year. Against the savings on the revenue account they had provided a remission of one lakh in land revenue and abiana, Rs. 50,000 in drinking water supply schemes, Rs. 900 in the increase in the number of Parliamentary Secretaries to four. The nett savings thus effected amounted to 8 lakhs on the revenue account and two and a half lakhs on the capital account.

After commenting on the changes in the financial position resulting from the introduction of provincial autonomy and analysing the financial accounts of the last two years, the Ministers explained the current year's position. According to the estimated recast by this Government the receipts were expected to be 78 69 lakhs and the expenditure 183.51 lakhs compared with last year's revised estimates of receipts of 173.94 lakhs and expenditure of 180.19 lakhs resulting in a deficit of 4.82 lakhs met from the opening balance 7 61 lakhs. The reduction of one lakh in revenue and aliana proposed is besides the 84 lakhs effected last June. The excess of 15.20 lakhs in expenditure over last years revised estimates was due chiefly to the increase of ten and a quarter lakhs on civil works, the most important of which is the Assembly Hall on which it is expected to spend 2 36 lakhs. The balance of five lakhs represents the expenditure arising out of the introduction of provincial autonomy and separation of the Executive from the Judiciary. Touching the capital debt head transactions, the Minister estimated the receipts and disbursements at 177.64 lakhs and 179 17 lakhs, respectively, the former including a sixty-lakh loan raised in the open market for the repayment of the Central Government's loan of 35 lakhs, the capital expenditure on the Malakand hydro-electric scheme and other civil works.

Regarding the future policy, the Finance Minister said, "We aim at removing illiteracy by trying to accommodate primary classes in mosques, temples and dharamsalas, remove unemployment and bring about the industrial regeneration of the province. The Minister announced the Government's decision to abolish the Publicity Department and make jail administration self-supporting and foreshadowed a reduction in police expenditure, special pays and allowances and an examination of agricultural indebtedness and the institution of a committee of enquiry to investigate the wastage of money in certain departments.

As regards excise, he said, we cannot interfere at this stage as contracts have already been given, but we propose to restrict the import of liquor in order to make up for the loss of revenue in other directions."

Indicating fresh sources of taxation, he said : "The proposal for an entertainment tax will shortly come up before the House and the possibility of forests becoming the principal source of revenue will be examined." He advised non-Government educational institutions to refrain from employing a staff on salaries which people can ill afford. "We must cut our coat according to our cloth," he concluded.

17th. SEPTEMPER :—The first division since the Congress Ministry accepted offices took place in the Assembly to-day when a resolution, sponsored by *Rai Sahib Chamanlal*, recommending remission of the entire outstanding loan granted to the sufferers in the Kohat riot of 1924 was defeated by 27 votes to 14. The Congress Party's 26 votes and an Independent's vote comprised the Ministerial total of 27.

Dr. *Khan Sahib*, Premier, on a personal explanation regarding the alleged inconsistency on the part of the Congress (because all members of the Congress party had given notice of a similar resolution previously), said that they had now seen the files and come to know the actual state of the finances which at present did not permit wholesale remission. He said that the Government's policy in the matter was one of utmost sympathy. The Government had decided to appoint a committee of enquiry and in deserving cases, loans would be remitted. He also announced that the Government had issued an immediate order to stay action against defaulters in Kohat.

Dr. Khan Sahib said that members of the committee to investigate and report on the financial condition of the Kohat debtors would be selected from such of the Assembly members as would be prepared to work without any allowance whatsoever. The Government had, however, already stopped all coercive measures.

Before taking up this resolution, the Assembly, without opposition, recommended the abolition of the institution of Honorary Magistrates and Sub-Judges.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

20th. SEPTEMBER :—A spirit of constructive suggestion, rather than of carping criticism, marked the comment on the Congress Ministry's budget, the general discussion on which commenced in the Assembly to-day.

Sir Abdul Qaiyum, Leader of the Opposition, initiating the debate, expressed the hope that out of the new vision and new ideas of that great organisation, the Congress, real good would accrue to the Province. While the ex-Premier agreed with the main features of Congress budgetary policy—in fact, he claimed that there was not much difference between the two Governments respecting the main expenditure—he regretted that insufficient funds had been allocated for education and that the Islamia College grant provided by his Government had been deleted.

On this point, however, the Congress Government were supported by three members, Messrs. Amir Mohammad, Abab Abdul Ghafoor Khan and Faqir Khan, who justified the omission of the 'grant on the ground that Islamia College had not imparted the ideal form of education by which good citizens were produced.

21st. SEPTEMBER :—The budget discussion was resumed to-day. More members spoke to-day criticising the Government's policy and the cut in the secondary education grant and in the additional grant to the Islamia College.

The *Education Minister* and the *Finance Minister* explained that the additional grant to the Islamia College had been postponed due to lack of adequate facilities for agricultural classes The Government proposed instead granting of scholarships to deserving students for agricultural study in Lyallpur College.

As for secondary education, the Government felt the inadvisability of opening new schools in the middle of the term. The matter had only been postponed and would be provided for in the Budget next year.

The *Finance Minister* promised to make the best efforts to get the subvention increased He also said that the Government were taking the necessary measures for the protection of Hindus living in Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan villages.

OFFICIAL BILLS

22nd SEPTEMBER :—When the Assembly met to-day, the *Speaker* warned members against raising unnecessary points of order and wanted them to confine their remarks to the relevant side of the questions under discussion.

The *Premier* moved for consideration of the Removal of Disqualification Bill. Mr. Ziauddin moved for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee, but the motion was defeated. The original Bill was then passed.

The Assembly passed the Ministers' Salaries Bill, fixing the salaries of Ministers at Rs. 500 each, with a motor car allowance of Rs. 150 and with no house allowance. Mr. Ziauddin moved an amendment for reduction of the pay to Rs. 300 but later withdrew it.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

25th. SEPTEMBER :—The voting on budget demands was taken up to-day, the Education Minister, the Hon. Mr. *Qazi Ataullah* enunciated the Government's policy as regards Prohibition. He said that the Frontier Government were not going to deviate by a hair's breadth from the Congress policy on the subject. At the earliest moment (not this year), the Government would introduce Prohibition either

in the whole Province or in a selected area but it would not be absolute. An exception might be made in favour of Europeans.

Dr. *Ghosh* (Congress) suggested the introduction of Prohibition in one district as a matter of trial, the cancelling of auctions next year and the imposition of additional taxes on foreign liquor. He said that the loss of revenue would be made up by the duty on horse betting and cigarettes and death duties.

The Assembly granted the demands under the heads Excise, Stamps, Forests, Registration and Irrigation Works and then adjourned till the 27th.

27th. SEPTEMBER :—Unchallenged by the Opposition in the matter of calling for divisions, the Congress budget emerged unscathed and all the demands were voted in full. Replying to the debate raised by a token cut under General Administration to invite the Government's attention to the insecurity of life and property prevalent in the Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan districts and to urge the adoption of adequate means for the protection of the inhabitants the Premier, the hon. Dr. *Khan Sahib* sympathised with the sufferers and said that it was the State's principal duty to protect the subjects. "I intend to tour every village in the affected area and try my best to restore confidence. I realise that the bad characters among us help the trans-border marauders and I have instructed District Magistrates to seek the co-operation of M. L. A's in their respective districts. Everything possible will be done to alleviate the sufferings and to restore the victims of the kidnappers to their homes. As regards compensation to sufferers, he said that fines when realised would be used for compensation but the paucity of funds did not allow the grant of compensation from public funds.

Rai Bahadur Ishardas, Leader of the Nationalist Party, stated that a regular reign of terror existed in a corner of the big Empire and security rules had been broken down. He suggested the drafting of extra police from other districts and the Punjab and the organisation of an efficient Intelligence Service If all measures failed the Government should evacuate all the people from the danger zone and maintain them at the Government's expense till security was restored, arms licences should be liberally granted and arms should be supplied free of charge to border villages which should be guarded by volunteer militia of able-bodied persons. If the Provincial Government were unable to extend financial aid to the sufferers, he urged that the Government of India should be approached.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

29th. SEPTEMBER :—Four non-official bills were introduced and referred to Select Committees, namely, Mr. *Peerbaksh Shah's* Muslim Waqf Bill, Mr. *Nishtar's* Punjab Municipal and District Boards (Frontier Province Amendment) Bills abolishing the nominated element, and the Frontier Province (Repealing and Amending) Bill, firstly, amending Section 144 to provide that nothing shall empower any authority to issue an order prohibiting a procession and restraining the movements of individuals and secondly repealing Section 124-A and Section 108 Cr. P. C. and also repealing the Indian Press Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act and certain sections of the Frontier Crimes Regulation

Regarding this Bill, the *Advocate General* explained that the Provincial Legislature did not get power to make any enactment repugnant to the existing Indian law. In the matter of criminal law and criminal procedure the Government of India Act contemplated a uniform policy If the Governor-General ultimately withheld his assent the Act passed would be void.

During the discussion, the Premier's remarks and attitude evoked a vigorous protest from the Opposition upon which the Hon. *Dr Khan Sahib* expressed "apologies over his rude delivery." He assured the Opposition that the Government would always stand by them if there was discriminatory treatment, but they must abolish the idea of being treated as a privileged class.

30th. SEPTEMBER :—In the Assembly to-day, the Finance Minister, the hon. *Lala Bhanjuram Gandhi* said that the Government were considering the question of retrenchment. If the steps taken did not result in a substantial saving compatible with efficiency in the administration, the appointment of a committee to consider retrenchment schemes would be considered. The Assembly then adjourned *sine die*.

Work of Provincial Government

July—December 1937

The United Provinces Govt. at Work

A Six monthly Official Review—July—December 1937

This brochure does not propose to offer more than a bare summary of the aims and objects of the different Acts which have been passed and of the Bills which are on the anvil They are published together in order that they might speak for themselves The list of resolutions might give an idea of the trend of opinion in the two Houses of the Legislature Similarly, the inventory of the terms of references of some of the expert committees which are deliberating on important issues might be taken as a barometer for registering the will of the Government to do their duties by the people irrespective of class or creed What the Congress has proposed, the Government have enacted

A few salient points in connexion with the principles underlying the recent legislation undertaken by the Government may however be placed before the public for information The United Provinces Government during the last six months have been specially vigilant in the observance of Civil Rights and Liberties. Their activities in this connexion have been varied. Soon after the assumption of office, the new Government lifted the ban imposed under the Criminal Law Amendment Act upon a number of associations in Cawnpore, Allahabad and in other districts of the province. Orders illegalizing a large number of societies like the Youth League, Workers' and Peasant's Party, Kisan Sangh, Hindustadi Sewa Dal of the province, particularly of Cawnpore and Allahabad, were withdrawn early in the day. After a proper scrutiny of the cases of political prisoners the Government issued orders for their release A considerable number of prisoners, including those convicted in the Kakori case, were set at liberty Police surveillance over political workers particularly through reporting of their speeches in public meetings and censoring their correspondence was discontinued. Political activity is no longer a prejudice against employment The Government, however, consider in pursuance of the Congress Resolution that the preservation as well as the enjoyment of Civic Rights are only possible within the ambit of non-violence

With a view to ensuring the proper working of the administrative machinery on a national basis orders were issued by the Government to establish relations of mutual trust between the Administration and the Congress Organizations and workers. The Provincial Congress Committee in its turn issued similar instructions to cooperate with the Administration. Thus was the atmosphere of suspicion sought to be clarified and the spirit of co-operation assured.

Freedom of the Press is recognized by the Government to be the best assurance of Civic Rights Strict impartiality in the distribution of court notices, advertisements and the like was ordered to be observed All Heads of departments, District Officers and Sessions Judges received prompt notices to that effect. The Hon'ble the High Court as well as the Chief Court were also informed of the new Government policy. No discrimination against any press or newspaper in virtue of the political opinions of its editor or manager was to be made Securities demanded under the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, excepting those occasioned by the preaching of aggressive, communal and class hatred were refunded. The black list of newspaper has also been cancelled

Appropriate steps were taken to guard against the harassment and oppression of the weak and the poor. A special officer has been appointed for the purpose to eradicate bribery and corruption in the public services, and the work is being pursued vigorously under his care Another more comprehensive committee has been appointed under Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh's chairmanship to inquire into the general question of corruption including its causes and cure

A further administrative measure is that honorary assistant collectors have ceased to work from 1st January 1938, pending an examination of the need for continuing the system and of reforming it, if it has to be continued. Government hope that one result of the tenancy and land revenue legislation will be to reduce the occasion and need of litigation on rent and revenue matters very much.

Once Civil Liberties were assured, the Government at once turned their attention to the peasants whom they consider to be their first charge. The first step taken was the Hon'ble Premier's announcement in the Legislative Assembly on 2nd August of the Government's intention to form two committees, one to consider reform of the Tenancy and Land Revenue law, and the other to examine proposals for relieving rural indebtedness This was followed very shortly by Government instructions for stay of proceedings for recovery of arrears of rent previous to Rabi 1344 Fasli, for prohibiting ejectment or enhancement; for the recovery of debts due by farmers and small tenants. To give due validity to the stay of proceedings for old rental and civil debts, the Government introduced two Acts, one affecting the revenue courts and the other the moratorium. The former was given effect to on 22nd September, while the latter came to effect from 1st January, 1938. The Civil Courts Stay of Proceedings Act makes distinctions in favour of petty proprietors.

Beside giving this immediate relief, the Government quickly proceeded with the examination of reform measures. A small expert Committee examined rent and revenue problems, and the Committee of the Legislature on the same subjects met and considered reforms in detail in November and December. The latter is expected to finish its labours shortly, after which Government will introduce necessary legislation. Another expert Committee examined rural indebtedness and the existing Debt Acts very thoroughly. It is expected that a concrete shape will be given to its recommendations at an early stage

Meanwhile, on the administrative side, the Government issued orders enabling tenants to deposit their rents in tahsils free of charge. They also issued orders to the district staff that processes for recovery of land revenue should be used with discretion and forbearance, although making it plain that landlords were expected to pay up the land revenue, and the district staff to see that it was collected, just as tenants are expected to pay up their current rents.

An invidious distinction in favour of large estates as regards attachment for non-payment of land revenue was abolished. For the damage caused by the monsoon to the crop, whether by flood as in some places or by insufficient rain, as in others, the Government adopted liberal lines. In the past, the relief ordinarily given for such damage was suspension of rents and revenue; but the present Government have so far remitted about 3 and a half lakhs of revenue, with consequent remission of rents, as compared with 2 and a half lakhs of revenue suspended. Takavi has been liberally given where necessary, and the amount distributed is near about 30 lakhs.

The Government also gave attention to the question of fodder and grazing in rural areas. The Fodder and Grazing Committee have prepared a five-year programme of research on the improvement of fodder-production, in waste-lands and ravines and on the relative nutritive value of the principal grasses and green-leaf fodder. This programme is under the consideration of the Council of Agricultural Research.

In his Budget speech the Hon'ble Premier announced the Government's intention to reduce by half the grazing rates in Government forests. Orders to the effect have since been issued in all cases where this was possible. The annual value of this concession will be about Rs 75,000 per annum over and above the existing free and concessional grazing already allowed.

The relief measures regarding rent and revenue, agriculture and forest have been supplemented by genuine constructive efforts which have been incorporated in the scheme of rural development now functioning in about 800 rural centres organized in 48 districts and 10 divisions. Each such centre is in charge of an organizer controlling 8 to 10 villages: so that there are about 800 new organizers employed in this scheme The underlying principle of their activity is to place the initiative for rural development in the hands of the people themselves. The ultimate responsibility will lie on the panchayats, though the immediate responsibility for uplifts devolves upon the rural development officers, who after training, have already started working with missionary zeal. There is hardly any branch of rural life that is not being infused by the spirit of sacrifice and self-reliance. Reports hitherto received are very favourable. In the appointment of the new personnel three principles, viz, the representation of the minorities, economy, and the spirit of social service have been firmly kept in view and strictly observed.

Side by side with the above, money has been budgeted for improvement in the technique of agriculture. In particular, special attention is being paid to the supply

of improved seed and it is hoped to start a number of seed stores by April or May next. In some cases the villagers will have their own seed unions and in others, seed stores will be run by Government for supplying good seed to cultivators Where possible improved implements and fertilizers will be supplied from the seed store.

The activities of the Fruit Development Board have been extended while provision has been made for the establishment of a Potato Research Farm and a storage godown in the hills to improve the potato crop of the province. Better types of bulls are being imported to improve the cattle. With the establishment of the proposed Central Animal Nutrition Research Institute at Izzatnagar, a suburb of Bareilly, the efforts of the Government in this direction will receive great impetus The Government have connected agriculture with co-operation Schemes for consolidation of holdings and better milk-supply for towns are being furthered by Co-operative Societies

The United Provinces Government during the last six months have tackled two important industrial issues, the one relating to sugar and the other to Labour. The Sugar Industry of the United Provinces had grown rapidly indeed. Unhealthy competition among factories had brought the price of sugar to such a low level that during the last crushing season the price obtained by the cultivator hardly covered the cost of cultivation.

Since the two provinces of Bihar and the United Provinces together account for 85 per cent of the production of sugar in India the Government of the United Provinces and Bihar decided to take concerted action. In pursuance thereof, the Government of the United Provinces have introduced the United Provinces Sugar Factories Control Bill, to regulate the working of the factories. The Bill deals with the licensing of sugar factories, the regulation of the supply of sugarcane to factories, the minimum price for sugar and the establishment of a Sugar Control Board and Advisory Committee The licence will be granted subject to certain conditions relating to the sale of sugar to the membership of an organization of the industry recognized by the Government and the quantity of cane to be crushed by the factory. These conditions are designed to ensure normal working and at the same time provide effective control over production of sugar. Membership of a central organization is insisted upon in the interests of supervision and co-ordination. As regards the sale of sugarcane, a cane-grower or a cane growers' co-operative society in a reserved area will be given an assurance that his or its cane will be taken by the factory at the minimum price fixed by the Government up to the prescribed quantity of cane in that area The Bill provides that cane contractors should be licensed and should not be allowed to operate in certain areas and thus reduces the middleman's share in the supply of cane to the factories. It further provides for the fixation of a minimum price for cane intended for use in a factory and the payment of additional price for special varieties of cane. Distribution of seed cane of undesirable varieties has been prohibited

In order to check the malpractices such as under weighment, irregular payment of the prices of cane, and to regulate the supply of cane, the Government took special measures and appointed a Cane Commissioner and a large staff. The cane-grower is receiving the minimum price of 5 annas in place of the average of about 2 and half annas he got last year

The Bill further empowers the Government to lay down certain conditions with regard to the employment of labour in sugar factories which are to be fulfilled before the grant of licence for crushing cane is given. In short the cultivator has been assured by the Bill the sale of cane at a fixed rate, the labourer his conditions of work, housing and wages and the industry its development along sound lines. In this connexion it is relevant to note that the Government have appointed a committee of experts to devise ways and means of starting the manufacture of power alcohol from molasses and recommend other profitable uses of the same.

Sugar industry, however, has not exhausted the Government's efforts to stimulate the productive resources of the province. They have approved a scheme for the development of the Raw Hide Industry in the United Provinces, and if feasible, it is proposed to combine with this scheme the opening of tuitional classes in rural areas for instruction in tanning. In outline the scheme is on the one head to carry on intensive propaganda directed to educating the owners of cattle, the butchers, the flayers and curers in correct methods and on the other, to explain improved methods of flaying and curing by actual demonstration.

The United Provinces Government have been mindful of the supreme need of

the revival of domestic industries, among which the production of *ghee* is the most important. A private Bill known as the United Provinces Artificial Ghee Colourization Bill has been circulated for opinion. It is intended to stop the adulteration of pure *ghee* in the province which has so long discouraged the indigenous *ghee* industry.

Instructions have been issued with regard to the purchase of hand-made stationery in general, as far as possible. The Government have issued orders that every effort should be made to purchase in adequate quantities hand-made blotting paper and hand-made envelopes for the use of officers and members of the legislature. At the same time instructions have been issued that steps should be taken to improve the finish and quality of Indian hand-made envelopes and other stationery of hand-made blotting paper by improving its absorbent quality. An instructor is being deputed to impart necessary training in the hand-made paper industry.

The Government have also issued orders to the departments concerned to get into touch with supplies of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth in order that suitable arrangements for their supply at a reasonable price may be made. The policy of the Government regarding the use of Swadeshi goods has been emphasized by orders to the effect that whenever foreign articles are purchased a report should be sent to the Government with reasons in justification of such action The Government are now committed to the policy of active promotion of Swadeshi goods in general and *Khadi* in particular.

The attitude of the Government towards the labour problems of industry is equally clear. They stand for the protection of the masses. There were labour troubles at Cawnpore, and the Cawnpore Labour Inquiry Committee was appointed with Babu Rajendra Prasad as its distinguished Chairman. Its report is under preparation.

In view of the important place of labour in organized industry and the desirability of dealing with labour problems and difficulties in a systematic manner, the Government have brought forward a Bill for the settlement of labour disputes by conciliation. The Bill provides for setting up a regular machinery for looking after the interests of labour and promoting close contact between employers and employees. Under the provisions of the Bill a Labour officer would be appointed whose duty would be, in the first instance, to get at the root of the trouble by detecting abuses and bringing them to the notice of employers Further, the Labour Officer will look after the interest of the employees and act as a welfare-officer in the broadest sense of the term. He will represent the grievances of the employees, try to get them redressed and, if possible, will negotiate a settlement. The functions of the Labour Officer will be to promote harmonious relations between employers and their employees, create mutual understanding and goodwill, and prevent unnecessary disputes. The Government have already appointed a Labour Officer and provided Rs 10,000 for labour welfare at Cawnpore in their last budget. Besides a Labour Officer, the Bill provides for the appointment of a Conciliator when a dispute arises and cannot be settled by the Labour Officer. The Conciliator, if his efforts to bring about a settlement are unsuccessful, will advise the Government on the matter.

A Maternity Benefit Bill has been introduced primarily to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. The objects of this Bill are to prohibit the employment of women in those industries the work in which is regulated by law, four weeks after confinement , to enable them to leave work for weeks before confinement ; to ensure the continuation of their service during the days of such absence from work and to provide them with financial help sufficient to maintain themselves and their children in a healthy condition during this period. Legislation will bring factories which are already operating similar schemes into line with one another. As the total number of women who will need such assistance are likely to be small, during the course of the year, the incidence of burden upon the industries that employ women will be small. In certain sub-clauses the conditions of the employment of women having children have been so improved that the Bill, in certain aspects, can be claimed to have gone a few steps beyond the recommendations of the Royal Commission.

An important assertion of human rights by the Government is the inclusion of prisoners within the category of prospective citizens. Apart from reforms in jail administration, a Borstal Bill for adolescent criminals and another for the aftercare treatment of prisoners have been introduced. They bid fair to convert the

unfortunate into useful human beings. While a provincial organization mainly of a non-official character, coordinating the existing activities of local associations, is the object in view with reference to the aid of discharged prisoners, scientific principles of child penology as practised by civilized nations, such as classification segregation, release on probation of good conduct and industrial training to restore the offender to economic independence after release have been incorporated in the body of the Borstal Bill

In the Administration of Justice the system of recruitment of honorary magistrates has been sought to be overhauled The new rules provide for the elimination of nepotism and the restoring of public confidence in the efficiency of the magistracy They aim at getting the maximum of efficient social service without cost to the State Three important Judicial Acts have been passed , the first demanding that the accounts of estates under the superintendence of the Court of Wards should be scrutinized by Government auditors only, the second legalizing the appointment of the Provincial Commissioners of Waqfs to do the work hitherto done by the Commissioner of Waqfs and the third removing the deficiencies in the pre-existing Stamp Acts and Court-fees, the latter being also expected to enhance the revenues. The first two acts along with Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh's resolution show that the Government are for provincialization wherever they can.

The educational policy of the United Provinces Government has been to further the cause of the depressed classes and of women by stipends, and to give the entire system a rural and a vocational bias Two committees have been appointed for the reorganization and readjustment of education The first will deal with primary and vernacular education and bring it into line with the recommendations of the Abbot Report Secondary education up to the pre-university stage is to be discussed in the Second Committee. Rural libraries have been provided for in the budget. A sum of Rs 1,00 000 has been set apart for grants to educated young men to set up their own trade or business, preferably on co-operative lines. This is in pursuance of the idea that the education of these provinces need not fritter itself away in the discontent of the educated unemployed Cottage industries, it is believed, can partially mitigate the rigours of unemployment An Industrial Credit Corporation, to be run as a commercial concern, with some assistance from the Government, for giving loans for small industrial enterprises was proposed The general outline of the scheme put forward by a previous committee has been accepted The principle to be noted here is temporary Government assistance to a commercial concern for the revival of small industries in order that the educated might not find their salvation in Government jobs

With reference to Communications, the Government have appointed a committee to the question of a reconstitution of the Board of Traffic, the Divisional Controlling Authority and the District Traffic Committee to ensure a better representation of the bus-owners and non-officials, and a better co-ordination between the railway and the road traffic Mechanical efficiency of transport, third-party insurance, renewal of registration and licensing are some of the important terms of discussion for the committee.

The relative merits of the Alternate and Direct Current as well as the reduction of charges are being mooted by expert bodies. Their recommendations will ensure the safety of the consumers of electricity

The fair incidence of rates of irrigation from canals and tube-wells on the value of different crops and the working of the canal rules are some of the terms of a separate authoritative committee.

The whole system of local self-government is under review The Government lay particular stress upon this, for they realize that without sure foundations of municipal autonomy, the structure of provincial autonomy fails. The Public Health Department has been urged to make provision for more and better drinking water and for rooting out malaria in the rural areas Village dispensaries are to be started The work of the local Government in the anti-tuberculousis campaign has been facilitated by the quick and generous reponse to Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow's appeal Kumaun is now sought to be rescued from the Scheduled Districts Act and brought into line with the administration of other divisions of the province

The United Provinces Budget shows a few important features Economy has been the guiding motive of the Ministry. They have reduced their own salaries, the travelling bills of the officers and the contingent charges. New officers, as in the Rural

Development Scheme, have been recruited on a lower scale of salaries. Ample money has been granted to the nation-building activities. A proper distribution of the grants has been made possible by the practice of almost ascetic economy in the cost of Administration, wherever it has been possible.

The Publicity Department has been reorganized into the Department of Public Information. It is expected to furnish accurate and unbiassed information to those concerned in a non-partisan spirit. Publicity in the rural areas has been emphasised. The most important concourses of people in religious fairs or melas have been put in charge of a Special Mela Officer.

Complete prohibition is going to be introduced immediately in two districts, Etah and Mainpuri There will be a reduction in the number of shops by about 25 per cent, retail prices will be fixed and in certain places there will be State-managed shops. On the whole there will be a general tightening of the Excise administration in the province.

It is impossible to conclude this bare resume without mentioning an important event the implications of which are more cultural than political. After a thorough discussion on the floor of the House, the Hon'ble Speaker gave a ruling on the language that could be used by the members of the Assembly. A member of the United Provinces Assembly can now speak in Hindusthani so as to express himself better and make himself generally better understood

The above is a cut and dried statement of principles which emerge from a dispassionate study of the Acts, Bills, and the terms of reference of the committees. It is for others to evalute them

The whole endeavour is corporate Particular attention has been given to crying problems, but it has been mainly focussed upon vital issues in their organic connexion and character.

The Government claim that not only have they not departed from principles enunciated by the Indian National Congress, but they have endeavoured to supplement them to the best of their ability in the existing social, economic and political conditions. They have spared no pains and no money to serve the people.

The C. P. & Berar Government at Work

A Six-Monthly Official Review—July—December 1937

As soon as the Ministry accepted office, the problems affecting the freedom of press and freedom of speech claimed its first attention. The Government passed the following orders :—

(1) The refund to the keepers of certain printing concerns of securities deposited or forfeited under the Press Act.

(2) The release of certain persons bound over under section 107 or 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code for political speeches from the liabilities imposed upon them by the bonds they executed and the release of another from the liability to execute a bond under section 108 of the same Code and his discharge from prison.

(3) The remission under section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code of the unexpired portion of the sentence or sentences passed on—

(*a*) a person convicted of sedition under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

(*b*) a person convicted in a bomb case under section 120(*b*) (1) of the Indian Penal Code and section 4 (*a*) of the Explosives Act.

(c) seven persons who were undergoing rigorous imprisonment for a period of fourteen years for having participated in the Hindu-Muslim riots which occurred in Nagpur between the two communities in 1927. Four of these were in the Andamans and three in the Central Jail, Nagpur.

(4) Cancellation of the personal bond with two sureties of a person convicted of

rioting in connection with the Model Mill strike and the remission of the fines imposed on five other strikers.

(5) The cancellation of the notifications directing certain cinematograph films to be uncertified in the whole of the Central Provinces and Berar.

(6) The issue of special instructions for stopping petty local tyranny by subordinate officials.

(7) Instructions have been issues to the District Magistrates that applications for the grant or renewal of licences under the Arms Act should be dealt with on their merits and that the participation of an applicant in the civil disobedience movement should not by itself be regarded as a disqualification for a licence

(8) Orders were issued for the refund to the Tilak Vidyalaya, Nagpur, of a sum of Rs. 539-11-0 being the amount realized by Government from the sale proceeds of the property confiscated from the Tilak Vidyalaya during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1932.

(9) It has been decided not to send any prisoner to the Andamans.

(10) As promised by the Hon'ble the Prime Minister in the Assembly on the debate on the adjournment motion regarding election to the Bilaspur General Rural Constituency, a committee will enquire into the grave allegations made against Government servants in connection therewith

(11) As promised in the Assembly by the Hon'ble the Prime Minister on the resolution for instituting an enquiry into the causes of the communal disturbance at Jubbulpore, an enquiry has been held

(12) It has been decided that the official move to Pachmahri be discontinued as such, but all the Ministers, Secretaries and Heads of Departments who wish to go to Pachmarhi may do so, provided they pay their own expenses and those of any staff which they take with them.

(13) The Tenancy Act has been amended to provide a penalty for *begar* taken by landlords.

(14) Orders have been passed directing the refund to the organizer and proprietor of Asahayog Ashram, Nagpur, of a sum of Rs 63 (Rupees sixty-three) being the amount realized by Government from the sale proceeds of the property confiscated from the ashram during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1932

The problem of the peasantry and the land also received the earnest attention of the Ministry Although the question of granting adequate relief to the agriculturists is still under consideration, the following measures already introduced by the Government will give a fair idea of its anxiety to relieve the address of the agriculturists :—

(1) Government has issued instruction to its officers to ensure that hardships of the revenue-paying classes are minimized Pressure is not to be exercised where there is reason to believe that the defaulter has not paid owing to circumstances beyond his control and the issue of coercive processes limited to the class of wilful defaulters

(2) Orders have also been issued recently that in Berar division attachments either of movable or immovable property should not be ordered during the period from 1st July to 31st October for the recovery of land revenue and taccavi arrears and that no sale should take place either of movable or immovable property during the period when the cultivator is busy with crop

(3) In the Central Provinces proper, orders were issued that where the malguzar has, for reasons beyond his control, been unable to collect sufficient of the rents due to him to pay his land revenue, he should be allowed time to pay his revenue sufficient to enable him to collect the necessary proportion of the rent collection of 50 per cent of rent being considered sufficient to pay the instalment of revenue. In the collection of taccavi in the Central Provinces, it has been ordered that revenue officers should use their discretion to avoid the sale of property of tenants with crop on the ground (during the rains) unless the default is clearly wilful. Efforts have been and will continue to be made constantly to examine complaints in order to ensure that these instructions are followed in the spirit as well as the letter

(4) The liberal system of remissions and suspensions of land revenue in force was continued All suspended arrears in excess of one year's demand are now automatically written off. Old arrears are constantly examined and written off whenever recovery becomes difficult or burdensome. The more liberal scale by which suspension of half the demand is granted when the crop is below Re. 0-8-0 and full

suspension when the crop is less than Re. 0-6-0 applies to the whole province. Re 0-8-0 represents 61 per cent of a normal crop, and relief thus begins at an early stage.

(5) Taccavi loans are advanced on liberal scale. In the Berar, Nagpur and Chhattisgarh divisions, Government meets all reasonable demands from cultivators. It is only in the Jubbulpore division where taccavi outstandings are Rs 30 lakhs that any attempt to curtail tenants' requirements to the minimum is made

(6) In the execution of decrees transferred to Collectors, instructions have been issued to ensure that scales fetch reasonable prices (reserve prices at three-fourths the full market prices are usually fixed).

(7) The minimum requirements of agricultural produce continue to be exempted from attachment by Civil Courts under section 61 of the Civil Procedure Code.

(8) Debt conciliation boards have completed their work in 7 tashils and 50 boards are now working in 50 tashils

(9) Deferred payment of grazing dues is sanctioned in areas where crops have been indifferent.

(10) Government has established sixteen land mortgage banks for the provision of long-term credit at a low rate of interest. Three more have been set up.

(11) Government has decided to effect a permanent reduction of land revenue to the extent of four and a half lakhs of rupees a year to be given away at a flat rate of 12 and a half per cent to the small holders as follows —

(i) *Central Provinces*—Rs 2,45,224 or roughly Rs 4,90,448 in rents to be distributed among the smaller tenants throughout the Central Provinces The area of a "Small holding" varies from tract to tract and details have been worked out and announced

(ii) *Berar*.—Rs 2,04,776 have been given away to the smaller occupants in all alienated villages at the same rate The area of the "Small holding" which will qualify for reduction has been announced

(iii) Orders have been issued reducing by 25 per cent the enhancement imposed at the recent revision settlement in the seven taluqs of Berar which is estimated to cost the exchequer above three lakhs of rupees

(iv) Further, the pressure of rents in the Jubbulpore, Sihora and Patan tahsils of the Jubbulpore district, and the Narsinghpur sub-division is under examination and relief will shortly be announced

(12) This Government has passed many enactments designed to ease indebtedness in the province. This province is far ahead of any other in the matter of debt conciliations. The province has been visited by representatives of other provinces to get an insight into the working of debt conciliation boards, while enquiries on the subject are being made from other provinces The Central Provinces Protection of Debtors Act is the only one of its kind in India The work of conciliation has been finished in seven tahsils and debts to the extent of four crores of rupees have been conciliated, resulting in a reduction of about 47 per cent. In his budget speech the Hon'ble the Finance Minister has already announced that all grazing dues of two annas and above for ordinary and privileged cattle will be reduced by 25 per cent Government is even at present considering what steps should be taken to reduce effectively the debts of agriculturists

In the sphere of education, several schemes are on the anvil. The Vidya Mandir Scheme has been prepared by the Hon'ble the Education Minister and will facilitate the spread of mass education. This scheme has already caught the imagination of the people, who, it is hoped, will give a ready and wide response to it. It is also proposed to establish 50 adult schools under the district councils in the province and 5 such schools are be opened in the Nagpur town itself. Forty-six new primary schools are to be opened in the Betul district for the aboriginal tribes with an annual grant of Rs 25,000 to the district council for the purpose. Schemes for the introduction of compulsory education have been invited for consideration. The Government has already appointed a Physical Uplift Committee with the object of suggesting ways and means to improve the physique of students in schools and its report is under consideration. Another committee called the Visual Instruction Committee has also been appointed to devise ways for adult education by means of cinema films. Its report is also under consideration

Out of the earmarked net excise revenue which will be made available during 1938-39 the following rural uplift schemes will be undertaken .—

(1) Improvement of rural communications and water-supply.
(2) In order to extend cattle-breeding operations in the province, it is proposed to take over 1,587 acres of Dewal forest reserve area in the Saugor district for utilization of a large scale cattle-breeding farm.
(3) The establishment of 50 rural uplift centres to be selected after a careful survey by a trained worker to be obtained from the All-India Village Industries Association or the All-India Spinners' Association. These centres will be scattered all over the province in order to disseminate new and healthy ideas for propaganda purposes. The programme of work will include general welfare and subsidiary occupation.
(4) The starting of a sheep farm at Betul in order to develop sheep-breeding on a broad scale by inducing non-migratory flock-owners to take up the breeding of pure bred indigenous sheep.
(5) The opening of 80 private demonstration farms for disseminating the knowledge of agricultural improvements.
(6) The opening of 10 multi-purpose co-operative societies. These within their ambit will include every possible aspect of the cultivator's life and will endeavour to help him with credit and in removing all matters which make farming uneconomic at present.
(7) The opening of 20 outlying veterinary dispensaries in charge of compounders to serve the more remote areas
(8) The opening of 10 cheap-plan dispensaries
(9) The training of village chamars in use of offal and leather flaying.
(10) Encouragement of khadi.
(11) Industrial survey.
(12) The opening of a commercial museum
(13) Improvement of sericulture.
(14) The Cattle Diseases Act is to be applied to Saugor and Hoshangabad districts, and quarantine stations are to be established in these districts to prevent the spread of cattle diseases by migration.

A radical re-organization of the local bodies in the province is engaging the attention of the Hon'ble Minister for Local Self-Government The recommendations made by the Local Self-Government Committee appointed by the Central Provinces Legislative Council are also being examined along with numerous other suggestions received by the present Ministry Special attention is being paid to a scheme for spreading a network of village panchayats throughout the province

A Committee has been very recently appointed with a view to encourage indigenous systems of medicine and to give them their proper place in the Government Scheme of medical aid

In the Forest department the Ministry has undertaken the following measures :—

(*a*) reduction in privileged ordinary grazing rates by 25 per cent. The value of this concession is rupees one lakh,
(*b*) allowing free extraction of anola, tendu, mahua, achhar and edible roots and tubers in aboriginal tracts The value of this concession is Rs 9,000,
(*c*) free removal of grass from certain tracts with an area of 897 square miles.

It contemplates the following further measures :—

(1) Reduction of commercial rates
(2) Free removal of fuel from remote coupes.
(3) Establishment of forest schools in forest villages.
(4) Simplification of the grazing rules
(5) Economy by abolition of two divisions and the amalgamation of certain ranges.

From the 1st January the policy of prohibition has been set in actual motion and Narsinghpur sub-division, Saugar district, Akot taluq and the Badnera, Hinganghat and Katni industrial areas have been declared dry. The Ministry expects full co-operation of the public in the carrying out of this policy and the Hon'ble the Minister for Excise has already visited Akot, Badnera, Telhara, Hiwarkhed and Hinganghat with the object of impressing upon the people the benefits of prohibition.

In the Commerce and Industry Department, the policy of the Ministry is to encourage and foster indigenous industries. While proposals are under consideration to achieve this object, a beginning has been made to impart training in the

cottage or home industries. A class has been opened at Deori in the Bhandara district for the training of aboriginals in basket and mat making.

In the Public Works Department, a notification has been issued drastically reducing the water rates in the Mahanadi, Kharung and Maniary canal systems, while those in others are under consideration. Similarly, encouragement has been given to local contractors in the department.

The Ministry has always been anxious to reduce the cost of administration in order to be able to release more money for nation-building departments as also to relieve unemployment. With this end in view and as announced in the Assembly during the last Budget Session, a strong representative Economic Committee has been appointed to suggest ways and means for economising the expenditure. It is hoped that as a result of the deliberations of this committee, some substantial savings would be effected. Another step taken in this direction is that officers, who have completed 25 years service and who have been placed at efficiency bars, have been asked to retire. Officers who have completed 25 years service have been given the option of retiring on full pension.

The post of Government Pleader for the High Court of Judicature at Nagpur has been abolished with effect from 2nd January. The services of Public Prosecutors in the Province have been terminated with effect from the 7th January 1938 and it has been decided to make fresh appointments without any retaining fees, and with case-fees, at revised rates. The question of overhauling the institution of Honorary Magistrates was taken up and as many as 325 out of 471 Honorary Magistrates in the Province have been asked to resign The important problem of separation of the Judiciary from the Executive is under consideration and it will not be long before some decision will be taken up finally in the matter.

The Bombay Government at Work

A Six-Monthly Official Review—July—December 1937

Six months is a short period over which to take stock of and appraise a Government's achievements. Most of its plans are necessarily in the stage of incubation because they require legislative sanction and legislation is a lengthy process, but Government has been able to achieve a great deal by executive orders during the few months it has been in power.

The present Ministry took office on July 19, 1937 The strength of the Congress Party in the Legislature then was 86 in the Lower House of 175 members and 13 in the Upper House of 30 members. Its strength in the Assembly later increased by three and in the Council by one and at the end of six months the Party had 89 members in the Legislative Assembly and 14 members in the Legislative Council.

The Ministry consists of the following Ministers :—

	Portfolios
The Honourable Mr B G. Kher—(Prime Minister)	Political and Reforms, Education and Labour
The Honourable Mr. A. B. Latthe—Finance	
The Honourable Mr K. M Munshi—Home and Law.	
The Honourable Dr. M. D. Gilder—Health and Excise,	
The Honourable Mr. Morarji R. Desai—Revenue, Rural Development and Agriculture.	
The Honourable Mr. M. Y. Nurie—Public Works.	
The Honourable Mr. L. M. Patil—Local Self-Government and Miscellaneous	

Parliamentary Secretaries

Gulzarilal Nanda, Esq, Mrs Hansa Mehta, B. M. Gupte, Esq., M. P. Patil Esq., T. R. Nesvi, Esq, B S. Hiray, Esq

The Party nominated Mr. G V. Mavlankar for the speakership of the Assembly while two other rival groups also put up their nominees. The latter eventually withdrew and Mr. Mavlankar was elected unopposed. The Party's nominee, Mr. N. G. Joshi, was elected unopposed as the Deputy Speaker.

In the Legislative Council the Congress Party's nominee Mr. M. M Pakvasa was elected unopposed as President, while for the office of Deputy President the Congress candidate Mr R. G. Soman was elected by a majority of 4 votes against his rival, Mr. S. C. Joshi.

Work in Legislature

The Opposition in the Assembly is not drawn from one party. It is made up of several groups The Muslim League has 24 members, the Independent Labour Party 14, the Progress Party 12, the Peasants and People's Party 11, the Peasants and Workers' Party 9, the Democratic Swaraj Party 5 and Independents 11. The Congress Party though it commanded only a bare majority over all parties, had no difficulty in carrying through all its proposals. The lowest vote on record in the first session was 83 against 47 and the highest was 116 against 18. The session recorded 11 divisions and in all these the various opposition groups voted with Government when their interests demanded

Immediately after the election of the Speaker, Deputy Speaker, President and Deputy President, the Legislature was adjourned for about three weeks to enable the Cabinet to frame its budget for the last six months of the financial year. This was present to the Assembly on August 17 and being the first brought forward by a Congress administration in India it attracted much attention. The Finance Minister's speech outlined the following programme —

1. A reduction of expenditure by about Rs. 6 lakhs including a cut in the salaries of Ministers, President, Legislative Council, and Speaker, Legislative Assembly to the extent of Rs. 1,31,000 and in contingent and travelling expenditure.
2. Abolition of grazing fees at a cost of Rs 6¼ lakhs.
3. Remission of land revenue to the extent of Rs 16 lakhs.
4. Provision of Rs 10 lakhs for village water supply.
5. Allotment of Rs 1,50,000 for cottage industries.
6. A special provision of Rs 40,000 for the advancement of education among the Harijans and another provision of Rs. 10,000 for physical culture and Rs 10 000 for adult education.
7. Complete prohibition
8. Schemes to be framed for rural economy, equitable adjustment of taxation and other allied measures for the relief of the ryot.

Legislation

In the course of the budget discussion important pronouncement of policy in regard to land revenue, rural development, excise, civil liberties and education were made by the Government but legislation was confined to three or four minor measures requiring immediate attention .—

(1) The first dealt with the removal of disqualification of members who could not sit in the Legislature while holding certain "offices of profit" under the Crown.

(2) The second determined the salaries of the Ministers which were fixed at Rs. 500 a month with a house allowances of Rs. 100 and a conveyance allowance of Rs. 150

(3) The third fixed the salaries of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker and of the President and the Deputy President. The Speaker and the President were given the same salaries and allowances as the Ministers, but the Deputy Speaker and the Deputy President only Rs. 100 a month.

(4) The fourth fixed the salaries and allowances of the Member of the Legislature at Rs. 75 a month plus Rs. 3 a day for the time spent in attending the Legislative session.

Constituent Assembly

Two resolutions of outstanding importance were moved by the Government and passed in the course of the session. The first related to the Constituent Assembly and read as follows .—

"This Assembly is of opinion that the Government of India Act, 1935, in no way represents the will of the Nation and is wholly unsatisfactory as it has been designed to perpetuate the subjection of the people of India Therefore, the Assembly is further of opinion that the said Act should be repealed and replaced by a Constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise, which allows the Indian people full scope for development according to their needs and desires."

Only two of the party groups, the Progress Party and the Peasants and People's Party opposed the motion. The Muslim League and the Democratic Swaraj Party were agreed upon the first part of the resolution but tabled amendments to the latter part. These were defeated by large majorities, the Muslim League's Amendment by 106 votes against 32 and that of the Democratic Swaraj Party by 113 votes against 11. Government carried the main resolution by 96 votes against 43.

The exposition of the Congress standpoint was given by the Prime Minister. He made it clear that nationalist India would not be satisfied until it obtained "Purna Swaraj". No constitution was going to be acceptable to the bulk of the nation unless it provided full scope for development according to its needs and desires and such a constitution could only be framed by the representatives of all the people of the country chosen on an adult franchise "I would make one final appeal to the honourable members" said Mr. Kher winding up the debate, 'that they keep all these small differences aside for the moment and agree to the Constituent Assembly coming into being when all matters of dispute can and will be settled and decided by mutual agreement by mutual negotiation. To-day let us agree that the only constitution that will be acceptable to all those who are working for complete independence for political progress for the political emancipation of the people and to all those who expect and demand the fullest liberty, will be a constitution which will be framed by a Constituent Assembly".

'Restoration of Lands

The second resolution moved by the Honourable Mr Morarji Desai, Revenue Minister, read :—

"This Assembly accepts the policy of repurchasing at the cost of Government lands and other immovable properties forfeited and sold in consequence of the Civil Disobedience Movement with a view to their restoration to the original holders or their heirs free of occupancy price."

There was no serious opposition to the motion, for it was generally realised that a discussion would only reopen old wounds. The Minister said that the Congress case was based on a broad sense of justice and equity, nor was it without precedents in British history. It was a question of doing justice to people who had suffered for their country. The resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Civil Liberty

The attitude of the Congress Government towards civil liberty was explained by the Honourable Mr. K M. Munshi, Home Minister, in the course of a debate in the Legislative Assembly on this subject. He said that the Government were anxious to see that no injustice was done to any political worker so long as he was non-violent and to carry out the election pledges to the best of their ability. "Congress stands for the liberty of the individual because it has an unshaken faith in democracy and non-violence," said the Minister. "Liberty for us is not a matter of material benefit. It is not a matter to be weighed in the scales of a materialistic interpretation of history. Liberty with us has its own charms. To speak, to act, to breathe under the government of God and the law is a sacred privilege. We believe in it irrespective of the benefit it brings with it, and to the last breath every Congressman, who believes in democracy will stand by liberty irrespective of anything else.

"Civil liberty is really the foundation of democratic Government. Democracy implies a faith which society can evolve gradually and by mutual discussion and persuasion rather than by breaking each other's heads. But civil liberty presupposes that there must be an atmosphere of non-violence in which people can discuss each other's opinions freely without physical violence or the coercion of the individual or mass violence. That is a fundamental limitation of the principle of civil liberty. You cannot have civil liberty in an atmosphere surcharged with violence and excitement such as a breach of the peace.

REMOVAL OF RESTRICTIONS ON PRESS, ETC.

One of the first tasks of the Government was to revise or rescind the numerous orders issued by former Governments under the emergency and other laws, in the course of their struggle with Congress. The orders regarding the deposit of security by newspapers and printing presses were cancelled This resulted in the refund of securities amounting to Rs 2,3,000 to two newspapers and five printing presses and in the withdrawal of notices demanding securities of about Rs 64,000 from 19 newspapers and 9 printing presses

At one stroke Government lifted the ban on 227 associations declared unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act This was followed a little later by the removal of a similar ban of five other associations condemned because of communistic tendencies.

The ban on certain literature was removed and many publications declared forfeited were allowed to be sold or published The restrictions imposed on 26 films connected with Mahatma Gandhi's activities were cancelled. So also the ban on the film "Pandit Jawaharlal's message" was removed

Government removed the restrictions which debarred certain newspapers from receiving official advertisements.

Government ordered the return of moneys and moveable property (if still in their possession or the sale proceeds, if sold), forfeited under the Ordinances and the Criminal Law Amendment Act in consequence of the civil disobedience movement

Two political prisoners, P M Bapat and V B Gogate (Sir Ernest Hotson's assailant) were released, while the sentences of fine imposed on two political workers and one mill worker were remitted and the fines, if paid, were ordered to be refunded A bond executed by a political worker under Section 125, Criminal Procedure Code, was also ordered to be cancelled Further, all restrictions imposed under Section 4 of the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act, 1932, on certain political workers and labour leaders were removed

Thus within three months of the Ministry's taking office there was left not a single order issued by the Bombay Government under the emergency laws imposing any restraint on individuals or associations

Six prisoners who had been convicted in connection with Ahmedabad-Viramgam Riots of 1919 were also released,

JAILS

The reorganisation of the prison system has engaged the attention of the Government. The revision of the Jail Manual has in consequence been ordered and steps have been taken to revise the rules governing Sub-Jails and Lock-ups

The question of promoting jail industries including printing and employing prisoners on more remunerative labour is being examined The possibility of introducing Khadi production in Jails is being looked into and spinning has already been introduced in Yeravda Female Jail There will shortly be a Convicts Farm Colony at Visapur The conditions under which jail remissions are given being considered to be unsatisfactory, the jail authorities have been instructed to put up proposals for alterations in the rules where necessary The rules regarding jail visitors are also being examined with a view to associating, where possible, members of the Legislature with them,

POLICE

What should be the conduct of the police in relation to the public and crime was explained by the Honourable Mr K. M Munshi at the Annual Police Conference in Poona. He urged them to uphold the law by all means without fear or favour. They should perform their duties in a spirit of service to the public and keep the ring clear for legitimate freedom of speech and action. Special instructions have been issued to the police not to cause any annoyance to Congressmen or other individuals when collecting information regarding political activities. They have also been specifically forbidden to receive gifts or bakshis from the public at Divali or on other auspicious occasions.

Orders have been issued for the restoration, on applications by the persons concerned, of arms licences which were cancelled or not renewed for participation in the Civil Disobedience movement and for the return of the forfeited arms, if still in the possession of Government.

Communal Tension

When the present Government assumed office, there was much communal feeling being expressed in the press and elsewhere engendered mostly by the Sonya-Maruti Temple dispute in Poona. One of the first steps taken by Government was to issue severe warning to communalists who were plainly told that Government would take every step to prevent the dissemination of communal hatred and of ideas involving violence. The effect of this warning was most noticeable. The tone of the press immediately improved, and the Home Minister was able to record within a short while a full settlement of the long-standing temple mosque dispute at Poona by the mutual agreement of the two communities.

Later twenty-two prisoners convicted in connection with the Sonya Maruti Temple Dispute in Poona and also 2 prisoners convicted in connection with the riots in Surat were released

Government have considered the advisability of revising the present policy regarding the Criminal Tribes. They have appointed a Committee to depart on the entire problem including the amendments of the Criminal Tribes Act. That the problem is not an easy one is clear from the recent trouble at the Sholapur Criminal Tribes Settlement arising from the activities of Red flag leaders and Government had to have recourse to section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and the Criminal Law Amendment Act to control the violent tendencies exhibited by the Tribes in response to outside inspiration. The effect of these measures was very satisfactory, and normal conditions were soon restored.

It has been decided to abolish Benches of Honorary Magistrates in the Province excluding Bombay City

The Government are exploring the possibilities of separating judicial and executive functions. This reform is one that requires careful examination The subject is being studied in detail with reference to the districts of Ahmedabad and Poona

Warning to Officials

The necessity for Government officers treating members of the public approaching them on business with courtesy and promptitude has been strongly emphasised in a circular letter. Officials have been warned against corruption of all kinds including the use of public conveyances without paying full fare, free admission to places of entertainment and receiving free provisions and services when touring

Heads of Departments have been informed that candidates for admission into the public service should not be regarded as disqualified for appointment by reason only of the fact that they took part in the civil disobedience movement or other Congress activity.

Officers leaving their Station on transfer, leave etc are forbidden to accept any farewell entertainment from the members of their staff, especially low paid members.

Land Revenue and Rural Indebtedness

All authorised arrears of revenue outstanding on 31st July 1936 were remitted Authorised arrears consist of land revenue which is not collected in the year in which it falls due owing to poor crops. All other arrears of revenue due from agriculturists have been subjected to a close examination with a view to the equitable adjustment of burdens to the present capacity of the ryots Thus the tagai dues in the Dhandhuka taluka have been scaled down and further orders will shortly issue.

Government have framed a programme of revision of the Land Revenue system and other measures affecting the rural economy and will shortly introduce as a first instalment Bills to govern the settlement of land revenue and provide security for tenants and a Bill to provide for the conciliation of debts Pending enactment of these provisions, an emergency Bill has been passed as indicated below to prevent the interim eviction of certain classes of landholders and tenants. Executive orders have been issued in order to restrict as much as possible the eviction of landholders for failure to pay Government dues and sums recoverable as land revenues arrears.

The present position of the co-operative movement and its future lines of development have been carefully examined by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and the Managing Director of the Provincial Co-operative Bank who have presented a joint report. The report covers the whole field of co-operation. Government believe that the orders which will shortly issue on these recommendations

together with administrative and other arrangements which they have in view will in course of time bring to the movement the new life which it so badly requires.

REINSTATEMENT OF VILLAGE OFFICERS

Government have issued orders that participation in the civil disobedience movement or other Congress activity should not be regarded as a disqualification for service as kulkarni, patil, inferior village servant, or the like, and that every endeavour should be made to reappoint kulkarnis, patils and inferior village servants who lost their posts owing to such participation at the first opportunity which presents itself, provided reappointment is otherwise unobjectionable and does not involve passing over others with superior claims.

RESTORATION OF VATANS AND INAM LANDS

Orders have also been issued for the restoration of cash allowances and Vatan and Inam lands forfeited for participation in the civil disobedience movement. There are only very few cases of forfeiture still outstanding which will be dealt with shortly.

GRAZING FEES

Government have abolished, with effect from 1st July 1937, the grazing fees for village cattle of forest and non-forest villages, sheep and goats and non-village cattle.

PROHIBITION

Government have decided on a policy of complete prohibition of the sale and consumption of alcoholic drinks, opium and hemp drugs. As a first instalment a considerable reduction of toddy booths was carried out in Bombay City and several shops which were within 100 yards of and in the same street as temples, mosques, schools and hospitals were either cancelled or removed. For next year the programme includes the constitution of the whole of Ahmedabad City and suburbs as a "dry" or no-license area. In addition, three rural dry areas, consisting of two talukas each, will be created, one in Gujarat, one in the Deccan, and one in the Karnatak In other areas a large number of redundant shops, i e. shops which can be closed without driving people to illicit sources of supply will be closed. Further shops and booths will be removed beyond 100 yards in the same street of temples, mosques, schools and hospitals Shops will also be moved away from mills and factories Further experiments under contemplation are the closure of shops on mill pay days, the sale of liquor in certain areas only in sealed bottles for consumption off the premises, etc An energetic campaign has been inaugurated to stop the adulteration of toddy with deleterious substances.

VILLAGE WATER SUPPLY

The provision of Rs 10 lakhs for the improvement of village water supply has been distributed among the Revenue divisions according to needs Special instructions have been issued to secure the free enjoyment of public wells and tanks by the Harijans on the same terms as persons belonging to other communities Where there is reason to apprehend that the existing disabilities of these classes in any particular village are likely to continue, either no money will be spent in that village from the grant of Rs 10 lakhs or, where the needs are pressing, the money will be spent solely for providing special drinking water facilities for the Scheduled Classes In utilising the special grant for water supply Government have advised the conversion of step wells into draw wells and the construction of bunds across rivers and streams

INDIGENOUS MEDICINE

A scheme for the registration of practitioners in indigenous systems of medicine has been devised and a bill on the lines of the Bombay Medical Act of 1912 will be presented to the legislature shortly

MEDICAL AID

Government have also considered a number of schemes for the advancement of medical aid in rural areas

It is proposed to extend the schemes for the subsidising of medical practitioners in rural areas and the appointment of nurses and midwives at local board dispensaries and to improve the supply of instruments to local bodies' dispensaries.

In Bombay city the primary concern of the Government is to find funds to maintain the 300 additional beds for which accommodation is available under the Governor's Hospital Fund Scheme.

The road policy has already been revised. It has been decided to construct, improve and modernise the trunk roads and also to modernise roads in and near towns which are subjected to heavy traffic. The work of modernising the Bombay Poona Road which is estimated to cost about Rs. 30 lakhs is proposed to be taken up from next year.

Government have drawn up a seven year programme of "competitive", "feeder" and "other" roads The programme is proposed to be taken up from the year 1939-40.

A special provision of Rs. 3½ lakhs has been made for the construction of roads leading to villages.

Mosques at Ahmednagar

Orders have been issued to the local officers for the immediate restoration to the Muslims of Ahmednagar of the Malik Ambar's Kali Masjid and the Sunheri Masjid and the reservation of Ek Gumbazi Masjid for religious use of the Muslim members of the City Police force at Ahmednagar. The restoration of the Civil Jail and Record Room adjacent to the Kamani Masjid and Imampur Masjid will be effected within a period of 3 years.

Electric Supply undertakings

Under clause II of the Schedule to the Indian Electricity Act, 1910, a special auditor has been appointed to examine and audit the accounts of the electric supply undertakings in the Province and to submit a report to Government on the true financial position of each undertaking

Irrigation

The entire policy of irrigation is under revision. Government have appointed a committee to examine the whole question. It is proposed to provide greater facilities for water supply in canal areas and if possible to reduce the water rates Government are considering a scheme for the expansion of water supply in the dry district of Bijapur and adjoining areas by lifting water from the river beds by windmills

A scheme for constructing storage tanks and reservoirs for increasing the water supply of the Konkan is also under contemplation.

Government has decided to undertake a regular programme for repairing and keeping efficient all existing minor irrigation works and for construction of new minor irrigation works, especially in areas subject to frequent scarcity of rainfall and to carry out the programme vigorously. Substantial grants are being provided in the estimates of 1938-39 for the purpose and all necessary preliminaries in pursuance of the programme are being undertaken.

Education

The policy of the Ministry in regard to education was defined before the Legislature. It was to evolve a truly national education and with this end in view schemes are being devised to reform both Primary and Secondary education The entire system of primary education, it has been said, needs to be overhauled Schemes for expansion, consolidation and better control will be worked out The existing control machinery will be so revised as to be both effective and efficient.

It has also been decided to convert some of the Government Secondary schools according to local conditions into technical and vocational schools, primary training institutions and high schools for girls and the remaining schools will be transferred to private agencies, such transfer being conditional upon such agencies having adequate resources, assisted by grants-in-aid if necessary, to ensure the maintenance of the transferred institutions in a state of efficiency

The committee appointed to draw up a scheme for the introduction of physical education in primary and secondary schools has submitted its report which is under examination.

Committees have been appointed to advise Government on the question of vocational training for boys and girls in primary schools, on the training of primary teachers and on the problem of adult education.

The amendment of the Primary Education Act has been taken in hand and it is hoped to introduce the amending Bill in the Budget session of the Assembly.

Students and Discipline

Government have also issued orders modifying the previous rules and orders regarding discipline in educational institutions, and school masters, teachers and persons at study over 18 are being allowed the liberty to attend all public meetings and to become members of organisations other than those whose policy or programme involves the dissemination of ideas of violence or the use of violence. Similarly persons at study will be allowed to attend public meetings and take part in the activities of all educational, social and religious Associations, except that such of them as are below 16 may with the consent of their guardians be prevented by the heads of their educational institutions from attending any particular meeting which those heads consider objectionable.

Scheduled Classes

Government have recently taken special measures for the advancement of education among the Scheduled Classes. As a result of these matters, Scheduled class students in all Arts and Professional Colleges, Government as well as non-Government, will receive full free studentships as well as scholarships at the rate of Rs. 15 in Arts Colleges and Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 per mensem in Professional Colleges. All students in Government secondary schools (numbering 364 at present) will receive full free studentships, and all students in Government as well as non-Government secondary schools who are eligible under the rules, will also get scholarships at the rate of Rs. 4 to Rs. 8 per mensem.

The question of granting full free studentships to all Scheduled Class students in non-Government secondary schools is under consideration.

Muslim Education

Government are investigating the possibilities of popularising the Anglo-Urdu Middle School for girls in Poona and increasing admissions to it. The orders regarding reservations of places for students of the Muslim community in Government secondary schools for boys have been revised and the percentage of reservations has been raised from 15 to 20.

Technical Education

In pursuance of the general policy of relieving unemployment among educated classes the opening of a leather working school in Bombay has been sanctioned.

Local Self-Government

Government have taken in hand the question of introducing some radical changes in the constitution of local bodies and liberalising their administration Government's proposals include abolition of nominations, introduction of joint electorates with reservation of seats for certain minorities, widening of the franchise, improved finance, improvement of the administration of village panchayats, and other incidental measures. A bill for the revision of the constitution and powers of the Panchayats is being drafted.

Cottage Industries

Several schemes have been sanctioned for developing cottage industries. These include encouragement of hand-spinning and khadi weaving, cottage dyeing and cloth printing, air-craft, lacquer work, cane and bamboo work, tanning and production of jaggery from palmyra and date palm juices.

In order to promote research work in connection with cottage and small scale industries Government have sanctioned an experimental workshop for the Industrial Engineer. Special arrangements have been made for carrying out experiments relating to glass bangles, oil pressing, sand hemp and imitation gold thread industries.

Government have also sanctioned the establishment of an Industrial Chemist's Laboratory for undertaking investigations as a regular routine work of the Department of Industries, for the development of likely new industries and the development of existing ones.

Swadeshi Goods

A committee has been appointed to enquire into the question of purchase of Government stores. The committee is required to advise on the possibility of con-

tralising all purchases of stores in a single agency in the Province and the use of Swadeshi goods, including Khadi, for official purposes.

Power Alcohol

Government has been considering a number of proposals for the re-placement of shrinking revenue resulting from prohibition. While retrenchment and additional taxation are obvious devices, the possibility of starting state monopolies has not been overlooked. Vast quantities of mhowra flowers and molasses from sugar factories are available in the Province and proposals are being examined for the production of power alcohol from these materials at the Government distilleries which will have to abandon the production of liquor. It is hoped that an enterprise of this kind will bring in a substantial revenue to the State.

Labour Policy

Government have issued a special statement outlining their policy regarding the Industrial worker. This policy has been generally approved by the Working Committee of the Congress, who consider it suitable for adoption by other Provinces. The Government's statement visualises a comprehensive scheme of reform including minimum wage fixing machinery, provision for better housing conditions and relief of working class indebtedness. With regard to industries which fail to provide a living wage to employees, Government have decided to institute enquiries to determine how far wages fall short of the needs of workers. A comprehensive scheme of social and sickness insurance is foreshadowed. It is also proposed to explore the possibilities of alternative employment and secondary occupations for relieving unemployment. Steps have been taken to extend the Factories and Payment of Wages Acts to establishments employing ten or more persons instead of twenty. The provision of creches in factories employing more than 100 women has been made compulsory.

Government have appointed a Textile Labour Enquiry Committee to investigate into the question of adequacy of wages and kindred matters relating to textile industry.

Unemployment

Government have accepted the resolution of the Legislature to appoint a Committee to enquire into the question of unemployment. They have also accepted the recommendation of the Legislature to compel suppliers of stores, materials, machinery or services to Government or semi-Government bodies to afford facilities to Indian apprentices for practical training in their factories, workshops, etc.

Retrenchment

In the budget speech of the Honourable the Finance Minister it was announced that one of the measures of economy which Government proposed to introduce would be the reduction of travelling and other allowances of Government servants. Detailed proposals in this matter are at present under the consideration of Government. Pending the issue of final orders, Government have issued orders imposing a general cut of 10 per cent with effect from 1st November 1937 on all compensatory allowances of Government servants whose pay exceeds Rs 100 per mensem. A general cut of 2 and a half per cent on all contingent expenditure has also been ordered during the current year.

Government are at present reviewing those recommendations of the Thomas Committee which were previously rejected or partly accepted and the action taken after this review will be communicated to the Legislative Assembly in due course. They are also considering the question of further reduction of the pay-scales of all the provincial and subordinate services.

Special Legislative Session

Government called a special session of the Legislature on Janury 10 (1938) to consider some pressing legislation. The Bills dealt with by the Legislature are explained below :—

1. *The Bombay Provisional Collection of Taxes Act*, 1938.—The object of this Act is to empower Government to collect taxes provisionally in anticipation of a Bill introduced for the imposition of such taxes passing into law. Whenever new taxation is proposed, various devices are resorted to evade the provisions of the Act imposing such taxation during the interval between the publication of the proposal

and the passing of the Act. This Act is intended to prevent such evasion. A similar Act has been passed by the Central Legislature (Act XVI of 1931).

2. *The Bombay Municipal (Amendment) Acts*—Three Acts were passed to amend the Bombay Municipal Act, 1888. The first Act—the Bombay Municipal Corporation (Extension of Tenure) Act, 1938,—was passed to extend the term of office of the members of the Bombay Municipal Corporation until 1st April 1939. The term of office of the present members of the Corporation would ordinarily expire on 1st April 1938. Government have under consideration various questions relating to the constitution of the Municipal Corporation, such as the franchise and the system of nominations. In order to enable Government to come to a definite conclusion on these questions and to prepare a suitable amending Bill to carry out, the term of office of the present members of the Corporation which would have ordinarily expired on 1st April 1938 has been extended by one year.

The second Act to amend the Bombay Municipal Act was passed for the purpose of improving the system of audit which prevails in the Bombay Municipal Corporation. According to the present system the audit of the accounts of the Bombay Municipal Corporation is done by the auditors who are appointed annually. This system has been found to be unsatisfactory. The Act provides the establishment of a permanent department of audit under a Chief Auditor to be appointed by the Corporation.

The third Act to amend the Bombay Municipal Act is an omnibus Act which carries out several amendments in the principal Act. The important among them are :—(1) the definition of "market" to enable the Corporation to control places which are unauthorisedly used as markets, (2) improvement in the system of the election of the representatives of the Bombay University and the Chamber of Commerce on the Corporation, (3) the abolition of the power of the municipal executive to attach the wares of an unlicensed hawker, (4) the grant of power to the Commissioner to compel a landlord to provide for adequate water supply to his tenants, and (5) the grant of requisite power to the Commissioner to take steps to prevent the wastage of water

3 *The Bombay Local Boards (Amendment)* Act, 1938.—This Act provides for the abolition of the system of nominations in local boards in the Province and introduces the system of reservation of seats for Harijans, backward tribes and certain communities for which separate representation is given under the present Constitution An important provision in the Act is regarding the local option to the Mahomedans It is open to the Mahomedan voters of a constituency to decide at any time that they would prefer to give up separate electorates and have joint electorates

4 *The Bombay Probation of Offenders Bill*—The object of this Bill is to introduce a regular system of probation of offenders, which was introduced in England by the Act of 1907 and has been found to have led to good results The provision of section 562 of the Criminal Procedure Code are found inadequate for the purpose The Bill provides for the release after admonition only of offenders convicted of offences punishable with not more than two years' imprisonment and against whom no previous conviction is proved. The Bill also contains a provision that in the case of male persons convicted of offences not punishable with death or transportation, while in the case of women convicted of *any offences*, the Court may, having regard to the age, character, antecedents, physical or mental condition or circumstances in which the offence was committed, release an offender on probation of good conduct on his passing a bond, with or without sureties In the case of persons under the age of 25 years the Bill provides that such probation shall be under the supervision of a probation officer Courts have always found it difficult to deal with women who are found to have committed such offences as infanticide. In the majority of such cases, women are merely victims of other persons who are not before the Courts and are forced to commit offences for fear of shame. The existing Criminal Law does not contain any provision for dealing with such cases. The Bill removes that defect and provides that the Courts can release such women on probation The Bill has been passed by the Legislative Assembly, but is pending consideration by the Legislative Council. The success of the scheme would, however, depend upon the efficiency of the supervision exercised during probation. Government, therefore, propose to restrict for the present the scope of the Bill to certain places only where local conditions are favourable and there are prospects of the system being worked properly.

5. *The Bombay Harijan Temple Worship (Removal of Disabilities) Act*, 1938—Under this Act a trustee of a temple or if there are more than one trustee, the majority of such trustees may make a declaration and forward it to the Court stating that the temple shall be open for worship to Harijans. In making the declaration the trustees may impose conditions and require observance of such ceremonies as they may think fit. But such conditions or such observances must not be restricted to Harijans only. On receipt of such declaration the Court has to publish the declaration. Within three months of such publication any person interested may apply to the Court and may show that the persons who made the declaration were not the trustees of the temple or did not form the majority of such trustees. If the Court is satisfied that the application is true, the Court would cancel the declaration. If not, the declaration would be final and the temple would be open for worship by Harijans notwithstanding anything in the instrument of trust, the terms of dedication, a decree or order of a Competent Court relating to such temple or a custom, usage or law for the time being in force. In the City of Bombay the declarations are to be forwarded to the High Court and in the mofussil to the district Courts The Act has been passed by both the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council without a single dissenting voice. It is an enabling measure and it removes legal difficulties in the way of those trustees of public temples who are convinced of the justice of the claim of Harijans to make use of such temples and who desire to throw them open to them. The Act applies to Hindus including Jains.

6. *The Bombay Small Holders Relief Act*, 1938—Government have under consideration the question of the relief of agricultural indebtedness and the regulation of tenancies. But the framing of a complete scheme for the purpose requires very careful consideration. In the meanwhile Government have decided that petty agriculturists should not be deprived of their property in execution of decrees of Civil Courts. They have also decided that agricultural tenants who have been in possession for 6 years or more should not be evicted Relief against the decrees of Courts is given to persons who are described in the Act as small holders. They would be persons who personally cultivate the land and who hold 6 acres of irrigated land or 18 acres of other land or land having annual assessment of not more than Rs. 30 The benefit of the Act is also given to inferior village servants who hold land of the specified area In the case of an undivided Hindu family, it is required that at least one adult member, if any, of such family should cultivate the land himself. The Act provides that if any land is brought to sale in execution of a decree against such small holder, such sale shall be stayed on the small holder paying to the decree holder the amount of interest due for a period not exceeding one year, on the decretal amount If, however, the decree holder proves that substantial loss will be caused to him by such stay, the proceedings shall not be stayed. So also if the decree holder shows that his rights are likely to be prejudiced by other proceedings against the small holder, he may apply for raising the stay. In proceedings under section 22 of the Dekkhan Agriculturists' Relief Act, it is provided that the order of the Court directing possession to be taken of land belonging to a small holder shall not take effect until 1st April 1939. These provision do not apply to maintenance decrees. One pair of milch cattle, one dwelling house, standing crop, household untensils and agricultural produce necessary for the support of the small holder and his family are saved from attachment and sale in execution of decrees. Section 9 of the Act relates to the eviction of tenants. As stated before, tenants in possession of land used for agriculture for a period of 6 years or more cannot be evicted if they pay the landlord one year's rent and are willing to continue the tenancy on the same terms as before. Protection is given to such tenants in regard to their dwelling houses, if such tenants are on Inam, Khoti or talukdari land. In area where Government have granted suspension of land revenue, the interest or rent payable by a small holder or tenant under the Act is to be reduced in proportion. The Act is to remain in force until 31st March 1939.

7. *The Bombay Money-Lenders Bill*—The object of this Bill is to provide for the control of money-lenders and the regulation of their accounts and dealings in money-lending. The Bill applies to professional money-lenders. It introduces the system of regulation and licensing of money-lenders which prevails in England and the United States of America. Money-lenders not holding a licence are precluded from getting a decree from any Court in a suit to which the Act applies. The failure to obtain a licence would not necessarily non-suit the plaintiff money-lender. The Court may require him to produce a licence within 3 months and may give him more time for

such production. The grounds for the refusal of licence by the Registrar are limited to the following cases only .—

(1) When the applicant is disqualified by the Court to hold a licence ,
(2) When the applicant has not complied with the provisions of the Act and rules ;
(3) When the applicant has participated in fraud or dishonesty in the conduct of his business or has been guilty of the offence of forgery, falsification of accounts or other similiar offences

An important feature of the Bill is the requirement of keeping accounts by money-lenders and of delivery of statement of accounts to debtors If money-lender does not comply with these requirements, the Court can disallow him costs and any portion of interest. The Bill also contains provisions on the following matters .—

(1) interest not exceeding *dam dupat* can be allowed ;
(2) The amount due may be ordered to be paid by instalments ,
(3) The rate of interest not to exceed 9 per cent on secured loans and 12 per cent. or unsecured loans ;
(4) Compound interest is prohibited ,
(5) The Court is given power to re-open accounts within three years which have not been settled by decrees ,
(6) A summary procedure is provided for taking the accounts and declaring the amount due ,
(7) If a money-lender enters in a bond a sum in excess of the actual loan advanced, he would be criminally liable ;
(8) Molestation of debtors is made an offence

The Bill has passed the first reading in the Legislative Assembly and has been referred to a Select Committee.

The special session of the Legislature passed also the following resolutions moved by the Prime Minister on behalf of Government .—

1. "This Assembly is of opinion that the Federation proposed under the Government of India Act, 1935 is opposed to the declared will of the people of the Province and is, therefore, unacceptable This Assembly therefore requests Government to intimate to the British Government not to impose it on the Province"

2 "The Assembly is of opinion that the conferring of any titles of honour or titular distinction on any person in the Province by His Majesty or the Governor General be discontinued."

Conclusion.

This brief record of the work of the Ministry during the few months it has been in power is published in order that the public may have some idea of the way in which the problem of converting ideals into realities is being tackled. The administrative machine is a complicated and delicate organism and Government is faced with the task of remodelling it as all Congressmen desire it to be remodelled while still keeping it functioning and in active movement.

The Bihar Government at Work

A Six-monthly Official Review—July—December 1937

Relief to tenantry

The problem of the peasantry and the land have been in the fore front of the Ministry's programme and in this connection the first legislative measure enacted by the Ministry is the Bihar Tenancy (Amendment) Act. This is calculated to mitigate the hardship of the tenantry of the province on account of the operations of some of the provisions of the old law and to give them such relief as they immediately need.

The measures of relief which the new Tenancy Act affords to the raiyats are summarised below :—

1. Occupancy raiyats have been given the great facility of the partition among co-tenants being recognised by the superior landlord. Only when the latter may have any objection to the distribution of rent by the co-tenants among themselves he can apply to the Collector for the distribution of the rent of the holding.

2. The Tenancy Act as it stood before left it discretionary with the court to admit or reject an application for commutation of produce rent. The new law makes it obligatory on the court to commute when a raiyat applies for it Only when on the landlord's application if it is objected to by the raiyat then the court can exercise its discretion about admitting or rejecting the application.

3. The system of produce rent payable by a raiyat on the estimated value of the crop of a holding, commonly known as Danabandi, which was unpopular with the tenants, has been abolished. All Danabandi holdings shall, from the date of the passing of this Act, be considered to be liable to payment of rent in kind by division of the produce of the holding, and in all cases where the rent is payable by division of produce, the distribution shall be in the proportion of 22 to the raiyat and 18 to the landlord. On a notification by Government commutation of produce rent in any particular area or for any particular class of occupancy raiyats can be taken up by the Collector either on the application of the landlord or the raiyat or on his own motion.

4. The rate of interest on arrears of rent has been reduced from 12 and half to 6 one fourth per cent per annum and the provision about the payment of damages which used to amount to 25 per cent of the rent due has been deleted.

5. Illegal exactions (abwabs) have been made a penal offence with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to 6 months or with fine which may extend to Rs. 500, or with both.

6. On account of the world-wide economic depression, which commenced in 1929, the prices of agricultural produce have gone down by more than 50 per cent and it has become difficult for the raiyats to bear the burden of the existing rents, particularly rents enhanced either by the court or through private contract or commuted under section 40 of the old Act, or settled for new holdings, taking into consideration the high prices of staple food crops prevailing in 1911. There are also instances in which high rents were fixed in consideration of the landlords' maintaining the sources of irrigation but the same rents are being realised although the arrangements for irrigation have been neglected by the landlords. With a view, therefore, to giving relief to the raiyats in such cases a new section 112A has been incorporated in the Act under which a raiyat can now apply (a) for cancellation of all enhancements made between 1911 and 1936; (b) for reduction of all rents commuted under section 40 or by agreement between 1911 and 1936, which will be in the proportion to the fall in the prices of staple food crops ; (c) for partial or entire remission of rent on the ground of permanent or temporary deterioration of the soil of the raiyat's holding due to a deposit of sand, by submersion under water, etc or on the ground that the landlords has failed to carry out the arrangements in respect of irrigation which he is bound to maintain ; (d) for reduction of rent due to the fall in the prices not due to temporary causes. On a notification by Government action may be taken by the Collector *suo motu* in respect of all the points enumerated above as well as in such cases as may be specified in a notification issued for sufficient reasons by the Governor in this behalf.

7. In execution proceedings for arrears of rent no raiyat can now be detained in civil jail and his moveable property cannot be attached except with his consent in writing unless the decree cannot be satisfied by the attachment and sale of the holding for the arrears of the rent for which the decree was passed.

8. As regards the sale of the holding itself in execution of a decree for rent, only so much of the holding can now be put to sale as may de deemed sufficient to satisfy the decretal amount. The necessary valuation of the holding or part thereof to be sold will be made by the court after hearing the parties and no holding or any portion thereof shall be sold for a price lower than that specified in the sale proclamation.

9. The houses and other holdings with the materials and the sites thereof and the lands immediately appurtenant thereto and necessary for their enjoyment belonging to a raiyat or under raiyat and occupied by him will be exempt from sale

in the execution of a rent decree except where the decree is for arrears of rent due in respect of the site of such house or building.

SUPPLEMENTARY BILL TO AFFORD FURTHER RELIEF

A supplementary Bill will soon be brought forward by the Ministry to deal with matters not covered by the present legislation in order to afford further measures of relief to the raiyats. This Bill will deal with such matters as realisation of rent by certificate procedure, restoration of Bakasht lands, abolition of salami, the tenants' right to bamboos and fruits and timber of trees and remission of arrears of rent.

TENANCY LEGISLATION FOR CHOTA NAGPUR

A tenancy Bill on the same lines as the Bihar Tenancy Act in order to meet the needs of the raiyats of Chota Nagpur has been introduced by the Ministry in the Assembly and is now in the Selection Committee stage.

LEGISLATION TO REGULATE SUGAR INDUSTRY

In the sphere of legislation the Ministry has been able to put on the Statute Book another important measure to regulate the development of the sugar industry in the province.

Bihar is next in importance only to the United Provinces, so far as the sugar industry is concerned, producing 29 per cent of the total output of white sugar in India. With the increasing growth of the industry many problems had arisen of late which needed immediate solution in order to ensure the development of the industry on sound lines both in the interests of the grower and the industry as a whole. The Sugar Factories Control Act has been passed with the object of enabling Government with the co-operation of the industry to tackle these problems.

The Act provides for the licensing of sugar factories, the regulation of the supply of sugarcane to factories, the fixation of the minimum price for sugarcane, the establishment of a Sugar Control Board and Advisory Committees and a tax on the sale of sugarcane intended for use in factories.

An unsatisfactory feature of the sugar industry has been the growth of unhealthy competition which has brought down the price of sugar to a very low level. As a direct consequence the price of sugarcane has fallen to such an extent that during the last crushing season the price obtained by the cultivator hardly covered the cost of cultivation. It is, therefore, necessary to regulate the production of sugar by providing for the licensing of factories. There will be two forms of license, one for the construction of new factories or the extension of the plant of the existing factories and the other for crushing cane. The latter form of license will be granted subject to certain conditions relating to the sale of sugar, membership of the Sugar Syndicate, the central marketing organisation of the industry recognised by Government, and the quantity of cane to be crushed by the factory. These conditions will ensure normal working, without which growers are likely to suffer.

As regards the regulation of the supply of cane to factories, provision has been made for the purchase of cane in an area (zone) reserved for a factory, in an area assigned to a factory and in areas which are neither reserved nor assigned. A common feature of reserved and assigned areas is compulsory bonding, i. e. the factory is required to enter into agreements with cane-growers or cane-growers' co-operative societies for the purchase of a specified quantity of cane. In an area which is neither specified nor assigned bonding is not compulsory. What is aimed at is the concentration of cane-supply as far as possible within reserved areas or assigned areas and the gradual conversion of assigned areas into reserved areas. It is proposed that each factory should have a prescribed proportion (say 60 per cent in the beginning which may, however, be raised to 70 or 75 per cent) of bonded supply, i. e. a supply of cane under agreement. A survey will be undertaken in order to obtain reliable estimates of cane areas. Middlemen will not be allowed to function in a reserved area. But in an assigned area and in area which is neither reserved nor assigned the factory may purchase through middlemen specially licensed for the purpose. The system of 'bonded' cane will lead to better organisation of cane supplies and relieve growers from anxiety regarding the disposal of their cane. With the organisation of cane-growers' co-operative societies they will be able to safeguard their own interests and some of the provisions of the Act have been framed with the object of encouraging the organisation of such societies.

Regarding the fixation of the minimum price for Sugar-Cane intended for use in a factory, a wide latitude had been given to the Provincial Government to vary the minimum price and to prescribe rules to determine how the minimum price shall be calculated. Provision is also made for the payment of an additional price for special varieties of cane.

A Sugar Control Board with the Hon'ble Minister of Education and Development, Bihar, as ex-officio Chairman and with representatives of the United Provinces Government and representatives of cane-growers and factories from both provinces on it has been set up to deal with the major problems of the industry such as the licensing of factories, the determination of the conditions of the license and the fixation of the minimum price of cane.

Advisory Committees will also be appointed to deal with local problems such as the preparation of the estimates of cane requirements of factories, the declaration of reserved and assigned areas, the licensing of purchasing agents, etc.

In order to enable a big drive to be launched for the improvement of cane cultivation and its planned production on a rational basis, the Provincial Government has been given the power to impose a tax on the sale of sugarcane to a factory or a cess on the entry of cane into a local area. The proceeds of the tax, if it is imposed by the Provincial Government, will be utilised mainly for the direct benefit of the industry.

Committee on Utilisation of Molasses

The Government of Bihar, in consultation with the Government of the United Provinces, has set up a Joint Committee to devise ways and means of starting the manufacture of power alcohol out of molasses, to report on the best method of manufacture and of mixing power alcohol with petrol and to explore the possible uses for molasses and their practical application.

The Committe will consist of Dr. N. R Dhar, Mr G H Dickson, Mr Ananthasubramanyam, Dr P S. Makér, Lala Padampat Singhania, Mr. M. P. Gandhi, Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar and Dr. N. G Chatterji.

Relief to Debtors

The two other Bills sponsored by the Ministry and referred to Joint Select Committee of both Houses of the Provincial Legislature are the Bihar Money-lenders' Bill intended to give relief to the debtors, to prevent the exaction of usurious rates of interest and to regulate the business of money-lending in the province and the Bihar Agricultural Income-tax Bill designed to raise additional revenue for the purpose of extending the beneficent activities of Government

The Money-lenders' Bill provides for the registration of money-lenders on payment of a small fee. No one who is not a registered money-lender can institute a suit for the recovery of his dues from the debtor. It is also provided that if a registered money-lender is found guilty of fraud or not keeping his accounts properly orders may be passed cancelling his registration

It is also proposed to make the keeping of proper accounts by money-lenders compulsory, to require a money-lender to give the debtor a copy of the recorded account within 7 days of advancing the loan, to give a receipt for every sum paid by the debtor, and also require the money lender to furnish a statement of account to the debtor at least once in every year. Non-compliance has been made punishable with fine.

In order to check the levying of excessive interest it is provided in the Bill that no court shall pass a decree on account of arrears of interest for any period exceeding three years or at rates exceeding 9 per cent per annum in the case of secured loan and 12 per cent per annum in the case of an unsecured loan but the money-lender is given power to institute a suit for the recovery of interest only with claiming payment of the principal.

In order to make it possible for the debtor to pay off the decretal amount it is provided that on the application of the judgement-debtor the court may, in respect of any decree, fix suitable instalments for the payment of the decretal amount according to the circumstances of each case. It is also provided that in case of the sale of the judgment-debtor's lands in execution of a decree not more than one-third of his lands subject to a minimum of 1 crore shall be exempt from sale.

It is proposed to make the practice of entering in the handnote, bond or Khatabahi a sum greater than actually lent at offence punishable with fine.

To prevent the filing of suits outside the province for recovery of debts it is provided that any contract between the money-lender and the debtor providing for the payment of the amount outside the province shall be void.

ANOTHER BILL TO DEAL WITH RURAL INDUSTRIES

The Ministry will soon bring forward another comprehensive Bill to deal with rural indebtedness and to give relief to agricultural debtors.

RAISING ADDITIONAL REVENUE FOR BETTERMENT OF RURAL POPULATION

Government consider that as provincial revenues are so small, they have no alternative but to utilise the additional source of revenue—taxes on agricultural income—which has been assigned to them under the Government of India Act. They see no reason why those persons who obtain large or relatively large incomes from agriculture should not pay tax on those incomes. The Agricultural Income-tax Bill, has, therefore, been brought forward for the purpose of obtaining additional revenue by taxing agricultural income. This additional revenue will be utilised mainly for the betterment of the rural population and extending the beneficient activities of Government in that direction

The Bill provides for the levy of agricultural income-tax on agricultural income as defined (with a small alteration to suit local conditions) in the Indian Income-tax Act, 1923. As, however, Government recognise that in respect of agricultural income the exemption limit should be considerably higher than in the case of ordinary income, the exemption limit in the Bill has been fixed at Rs. 5,000. An agricultural income below this figure will not be taxed.

Rates of agricultural income-tax in respect of incomes above Rs. 5,000 and less than Rs. 30,000 are proposed at the same rates as those fixed in the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922. The rates for incomes over Rs. 30,000 are higher than those in the Indian Income-tax Act, but as no provision is made for the levy of supertax on agricultural income, the actual tax payable on agricultural income over Rs. 30,000 is in all cases smaller and in the case of higher incomes considerably smaller than the tax (taking income-tax and super-tax together) payable under the Indian Income-tax Act on other incomes of a smaller size.

The rates of agricultural income-tax proposed are higher in the case of larger incomes than in the case of smaller Government recognise that, if no safeguard was provided, this might result in the splitting up of Hindu undivided families. Provision has, therefore, been made in the Bill that the income of a joint family consisting of brothers (or sons of brothers when one or more of several brothers is dead) shall be assessed at the rate that would be applicable to the separate income of brothers if they had separate and did not form a joint family.

Assessment will be made on agricultural income in the following manner :—

(1) In the case of income from cultivation the assessee will have two options —

(a) He can be assessed by presumption—that is his income will be assumed to be a certain multiple of his rent valuation This multiple will be fixed by the Board of Agricultural Income-tax for each district subject to a maximum of 8 times, (b) he can file papers to show his net income. If he does not file papers, assessment will be in the manner under (a).

(2) In the case of all other agricultural income, the assessment will be on the income accruing after making the following deductions .—

(a) The actual sum paid during the year on account either as land revenue or cess or municipal rates,

(b) A sum calculated at 10 per cent of the actual realisation as estimated cost of collection.

No one (other than a company) will be liable to pay agricultural income-tax in any year unless he is called upon by the Agricultural Income-tax Officer to file an assessment form.

Rates of the proposed agricultural income-tax as provided in the Bill are as below .—

(1) When the total income is Rs. 5,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 10,000 .....Nine pies in the rupee.

(2) When the total income is Rs. 10,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 15,000..... One anna in the rupee.

(3) When the total income is Rs. 15,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 20,000 .....One anna and four pies in the rupee

(4) When the total income is Rs. 20,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 30,000.....One anna and seven pies in the rupee.
(5) When the total income is Rs 30,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 40,000..... Two annas in the rupee.
(6) When the total income is Rs. 40 000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 75,000 .....Two annas and two pies in the rupee.
(7) When the total income is Rs. 75,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 1,00,000 .....Two annas and four pies in the rupee.
(8) When the total income is Rs 1,00,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 2,50,000.....Two annas and six pies in the rupee.
(9) When the totol income is Rs. 2,50,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 5,00,000... ..Three annas in the rupee.
(10) When the total income is Rs. 5,00,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 15,00,000 . ...Three annas and six pies in the rupee.
(11) When the total income is Rs. 15,00,000 or upwards .....Four annas in the rupee.

Scheme of Agricultural Development.

A scheme of agricultural development is under contemplation, so that the Department of Agriculture may be able to render better service to the cultivators than it has done in the past.

It is, therefore proposed to make the work of this Department really effective by broad-basing its activities on a police thana in each district as the basic unit with necessary complement of trained staff. In order to make a start with properly trained staff and to keep the cost of such training as low as possible Government propose to enter into mutual arrangements with the United Provinces Government whereby students from Bihar will be admitted every year into the Agricultural College of the United Provinces Government and in return the Government of Bihar will admit a similar number of U. P. students into their Veterinary College. This will ensure a steady supply of properly trained agricultural graduates.

Further, in order that the subordinate staff recruited for the Department should have some first hand knowledge of the actual methods employed by the cultivators in crop production and also of the conditions and limitations under which they work it is proposed that every new recruit should be trained for two years in a central farm and will then be required to study the methods of cultivation followed by the ordinary cultivator. With this end in view it is proposed to recruit 20 overseers at a recurring cost of nearly Rs. 16,350 per annum and put them under training in the manner indicated above, so that in three year's time a batch of better trained overseers will be available for the development which the scheme visualises.

In the meantime it is proposed that a start in intensive demonstration work should be made with the existing staff. For this purpose one Police thana in each district is to be selected immediately and one overseer and 3 kamdars are to be allotted to each area. These men will carry out intensive demonstration work, particularly on sugarcane, wheat, rice, fruits and irrigation appliances such as Rahat pumps. The Department will also encourage subsidiary agricultural industries and the cultivation of fruit trees.

Arrangements will also be made to popularise the use of improved seeds and implements and of manures. It is hoped that the concentration of the activities of the Department in a few selected thanas (one in each district) will yield better results. The expansion of the activities of the Department can be considered later as trained staff become available.

The chemical section of the Department is being ordered to speed up its work on soil survey of the province in order to know in what areas what plant food is lacking, so that a schedule of manuring the more important crops can be drawn up for the guidance of the cultivator.

Rural Development Scheme

Connected with the scheme for intensive agricultural demonstration, it is proposed to introduce a comprehensive scheme of all-round rural development in one selected thana in each district. The details of this scheme are now being worked out with the Heads of the Development Departments.

Committee to Enquire into Santal Parganas Administration

Government have appointed a Committee to enquire into the system of administration in the Santal Parganas and to suggest such changes and improvements in it as will best conduce to the well-being of the inhabitants.

Labour Enquiry Committee

Government propose to appoint soon a Committee to enquire and report on condition of life and work of labour both in rural and urban areas of the province Already a good deal of spade work in the form of collection of data has been done in this connection. Government are anxious to promote the welfare and to improve the lot of labour in the province and towards this end will encourage the formation of trade unions on sound and efficient lines.

Proposals for Prison Reforms

Proposals are under consideration to improve the administration of jails in the province The main questions of policy which have been under the consideration of the Ministry are :—

1. The introduction of new forms of industry with a view to reducing the expenditure on jails and also with a view to enabling certain tasks which are considered to be degrading to be abolished. The Director of Industries has prepared a minute on the subject. Instructions have also been issued to the Inspector-General to take steps for the abolition of oil presses. The mustard oil consumed in jails will in future be purchased and the prisoners, who have hitherto been employed in producing it, will be employed in other and, it is hoped, more remunerative tasks.

2. The reduction of the jail population : Superintendents of jails have been asked to ascertain and report how many prisoners there are whose sentences can be reviewed under rule 529 of the Jails Manual.

3. For some years it has been necessary to detain a certain number of criminal lunatics in jails, as no accommodation is available for them in the Indian Mental Hospital at Ranchi. Particulars regarding such prisoners are being collected in order that it may be decided whether some of them cannot be realeased and whether the treatment which those of them who must continue to be detained are receiving cannot be improved on.

Tackling Unemployment

In order to tackle the problem of unemployment and provide more facilities for vocational training, schemes are under consideration for the establishment of an Institute on the lines of the Gulzarbagh Cottage Industries Institute at Pusa and Purulia, for the introduction of industrial classes in more middle English schools, for the introduction of science and manual training classes in high schools and for the provision of training in weaving and basket-making of women workers who are excluded from underground work in mines.

The rural development scheme, which is under contemplation, will provide opportunities of useful employment to a large number of educated young men of the province in their own localities. Besides schemes of reorganisation of training and recruitment in the Co-operative and Agriculture Departments will further extend the avenues of employment for educated young men of the province.

It is also proposed to make a grant to the All-India Spinners' Association, to increase the number of girls' middle English schools and to award special scholarships to Harijan students.

Committee to Survey Whole Field of Education

The Ministry is considering the resolution moved by Dr. Rajendra Prasad in the Senate of the Patna University for the appointment of a committee to survey the whole field of education and it is proposed to appoint a committee which will examine the whole field of education in the province and consider what reforms are necessary in order to bring education into closer relation with the needs of the people.

Release of Political Prisoners

In pursuance of the policy of release of political prisoners, 18 political prisoners

have, so far, been released, while cases of the remaining 24 are under consideration.

There is no ban now on any association and no newspaper is working under security.

Measures to Improve Chaukidari Administration

The commissioners have been consulted on measures to improve chaukidari administration and their replies are under consideration The increase in the maximum amount which can be assessed on a particular individual by fifty per cent, is one of the matters which are being examined and the best method of getting a fairer assessment, particularly in Chota Nagpur, is being considered.

Provision to Impress Transport Repealed

It has been decided to repeal Section 8 of the Bengal Regulation XI of 1806 which enables transport to be impressed for officers and travellers

Retrenchment Proposals Committee to be Appointed

Government are at present busy considering various proposals to reduce the cost of the administration whenever possible by retrenchment and every effort is being made to eliminate waste and effect economy in expenditure. Proposals are under consideration to lower the scale of travelling allowance and cut down compensatory and special allowances and effect economy in the Public Works Department Government are also considering the question of appointing a Retrenchment Committee to examine in detail retrenchment proposals in various departments and suggest directions in which expenditure can be reduced.

Prohibition to be Started in Selected Areas

The Ministry proposes to make a beginning in prohibition in selected areas.

Improving Activities Of District Boards]

Government are examining the possibility of improving the activities of district boards in the province. They consider that by suitable reorganisation, the district boards will be in a position to render better service to the rural population than is done at present and improvements are chiefly necessary under the following three broad heads : (1) Medical relief in rural areas, (2) rural sanitation and general public health measures in rural areas, and (3) the establishment of union boards on an extensive scale with more responsibilities delegated to them so as to serve as really useful units for the amelioration of the condition of the masses

The district boards have been circularised to carry out these improvements and to make enhanced provisions for rural medical and public health measures in their next budgets by effecting some immediate reductions under other heads of expenditure.

Government have also advocated to the district boards the scheme of subsidising medical practitioners so as to induce them to settle down in rural areas and to establish a private practice there.

Ban on National Flag Lifted

In view of the altered political situation in the country the Ministry has passed orders cancelling the circular issued in 1930 banning the hoisting of the National Flag by local bodies over their buildings. Under these new orders local bodies will be free to hoist the National Flag over their buildings.

Electrification Scheme for Rural and Industrial Development

Bihar is rich in mineral deposits and resources with her coal, iron ore, mica and copper mines lying in Chota Nagpur. Besides other important minerals produced in the province are manganese ore, ochre, chromite ore, china clay, asbestos, slate, limestone, steatite and gold. But most of these mineral resources have not yet been developed, and with a proper scheme of development these sources can be utilised for the benefit of the province so as to contribute to her industrial prosperity.

Bihar is also the granary of the East with her most fertile lands in North Bihar known as the "garden of India", but cultivation suffers much from drought and flood. There are also hundreds of miles of chaur lands which need drainage and for want of which have been lying waste.

In order, therefore, to tackle these two important problems an electrification scheme both for purposes of industrial and agricultural development is under contemplation. Sir William Stampe of the U. P. fame was invited to advise the Ministry on this matter. Extensive enquiry is proceeding and one of the world's best engineers have been consulted.

Tackling Flood Problem

The proceedings of the Flood Conference recently convened by Government to consider measures of flood control are under compilation and after they are printed Government will decide what action to take on the various suggestions made.

Drainage of Chaurs and Reclamation

Closely interlinked with the problem of flood prevention in North Bihar is the question of drainage of swamps and chaurs in order to reclaim such areas for purposes of cultivation.

The Bharthua Chaur drainage project in the district of Muzaffarpur has been successfully completed, as a result of which inundation of about 30 sq miles will be relieved to a great extent and about 10 sq. miles of perpetually water-logged and swamp area will be brought under cultivation Already a large part of the chaur except the deepest portion and the area where there is dense growth of water hyacinth has been sown with paddy crops. Over a period of 30 to 40 years the people had not been able to grow any crops in the chaur area.

New Rules for Cinemas to secure Safety of Public

Government have issued a new set of rules for the regulation of Cinema houses in the province. The old rules, which were framed in 1930, had become out of date and were not sufficient to secure the safety of the public when attending cinema shows. The revision was undertaken when the cinema disaster at Hyderabad in 1936 showed the need for enforcing adequate regulations.

The new rules make important provisions requiring expert inspection of the electrical installations of cinema houses and improvements in the arrangement of the building, so that a cinema hall can be emptied of the audience immediately on the occurrence of fire or any other sudden emergency The existing cinema houses will be given a period of six months in which to make the necessary structural alterations.

Local Bodies Employees allowed to Participate in Congress Meetings

The Ministry has passed orders removing the ban imposed since 1923 on employees of local bodies prohibiting them from participating or assisting in Congress meetings.

Biharis in Local Bodies

Government have issued a circular to all Commissioners of Divisions that all appointments under local bodies should be given to the natives of the province or those domiciled therein in preference to any outside candidates even though the latter may have better and higher qualifications.

Retired Government Servants Eligible

Retired Government Servants are at liberty to seek election to the legislature or local bodies on Congress ticket.

Proposal for Competitive Examination for Provincial Civil Service under Consideration

A proposal is under consideration to make recruitment to the provincial Civil Service (Executive Branch) and the Subordinate Civil Service by competitive examination. The Public Service Commission has been consulted and a decision will be made when their views have been received and considered. An announcement will be made as soon as a decision has been reached.

Amendment of Minor Irrigation, Local Self-Government Municipal and Village Administration Acts

The question of amending the Minor Irrigation Act, the Local Self-Government Act, the Municipal Act and the Village Administration Act is being examined by Government and it is hoped that amending Bills will soon be brought before the Legislature. Government are contemplating to establish new union boards and panchayats on a large scale in suitable areas.

Water Supply in Rural Areas

Government have provided Rs. 50,000 in the budget for current financial year for excavation of wells in rural areas and have distributed this amount among the Divisional Commissioners Of this sum Rs 30,000 is earmarked for the Harijans and aboriginals. A Committee consisting of a Harijan or aboriginal M. L A , a Non-Harijan Hindu M L A., a Muslim M. L A., a representative of the Harijans Sevak Sangha and the District Officer or his nominee will be appointed for each district for selection of sites for these wells.

Revision of Education code

Government propose to revise the rules and orders contained in the Bihar and Orissa Education Code, some of which are not in accord with the present needs In reply to a question asked in the August session of the Assembly it was announced that they were considering the question of the revision of the Education Code. They have now appointed a Committee to advise them in the matter.

New system of canal rates Collection

In order to afford greater facility to the cultivators in the matter of payment of canal rates and to root out many evils of the old system, a new system known as "modified central system of collection" has been introduced throughout the Son and Champaran canals. Under the new system the tahsildars now go to the villages for the collection of dues directly from the rate-payers Each tahsil has been divided into three Centres and the tahsildar visits each centre in his charge once a week and halts there.

Training of a Staff for Rural Welfare and Co-operative Work

In order that adequate number of trained men may be available in the province for rural welfare, co-operative work and organisation of cane-growers' co-operative societies, a beginning is being made by appointing 40 stipendiaries on a pay of Rs 30 per month each to undergo training at the Co-operative Training Institute at Pusa To strengthen the teaching side, arrangements are also being made to invite prominent co-operators and appoint part time lecturers from outside to give lectures on special subjects to the students at the Co-operative Training Institute.

Scheme to Combat Malaria

Government propose to sanction Rs. 20,000 as their own share for starting eight more anti-malarial units to combat malaria in several districts of Bihar proper and Chota Nagpur. The District Boards concerned will also be called upon to contribute an equal quota towards the cost of these units.

Government also contemplate starting two Ayurvedic and one Tibbi anti-malarial units as an experimental measure.

Proceedings of

The Indian National Congress

AND

Other Conferences

July—December 1937

The Indian National Congress

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Wardha—14th. August to 17th. August 1937

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha on 14—17 August 1937 Shiri Jawaharlal Nehru presided.

The following members attended. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Sarojini Naidu, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Jamnalal Bajaj, Bhulabhai Desai, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Narendra Dev, Shankarrao Deo, Achyut Patwardhan and J B Kripalani.

Shri M. K Gandhi and Shri Jayaprakash Narayan were present by special invitation.

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting held at Wardha, July 5-8, already circulated were confirmed.

Prime-Ministers

The Prime Ministers in the six Congress provinces had been invited to attend Those present were. Shri B. G Kher (Bombay), Shri Sri Krishna Singh (Behar), Shri N B Khare (C. P) and Shri Vishwanath Das (Orissa), Shri Rajagopalachari (Madras) was present on the 17th Shri Govind Ballabh Pant (U P.) was absent owing to pressure of business. The Committee conferred with them in regard to the problems which they had to face.

Hunger-Strike in the Andamans

The situation created by the hunger-strike of the political prisoners in the Andamans was discussed. Shris Shibnath Banerji and Debendra Sen, who had come to Wardha to represent the prisoners' cause were invited by the Committee to participate in the deliberations. Shri Tulsi Goswami, the Deputy Leader of the Congress Assembly Party in Bengal was also present during the discussion. The Committee passed the following resolution:

"The Working Committee has learnt with the deepest concern of the hunger-strike of hundreds of political prisoners in the Andaman Islands. The Committee has long been of opinion that the use of the Islands as a penal settlement, more especially for political prisoners, is barbarous Official enquiries and reports have already condemned such use and non-official opinion has unanimously demanded that no prisoners be sent there Repeated hunger-strikes by the political prisoners have demonstrated their desparation at the continuance of conditions which they cannot bear, and the present hunger-strike has brought matters to a head and grave consequences are feared Public opinion all over India is agitated and strongly in favour of the release of the political prisoners there as they have already undergone many years of imprisonment under conditions which are far worse than those prevailing in Indian prisons. The Committee's attention has been drawn to the public statement issued by some ex-prisoners, who were till recently imprisoned in the Andaman Island and have been now released, in which they have stated on their own behalf and on behalf of the other political prisoners there, their dissociation from and disapproval of the policy of terrorism. They have frankly stated that they have come to realise that such a policy is wrong and injurious to the national cause and they propose to have nothing to do with it. This statement has been confirmed from other sources also.

"In view of all these circumstances the Committee is emphatically of opinion that the political prisoners in the Andamans should be discharged. The Committee is further of opinion that the non-political prisoners in the Andamans should be repatriated and the penal settlement in the islands closed. Any delay in taking adequate action is likely to lead to alarming consequences.

"The Committee appeals to the prisoners in the Andamans to give up their hunger-strike."

In pursuance of the last paragraph of the resolution the President sent a telegram to the prisoners on hunger-strike, through the Home Secretary to the Government of India, appealing to them, on behalf of the Committee, to give up their hunger-strike.

To this following reply was received:

"Government of India thank you for your telegram of yesterday's date the text of which is being communicated to Andamans prisoners."

Bengal, Punjab and Sindh Representation

The Committee invited Shri Tulsi Goswami (Bengal), Shri Gopichand Bhargava (Punjab) and Dr. Choithram Gidwani (Sindh) to place before it, the Parliamentary situation in and the views of their respective provinces The subjects discussed were. (1) The formation of Congress ministries in minority provinces. (2) Salaries and allowances of members. (3) Social intercourse. (4) Congress programme and policy in the minority provinces.

About ministries in minority provinces the Committee after discussing the position in Bengal, Assam and North West Frontier Provinces passed the following resolution

"The Working Committee, having heard representations from Bengal, desires to make it clear that there is nothing to prevent a minority Congress Party in a Provincial Assembly co-operating with other groups in the Assembly, for general or specific purposes, in connection with the parliamentary work in the legislatures But such co-operation must not involve any sacrifice of Congress principles or policy and should aim at strengthening the Congress opposition in such legislatures It should be borne in mind, however, that such co-operation does not involve commitments regarding the possible formation of a ministry to which the Congress is a party. In regard to the day-to-day work of the Congress Parties the Leaders of the Parties have been given ample latitude subject to the general policy as laid down by the Working Committee."

Salaries and Allowances

The following resolution was passed both for the majority and minority provinces:

"The Working Committee is of opinion that, in accordance with Congress policy, salaries and allowances of ministers and others should be reduced to the lowest possible limit consistently with efficiency. The Committee realises however, that the immediate and full application of the principle is not easy, and it may not be possible to introduce the desired changes at this stage. In view of varying circumstances in the different provinces, the Committee does not wish to lay down hard and fast rules and wishes to leave a large measure of discretion in this matter to the Congress Ministries. The Committee trusts that the Ministries will keep in mind the basic policy of the Congress in the matter of salaries and allowances and will always endeavour to conform to it to the greatest extent possible.

The Committee, however, lays down the following general rules for the guidance of Congress ministries:

1. Congress Ministers' salaries should in no event exceed Rs. 500 per month. House allowance Rs. 100 a month and motor car allowance Rs 150 a month. Thus the total allowances for house and car should not exceed Rs 250. In his event of a minister not requiring a house allowance because, he has a house of his own, this allowance should not be drawn. Ministers who do not wish to drop any allowances need not do so.

The State may provide cars for ministers, but no such special provision need be made unless it considered necessary.

2. The salaries, and allowances if necessary, of parliamentary secretaries are left to the discretion of Congress Ministers

3. *Members*: The present scale of payment of daily allowances and travelling expenses is heavy and has to be completely overhauled. It may be difficult to bring about this complete overhaul immediately but in any event travelling expenses should be charged at the rate of double third class fare.

It is desired to keep the present scale of daily allowance for the days of attendance at an Assembly session, no change need be made for the present. But in no event should this exceed Rs. 10 a day, there being no additional payment by way of salary.

If, on the other hand, it is desired to introduce a system of paying salaries to members, this may be done, provided that such salary shall not exceed Rs. 75 a month. In addition to such salary an allowance not exceeding Rs. 2-8 a

day may be given to members for the days of attendance at an Assembly session or Committee meeting.

Even if a system of paying salaries to members is introduced, such members as do not require these salaries, should not draw them.

4. In the provinces where these standards cannot be applied as non-Congress ministries have already fixed much higher salaries and allowances, Congress members of these legislatures should only accept payment for themselves in accordance with the above direction. They may however draw the full sums allowed by the rules and hand over the balance to the All India Congress Committee through the Party Leader. This amount should be kept in a special fund earmarked for the province concerned.

Social Intercourse

The Committee's instructions in this behalf for the minority provinces were that invitations for social functions where official business was not the main purpose should be rejected. Where social intercourse was merely an accident and business was the main purpose of a gathering, the function could be attended. The Committee's previous instructions that the leader of the party be consulted in doubtful cases held good.

The Committee also approved of the following instructions recently issued by the President of the All India Parliamentary Sub-Committee.

"All members of the Congress parties in the Legislatures should avoid as hitherto official functions like receptions, fare-well to incoming and outgoing Governors, etc The Prime Ministers should make it clear that no discourtesy or disrespect is intended and therefore they need not be invited on these occasions

"It should be made absolutely clear that while the Ministers will aim at working in a spirit of utmost harmony with the services, they can take no part in social functions like parties or dinners The very poverty of the land precludes their taking part in amenities of this nature. Strictly official relations should therefore be maintained throughout

Congress Policy and Programme

The Committee's advice to the minority provinces on this was that as many bills and resolutions embodying the Congress policy and programme as possible should be introduced by their party members. This will educate and familiarise the public with Congress aims and policies.

Prohibition

Gandhiji placed his views about total prohibition before the Committee. There was a general discussion and the following resolution was passed .

Inasmuch as Prohibition has been one of the chief planks of the Congress since the inauguration of the N. C. O movement in 1930 and thousands of men and women have had to suffer imprisonment and physical injury in furtherance of this cause, the Working Committee is of opinion that it is incumbent upon the Congress Ministries to work to this end. The Committee expects them to bring about total prohibition in their respective provinces within three years The Working Committee appeals to the ministries in the other provinces and to the Indian States also to adopt this programme of moral and social uplift of the people.

Expert Committees

The Working Committee recommends to the Congress Ministries the appointment of a Committee of Experts to consider urgent and vital problems the solution of which is necessary to any scheme of national reconstruction and social planning Such solution will require extensive surveys and the collection of data, as well as a clearly defined social objective. Many of these problems cannot be dealt with effectively on a provincial basis and the interests of adjoining provinces are interlinked. Comprehensive river surveys are necessary for the formulation of a policy to prevent disastrous floods to utilize the water for purpose of irrigation to consider the problem of soil erosion, to eradicate malaria, and for the development of hydro-electric and other schemes. For this purpose the whole river valley will have to be surveyed and investigated, and large scale state planning resorted to. The development and control of industries require also joint and co-ordinated action on the part of several provinces. The Working Committee advises therefore that, to begin with, an inter-provincial committee of experts be appointed to consider the general nature of the prob-

lems to be faced, and to suggest how, and in what order, these should be tackled. This Expert Committee may suggest the formation of special committees or boards to consider each such problem separately and to advise the provincial governments concerned as to the joint action to be undertaken.

In particular the Working Committee wishes to draw the attention of the Governments of U. P. and Behar to the urgent necessity of taking immediate action in regard to the sugar industry, in order to prevent a repetition of recent happenings which brought calamity and widespread misery to the cane growers in these two provinces. The two Governments concerned should take immediate steps to appoint a committee, consisting of experts and those concerned with the industry, to investigate the problems and suggest ways and means to control and co-ordinate the industry and to utilize such bye products as are being wasted to-day. The minimum price of cane should be fixed and the interests of cane growers protected by encouraging their organisation and in other ways. The attention of other provinces is also drawn to this problem of the sugar industry.

The question of a moratorium in regard to debt also involves inter-provincial consideration.

The Committee was also of the view that the Congress provinces should appoint committees of their own to deal with their particular and peculiar problems. The ministers dealing with particular departments should also meet in conference to consider the problems arising in their particular departments.

New Department in A. I. C. C. Office

The Committee suggested the addition of one more department to the A. I. C. C Office to keep in touch with the Governments of the six Congress provinces and find out their difficulties and render them help and advice with a view to bring about as much co-ordination between the provinces and provinces and the A I. C. C as possible.

Speakers, Presidents, Parliamentary Secretaries and Membership of Congress Executives

The Committee's resolution passed at Delhi March last about Ministerial Offices and Membership of Congress Executives is to apply not only to Ministers but also to Speakers, Presidents of Councils and Parliamentary Secretaries

(Delhi resolution—In the event of any offices of ministers being accepted by Congressmen, the Working Committee considers it advisable that such ministers should not continue to remain members of Congress Executive Committees. But they may retain membership of general bodies like the A. I. C. C. and the P. C. Cs).

Zanzibar

The Committee expresses again its full sympathy with Indians in Zanzibar in their brave struggle against the new decrees which are sure to result in ruining Indian interests in Zanzibar and the internal and export trade of the Indian community which has been settled for so long in the country and which has helped greatly in promoting the prosperity of Zanzibar The Committee is of opinion that in order to give adequate help in this struggle and protect Indian interests in Zanzibar it is essential that an embargo be laid on the import of cloves into India. The Committee further calls upon the people to refrain from the use of cloves until the new decrees are rescinded by the Zanzibar Government.

Meerut District and U. P.

The Committee considered the letter of the Meerut District Congress Committee and resolved that in view of the desire of the Meerut D. C C to join the U. P., P. C. C. and further because it appears that U. P. is agreeable to this and the Delhi P. C. C. has preferred no objection inspite of opportunity given, this committee is of opinion that the proposed change is desirable and recommends accordingly to the A. I. C. C. The change will necessitate certain consequential changes in the constitution and the number of delegates and members of the A. I. C. C. allotted to the provinces. Further the transfer of Meerut to U P. may make it desirable for Muzaffarnagar also to be transferred to U. P. These matters should be considered in all their bearings and reference made to the parties concerned in regard to them so that the A. I. C. C. may be in a position to decide the matter finally.

Labour Committee

Shri Jaiprakash Narain was appointed as an additional member of the Congress Labour Committee.

Shri Nariman's Case

The President informed the Committee that he had intimated Shri K. F. Nariman that he had full permission to have whatever inquiry he wanted and the Working Committee will not object to this.

President's Gift to the Nation

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru informed the Committee that he had decided formally to transfer to the nation the ownership of all caskets, public addresses and other articles he had received during his various tours in India, Burma, Malaya and Ceylon. The collection includes caskets etc. received by the late Pandit Motilal Nehru as well as Shrimati Kamala Nehru. The articles at present are kept in the Municipal Museum at Allahabad The Museum authorities have been given the articles for display and safe custody on the clear understanding that as soon as a national museum is started by Congress the exhibits will be handed over to that museum The articles include one gold casket received from the Indian community of Singapur, a large number of silver lacquer and other caskets and some personalia belonging to the late Pandit Motilal Nehru

The Committee gratefully accepted the collection for the nation and recorded its thanks for the valuable gift.

Budha-Gaya Temple

The Committee was of opinion that the Budha-Gaya Temple, exclusive of the property attached to it and in possession of the Budha-Gaya Mahant, should be under the management of a committee consisting both of Hindus and Indian, Burmese and Cylonese Budhists Babu Rajendra Prasad was requested once again to use his influence with the Budha-Gaya Mahant to accept the arragement suggested by the Working Committee.

Next A. I. C. C.

The Committee decided that the next A I. C. C meeting be held about the 20th of October next and the Working Committee 2 or 3 days earlier. Calcutta was suggested as the venue. The final decision was however left to the President.

The Constitution Committee

The Committee met for the first time at Wardha on August 17 and 18. All the members with the exception of Shri Jamamdas Doulatram were present.

The Committee went through the constitution and suggested certain changes which the convener was asked to circulate to the P C Cs. for their information and opinion, before they are placed before the next meeting of the A. I. C. C. The Committee has submitted a preliminary report.

The Constituent Assembly

In most of the provinces notices, to move a resolution condemning the Government of India Act and calling for a Constituent Assembly to frame a new constitution, have been given Where the Congressmen hold office the resolution will be moved by the Treasury benches. In Bengal the resolution has been disallowed by the Governor.

The proposed resolution is on the following lines :

"This Assembly is of opinion that the Government of India Act, 1935, in no way represents the will of the Nation and is wholly unsatisfactory as it has been designed to perpetuate the subjection of the people of India. The Assembly demands that this should be repealed and replaced by a Constitution for a free India framed by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise, which allows the Indian people full scope for development according to their needs and desires."

On August 31 a resolution on these lines moved by the Premier Sri Rajagopalachari in the Madras Assembly was passed. In Sindh also a similar resolution was passed.

The Andamans Prisoners

The political prisoners in the Andamans went on hunger strike on July 24, 1937. Among the grievances they wanted to be redressed, they put forward the demand for the general release of all political prisoners and detenus and the repeal of all repressive laws. The country knew of the hunger strike only on the 31st when a press communique was issued by the Government of India. There were about 225 prisoners on hunger strike. Great anxiety was felt in the country about the fate of the prisoners. The Government of India declared that it will not consider any of the grievances or the demands of the prisoners unless the strike is given up. The Congress Provincial Governments asked for the repatriation of prisoners, from their respective provinces. The Bengal Government refused to do even this. August 14, was fixed by the President as an All India protest day against the continued keeping of political prisoners in the Andamans and the refusal of the Government to redress their grievances or to repatriate them,

The President issued the following statement about the hunger-strike :

For some days now we have lived under the oppression of the thought that nearly two hundred of our countrymen are on hunger-strike in the Andamans and are painfully starving to death. My feelings were strong and I dared not give them utterance immediately. And what could I add to the moving and poignant appeal of Rabindranath Tagore who came out of his retirement and, in spite of age and ill health, said eloquently what all of us feel in our hearts ? If there is any humanity, any sensitiveness to human suffering in us, we must respond in full measure to that appeal and to the silent but powerful cry from the Andamans. I dislike hunger-strikes, I do not encourage them. But I know something also of the horror that surrounds these people who in desperation are driven to these painful courses. Some of us may imagine that their action was precipitate. What do they know of the innumerable attempts by other means to get rid of their sufferings and humiliations ? The question of political prisoners being sent to the Andamans has agitated the country for many years now, and hunger-strike and death by starvation has already taken place in the past. But our governments grow more and more callous and think that their prestige is more important than the lives of hundreds and the wishes of millions. I am told that even on the present occasion every effort was made by other means and when these failed, a few political prisoners resorted to the hunger-strike. Taunts and insults on the part of the authorities followed and this resulted in the spreading of the hunger-strike to hundreds. It should be remembered that a hunger-strike in the Andamans is far worse and more dangerous than in India, for the climate of the Andamans is bad and complications soon follow. News does not reach us and we live in suspense to-day, full anxiety for the fate of our youngmen. But let it be understood that if anything happens to these youngmen, India will be aflame with anger and will not forget it or forget those on whom the responsibility for this will lie Constitutions are as dust in the scale if they cannot give us the power to protect our own people. We have seen what is called provincial autonomy functioning in Bengal and the Punjab ; it is the same ugly thing that we have known so long and which crushes our people. How long are we going to tolerate the continued incarceration of detenus ? It is time that a halt was called to this infamy. The recent order of the Bengal Government, forbidding at the instance of the Press Censor, even publication of news of Detenue day show the depths to which this Government has fallen. Each one of us who is silent, compromises with these evils and tolerate them. This is not a matter concerning Bengal only but one which affects the whole of India and which touches the honour and dignity of every Indian. I trust every Congressman will do his utmost at this juncture to make the voice of the people heard and wishes acted upon in regard to the Andaman prisoners and the Detenus. That is our primary duty to-day.

I understand that in Bengal August Ninth has been fixed as Andaman Day. This day is too near perhaps for an All India demonstration. But on this day or a day as soon after as possible I trust that demonstrations will be held all over India.

I should also like to mention the strange and revealing case of Pandit Parmanand who was sentenced to a life term in the first Lahore Conspiracy Case in 1915. For twenty-two years he has been continuously in prison although a life term seldom exceeds 15 years and is usually less. Yet he continues in prison. (Pandit Parmanand has since been released).

In the Central Assembly Shri Satyamurti moved an adjournment motion about the

Andaman hunger-strike The motion was carried by 62 votes to 55 in spite of the fact that every device was used to induce Mr. Jinnah and some others to vote with the Government.

Touched as they said by the nation-wide appeal and Gandhiji's message all the hunger-strikers with the exception of 7 gave up the hunger-strike unconditionally on the evening of August 28.

In this connection on August 31, Shri Mahadeo Desai issued the following statement to the press from Wardha:

I am now in a poition to be able to release the following telegraphic communication between Mahatma Gandhi on the one hand and the Viceroy and the Chief Commissioner of the Andamans and the Andamans prisoners on the other to the press :

Mahatma Gandhiji's telegram to Viceroy, dated August 27 :

'If the hunger-strike in the Andamans is still on, could you please wire the following to the strikers : "I venture to add my advice to Gurudeva Tagore's and the Congress Working Committee's to abandon the strike, relying upon us all trying our best to secure relief for you. It would be graceful on your part to yield to the nationwide request. You will help me personally if I could get an assurance that those who believed in terrorist methods no longer believe in them and that they have come to believe in non-violence as the best method. I ask this because some leaders say that the detenus have abjured terrorism, but opinion to the contrary also has been expressed—Gandhi" I shall esteem your kindly asking for the reply to be wired—Gandhi.'

To this telegram the Viceroy sent the following reply on August 27 :

'120-Gt. Many thanks for your message which I am having repeated to the hunger-strikers with request that they should telegraph reply to you—Viceroy'.

This was followed by the following telegram :

'Portblair, dated August 28, 225-C. Your message was personally delivered by me this morning, August 28, to the hunger-strikers who asked for time to discuss the question of calling off the strike and are still deliberating at 7 p. m Hope to send further report to-morrow—Andamans'.

The next morning August 29 came a further telegram :

"229-C, Continuation my telegram 225-C, August 28 Hunger-strike suspended unconditionally late last night by an over-whelming majority who broke their fast. Only seven remaining on hunger-strike—Andamans".

On this Mahatma Gandhi sent the following telegram to the Andamans on August 30 :

"Thanks, telegram. Glad all but seven broke fast Do the seven give reasons for continuing fast ? I plead with them not to persist, allowing the country a chance to seek relief. Will detenus not answer my question about non-violence?"

To this Mahatma Gandhi received the following reply at 7 o'clock this evening : Simla, No F-5 Jails. The following is the text of a message sent by the Andamans prisoners in reply to your message to them : "Touched by nationwide appeal and your message. We suspend hunger-strike on assurance that the whole country has taken up our demands and because we are confidently hoping that within a reasonable period of time you will succeed in getting all our demands fulfilled We are glad you have given us the opportunity to express our firm opinion on terrorism. We feel honoured to inform you and through you the nation that those of us who ever believed in terrorism do not hold to it any more and are convinced of its futility as a political weapon or creed. We declare that it definitely retards rather than advances the cause of our country—(Sd) Hunger strikers and work-strikers"—Home.'

Gandhiji is in further telegraphic communication with the authorities.

Indian Troops for China

On August 21 the Government of India issued a communique to the effect that in view of the situation in Shanghai two army units have been placed under orders to proceed to the Far East. Before the communique was issued the Viceroy had a conference with the Leaders of the Assembly Party.

The President has issued the following statement about the despatch of Indian troops abroad :

The despatch of Indian troops to Shanghai by the British Government is a matter of the gravest import and concern to India. This has been done in continuation of the old policy of using Indian troops abroad without any reference to the

wishes of the Indian people. The policy has been condemned by the Congress which has declared emphatically that India connot permit her armies and people to be exploited to her own disadvantage and for the benefit of British imperialism.

It is stated that Indian troops have been sent to Shanghai to protect Indian interests there. What these Indian interests are few people seem to know and it is manifest that the interests to be protected are British imperial interests. And even if Indian interests have to be protected, it is for the Indian people to decide what steps should be taken The sending of Indian troops therefore without the consent of the Indian people is thus an affront to India Though by itself it might be a small matter it is a thin end of the wedge and might lead us to all manner of unforeseen entanglements. It might indeed lead us unwittingly to war.

The Congress has repeatedly warned us of the danger of war and declared its opposition to the participation of India in any imperialist war. This was no empty warning but a declaration made after full consideration of the grave issues involved. By that declaration and warning the Congress stands The world is drifting helplessly to a state of continuous conflict The Spanish struggle has continued for over a year and there is no sign of its ending. The Sino-Japanese war, begun in the modern way without any declaration, but with bombs bringing destruction and death to thousands, may last it is said for years. Wars begin but do not end easily. They spread and consume other countries. This is the world prospect before us and the possibility of an international conflagration threatens to overwhelm humanity. How shall we face this crisis of history? Not surely as camp followers of Imperialist Britain being ordered about to fight her battles and preserve her interests.

In our pre-occupations with our provincial governments and our domestic problems, grave as they are, we may not forget this mighty thing that overshadows the world and might upset, in one great sweep, all our schemes and planning That is the major issue before India as before all other countries and in a decision as to how to face it the people of India will have their say and it is their wishes that count Congressmen must be vigilant to this end, not to be so is to invite disaster.

Therefore India must protest against this despatch of troops to China. In the Far-Eastern conflict our sympathies are inevitably with China, and we wish her people success in maintaining their freedom against imperialist aggression. But in this international game we cannot allow our man power and resources to be used as pawns by others Today we can protest only, but that protest will have the full strength of the Congress behind it if this policy continues.

Gandhi-Viceroy Interview

Gandhiji had an interview at Delhi with the Viceroy at the latter's invitation on August 4, 1937. The interview lasted for about an hour and a half The following communique was issued by the Government to the press :

His Excellency the Viceroy today granted an interview to Mr M K. Gandhi. The interview was in response to a letter addressed by His Excellency during his recent tour in Assam, to Mr Gandhi wherein the Viceroy intimated that he would welcome an opportunity of meeting Mr. Gandhi if Mr. Gandhi was able to come to see him at Delhi on his return journey, that he had no public business to discuss but was anxious to make his personal acquaintance and trusted, therefore, that it would be convenient to Mr Gandhi to accept his invitation. Mr. Gandhi in reply informed the Viceroy that he had already been intending to ask His Excellency to grant him an interview to discuss the ban on the entry of Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan into the North-West Frontier Province and his own entry into that province, since while there was no bar against his visiting the North-West Frontier Province, he had not intended to do so without the approval of the authorities. An interview with the Viceroy would in these circumstances be doubly welcome and Mr. Gandhi assumed that His Excellency would see no objection to discussing these matters. His Excellency the Viceroy listened with interest to Mr. Gandhi's views on the matters in question and undertook to communicate them to the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province The interview was entirely general and personal in character, the principal subject of discussion being rural uplift and improvement of the condition of the peasantry.

Political Arrests, Convictions Etc. Since July 8

The following cases of arrests, convictions, internments, externments, searches, seizures of literatures, gagging order and the like have been compiled from the daily newspapers.

It was reported on July 10 that the District Magistrate of Amritsar demanded security of Rs. 250 from the Ranjit Bima Co., Ltd, on behalf of which an application was filed for a declaration to publish an Insurance Weekly

Sreemati Indumati Devi, a detenu under order of internment at the residence of her father at Chittagong was arrested on July 12 for violation of internment rules.

Shri Bhusan Dutt, a Bengal detenue, died in the Medical College Hospital, Calcutta, on July 10 while still under order of detention.

Shri Guru Prasad Choudhury was reported on July 14 to have been convicted at Buxar on a charge of violation of externment order and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

The Police searched on July 13 several houses at Sari (Bengal) including those of the Vice-President of the Birbhum District Congress Committee and secretary of the Birbhum Krishak Committee Some books and papers were seized and three young men were taken to the Police station for interrogation.

It was reported on July 16 that a notice was served on Pandit Jadunandan Sharma, President, Gaya District Congress Committee by the District Magistrate of Gaya directing him on pain of prosecution to furnish a security of Rs. 2,000 for good behaviour

Srimati Amar Kaur, of the Punjab, was convicted on July 16 by the Assistant Commissioner, Bannu, on a charge of sedition and sentenced to imprisonment till the rising of the court and to pay a fine of Rs 50.

Shri Rabindra Lal Khan was convicted towards the end of July by a Midnapur Magistrate on a charge of violation of internment rules and sentenced to pay a fine of rupees one hundred and fifty, or in default, undergo one and a half month's imprisonment

Shri Subhas Chandra Bose complained publicly that his correspondence were tampered with by the Police and delivery was frequently delayed

The Lahore Police raided on July 20 Anarkali Press, locked up the machinery and posted an armed guard at the gate.

An order issued by the District Magistrate of Bangalore was served on July 24 on Shri M. R. Masani, officiating General-Secretary, All India Congress Socialist Party, directing him not to deliver any speech at the Mysore State Youth Conference over which he was to preside.

Shri Abdul Ghafoor Khan, Member of the N. W. F. P. Assembly and General Secretary of the Frontier Congress Parliamentary Board, was arrested on July 22 on a charge of sedition.

On the eve of the budget session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly towards the end of July a notification was issued banning all demonstrations in front of and near the Legislative Assembly Chamber.

The District Magistrate of Hooghly passed an order on July 27 under the Bengal Public Safety Act on over 100 mill workers, including women, who had been on strike but still living in the premises provided by the Mill Authorities, to leave Hooghly district.

On the same day another order was passed by the same authority directing Mr M. A. Zaman, M. L. A., Labour leader, not to enter the Bhadreshwar Mill area

Meetings, including religious meetings, of more than five persons in the mill area were similarly banned.

About the same time the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling renewed his order under the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act directing that no Hindu young man or woman shall enter the district of Darjeeling without a permit.

The celebration in the Kolhapur State of the death anniversary of Lokamanya Tilak on August 1 was banned by the District Magistrate who also rejected the application of the citizen to start a branch of the Civil Liberties Union and a Congress Committee at Kolhapur.

Pandit Jadunandan Sharma, Secretary of the Darbhanga Town Congress Committee was convicted on July 30 and sentenced till the rising of the Court on a charge of snatching away the pass from a C I. D. constable.

Five youngmen were arrested on July 30 at Srimangal (Assam) and some books and papers were seized from them.

The Government of Bengal forfeited the security of rupees five thousand deposited by "Dainik Basumati" of Calcutta.

The Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, at the head of an army of constable and mounted sowars charged on August 14 with lathis a peaceful procession of men

and women who were proceeding along the Strand Road to the Town Hall to celebrate the All India Andaman Prisoners' Day. Thirty seven persons including 23 ladies and Dr. J. M. Das Gupta Acting President, B. P. C. C. were arrested and over 100 persons were injured. The ladies were released on the following day. Some of the men arrested were also released subsequently. Ten of them including Shri J. M. Gupta were put up for trial. Shri J. M. Gupta was convicted and fined Rs. 100 and in default to undergo 2 months' imprisonment. Shri Rajani Mukerji was convicted on two counts and fined Rs 50 or one month's imprisonment on each count. Eight students were let off with a warning.

It was reported on August 16 that Shri Shiva Shankar Bharti, a Krisan worker of Gaya was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment by the District Magistrate for having failed to furnish a security under Section 108, Criminal Procedure Code.

Shri Kartik Chandra Dutt, a detenu interned in the district of Mymensingh was arrested on August 12 on a charge of violation of internment rules.

Thirteen workers were arrested on August 14 in connection with the strike of the workers of the Sutlej Cotton Mills at Okara. (Punjab)

Replying to questions put in the Bengal Legislative Council on August 16, the Home Minister of the Government of Bengal stated that there were 1999 persons under various forms of detention imposed by the Government of Bengal.

NOTES

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan

The Frontier Government rescinded all orders of externments and of restriction under the Public Tranquillity Act except those relating to interference with transbroder affairs. As a result of this order the ban on Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's entry into the Province has been lifted as also the ban on all Congress and allied institutions.

Release of Political Prisoners Etc.

In the six provinces with Congress Government there has been a general release of political prisoners, withdrawal of political prosecutions, withdrawal of externment and internment orders, return of newspaper securities etc Some notable cases are.

Madras :

Shri Meherally who had been convicted for disobeying an executive order and was in jail was released.

All the 16 Kottapatam Summer School prisoners were set free.

Two prisoners sentenced for life in connection with the Rampa Rebellion were also released.

Bombay :

Ban on more than 200 National organisations was lifted by the Government. Notices demanding securities from various papers and printing presses were withdrawn. Sanapati P. M Bapat who was undergoing imprisonment since 1931 was released. Bans on Shris R. R. Diwakar, Karmakar, Tingshe to enter the Karwar district, and on Shri Indulal Yajnik prohibiting his entry in the district of Ahmedabad were lifted.

U. P. :

Orders were passed by the U. P. Government releasing all political prisoners convicted under Section 124(A), I P C. or for refusal to furnish securities under Sections 108 and 109, Cr. P. C., withdrawing all cases pending in the courts under these sections and removing the ban under Criminal Law Amendment Act on political organisations.

Shris Sachindra Nath Sanyal, Jogeshchandra Chatterji, Mukundilal, Manmath Gupta, Sachindranath Bakshi of the Kakori Conspiracy Case were released on August 24 from Naini Jail after about 11 years of incarceration. Shris Kashiram and Shivsingh were also released.

Behar :

The Government withdrew all internment and externment orders under the Public Safety Act. Among the externees was Shri Manindra Narayan Roy who had been working in the All India Congress Committee Office for some time.

The disabilities imposed on a number of youngmen, whose movements were regulated for years under the Criminal Tribes Act, unjustifiably applied to them, were removed.

C. P.:

Securities deposited by the Maharashtra, the Sahitya and the Rajasthan presses were returned to them. A security of Rs 5,000 of the Rajasthan press which was recently forfeited will also be refunded. Most of the political prisoners were released.

Utkal (Orissa):

All pending political cases were withdrawn, securities from presses and papers returned and most of the political prisoners released.

The All India Congress Committee

Calcutta—29th. October to 31st. October 1937

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Calcutta on Oct 29, 30 and 31, 1937 in a special Pandal erected for the purpose 192 members representing all the Provinces were present. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru presided.

The minutes of the last meeting held at Delhi on March 17 and 18, 1937, already circulated were confirmed.

The audited accounts for the period from 1-1-36 to 15-11-36, the Auditors' note and the General Secretary's explanation on it were placed before the Committee The Committee passed the audited accounts.

The following resolutions recommended by the Working Committee were passed :—

1. Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund

Whereas all the funds collected for the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund have, except the sum of Rs 47,755-4-8 which was with the A. I. C. C on November 15, 1936, been spent for purposes for which they were intended or have been handed over to the bodies for whom they were ear-marked, it is no longer necessary to head the accounts of the A. I. C. C. as All India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. Such accounts should henceforth be styled the All India Congress Committee Accounts.

2. Condolence—Shri Manilal Kothari

The Committee place on record their deep sorrow at the death of Shri Manilal Kothari, a member of the A I. C. C, who worked ceaselessly for the advancement of the cause of the Indian National Congress in all its activities and who gave of his best to the national cause since the non-cooperation movement, and the Committee offer their heartfelt and sincere condolences to members of the bereaved family.

3 Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's Recovery

The A. I C. C. felicitate the Nation on the happy recovery of her illustrious son Rabindra Nath Tagore from his recent serious illness and hope that he may be spared for many years for the service of India and Humanity.

4. Ratification of Working Committee Resolution on Office Acceptance

By a resolution dated the 18th March 1937 passed by the A. I. C. C. at Delhi, it was resolved that permission be given for Congressmen to accept office in provinces where the Congress commanded a majority in the legislature if the Leader of the Congress Party was satisfied and could state publicly that the Governor would not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of ministers in regard to their constitutional activities.

Since the said resolution, statements and declarations were made on this issue on behalf of the British Government. After examining those declarations and the situation created as a result of circumstances and events which occurred after the A. I. C. C. resolution of March last, the Working Committee was of opinion that it would not be easy for Governors to use their special powers.

Having considered the views of the Congress members of the Legislatures and Congressmen generally, the Working Committee at Wardha at its meeting held in July 1937 came to the conclusion and resolved that Congressmen be permitted to accept office wherever they were invited thereto.

Had circumstances permitted, the Working Committee was anxious to obtain the sanction of the All India Congress Committee in the matter but the Committee felt that delay in taking a decision at that stage would have been injurious to the country's interests and that the matter demanded a prompt and immediate decision.

It is therefore resolved that the action of the Working Committee in taking the said decision be ratified.

In view of the announcements made on behalf of the British Government that steps will be taken to inaugurate the proposed Federation, the All India Congress Committee reiterate their emphatic condemnation of and complete opposition to the scheme and their decision to combat it in every possible way open to them. An attempt to inaugurate this scheme, despite the clearly expressed will of the nation, will be a challenge to the people of India. The Committee therefore call upon the Provincial and local Congress Committees and the people generally, as well as the Provincial Governments and Ministries, to prevent the imposition of this Federation, which will do grave injury to India and tighten the bonds which hold her in subjection to imperialist domination and reaction. The Committee are of opinion that Provincial Governments should also move their legislatures to give formal expression to this opposition to the proposed Federation and to intimate to the British Government not to impose it on their provinces.

6. Japan's Aggression in China

The All India Congress Committee view with grave concern and horror the imperialist aggression of Japan in China attended with wanton cruelty and the bombing of the civil population.

The Committee express their deep admiration for the brave and heroic struggle which the Chinese people are conducting against heavy odds for maintaining the integrity and the independence of their country and congratulate them for achieving internal unity in face of national danger.

The Committee offer their heartfelt sympathy to the Chinese people in their national calamity and, on behalf of the people of India assure them of their solidarity with them in their struggle for maintaining their freedom.

The Committee, further, call upon the Indian people to refrain from the use of Japanese goods as a mark of their sympathy with the people of China.

7. Midnapore Congress Organisation

The A. I. C. C. strongly deprecate the continuance of the ban on about 110 Congress organisations in the district of Midnapore imposed by the Government of Bengal and are of opinion that the plea put forward by the Government to the effect that the Congress Committees are limbs of a terrorist organisation is an altogether false one.

8. Detenus and Andamans Prisoners

The Committee are of opinion that the detenus who have been detained so long without trial should be forthwith released.

In view of the statement made by the Andamans prisoners in the telegram to Mahatma Gandhi, the Committee are of opinion that they should be forthwith released.

9. Repression in Bengal and Punjab

The Committee strongly deprecate:

(*a*) Orders against large number of inhabitants of the district of Midnapore, Chittagong and some other areas, restricting their movements and activities and constituting a humiliating interference with the personal and civil liberties of the citizens.

(*b*) Orders requiring more than 20,000 Hindu youths in the Chittagong district to carry identity cards.

(*c*) Orders restricting entry into Darjeeling of Hindu youths between 14 and 25.

(*d*) The detention of Sardar Teja Singh Swatantra, M. L. A. under regulation III of 1818 after having been elected unopposed to the Punjab Assembly, and orders of restraint and restriction against other political workers in the Punjab thus debarring them from their legitimate political activities.

10. Indian Exiles Abroad

The All India Congress Committee urge the Government of India to remove all restraints and restrictions on entry into India of all political exiles including :—

Syt. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Dr. Abani Mukherjee, Syt. Mahendra Pratap, Syt. Pandurang Sadashiv Khankhoje, Sardar Ajit Singh, Maulvi Abdullah Khan, Dr. Taraknath Das, Qazzi Abdul Wali Khan, Syt. Basanta Kumar Roy, Syt. Prithvi Singh, Lala Har Dayal and Syt. Rash Behari Bose.

The Committee are further of opinion that a general assurance should be given to all Indians abroad, who are not sure of their freedom on returning home, that on their return to India no repressive action will be taken against them for any past activities.

11. Indians in Zanzibar

The Committee express their full sympathy with the Indians in Zanzibar in their brave struggle against the new decrees which are sure to result in ruining Indian interests in Zanzibar and the internal and export trade of the Indian community settled for so long in the country which has helped greatly in promoting the prosperity of Zanzibar. The Committee are of opinion that in order to give adequate help in this struggle and protect Indian interests in Zanzibar it is essential that an embargo should be laid on the import of cloves into India. The Committee further call upon the people to refrain from the use of cloves until the new decrees are rescinded by the Zanzibar Government.

The Committee regret the position taken up by the Government of India on the resolution moved by the Congress Party in the Central Legislature regarding the treatment of Indians in Zanzibar by the Zanzibar Government and are of opinion that the efforts made by the Government and the results attained by them are entirely inadequate to protect the interests of the Indians in Zanzibar.

The Committee feel confident that by the boycott of cloves by the Indian people, the Zanzibar Government will be compelled in the end to do justice to Indians by rescinding the objectionable decrees.

12. Palestine

The Committee record their emphatic protest against the reign of terror that has been established in Palestine by British Imperialism with a view to coerce the Arabs into accepting the proposed partition of Palestine and assure them of the solidarity of the Indian people with them in their struggle for national freedom.

13. Meerut and Muzaffarnagar Districts

It is resolved that the districts of Meerut and Muzaffarnagar be separated from the Delhi Congress Province and incorporated in the United Provinces Congress Province and consequential changes be made in the Constitution.

14. Slump in Cotton Prices]

The attention of the Committee has been drawn to the serious plight in which cultivators of cotton in this country have been placed by the heavy decline in prices of Indian cotton by reason of over production throughout the world. The Committee have further been appraised that American cotton has fallen in parity with Indian cotton and this situation has resulted in the encouragement of the import of foreign cotton in this country. The Committee therefore resolve .

(*a*) That the Indian Mills and Indian dealers in cotton be requested to refrain from purchasing foreign cotton similar in quality and staple to Indian Cotton.

(*b*) That a committee consisting of Shri Jamnalal Bajaj, Shri Bhulabhai Desai and Shri Shankerlal Banker (convener) be appointed to inquire into this matter and recommend such measures as they may consider advisable in the interests of cotton-growers in this country.

Resolutions by the Members of the A. I. C. C.

15. Implementing of Congress Programme by Congress Ministries

The following resolution was referred by the A. I. C. C. to the Working Committee for its consideration and for such action as it may deem necessary in this behalf :—

"The All India Congress Committee, while welcoming the steps taken by Congress Cabinets in the direction of the release of political prisoners and detenus, note that there are still several political prisoners in provinces where Congress Cabinets exist and that in many cases steps have not yet been taken to repeal repressive laws, even those which authorise detention without trial.

"The Committee note also with apprehension the fact that certain Congress Cabinets have chosen to take action under such repressive provisions of the law as Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code and Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

"The A. I. C. C. call for the complete implementing of the Congress Election Manifesto in this connection by the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners by Congress Cabinets and for the taking of immediate steps for the repeal of repressive laws."

The following resolutions were passed :

16. Ban on Books

The A. I. C. C. call upon the Provincial Governments run by Congressmen, to lift the ban on political books.

17. Titles and Decorations

The A. I. C. C. are of opinion that in provinces where Congress ministries exist, the Assemblies should adopt resolutions expressing their desire that no further titles or decorations should be conferred on inhabitants of those provinces and that the Cabinets should intimate to the King that they will not make any recommendations for such titles or decorations and do not desire any to be conferred in their provinces.

18. Redistribution of Provinces on Linguistic Basis

The A. I. C. C. reaffirm the Congress policy regarding the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis and recommend to the Madras and Bombay Governments to consider the formation of a separate Andhra and Karnatak province respectively.

The A. I. C. C. also ask the Congress Cabinet in Bihar to take early steps to restore the Bengali speaking areas at present comprised in Bihar to the province of Bengal.

19. Mysore

The meeting of the A. I. C. C. expresses its emphatic protest against the ruthless policy of repression as indicated by the inauguration of various restrictive and prohibitory orders and political prosecutions launched in the Mysore State and also against the suppression of civil rights and liberties by denying the elementary rights of speech, assemblage and association.

This meeting sends its fraternal greetings to the people of Mysore and wishes them all success in their legitimate non-violent struggle and appeals to the people of Indian States and British India to give all support and encouragement to the people of Mysore in their struggle against the State for right of self-determination.

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Calcutta—October 26th. to November 1st. 1937

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Shri Sarat Chandra Bose's residence, Calcutta from October 26 to November 1, 1937. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru presided.

The members present were : Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Sarojini Naidu, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Subhas Chandra Bose, Jairamdas Daulatram, Bhulabhai Desai, Narendra Dev, Shankarrao Deo, Achyut Patwardhan and J. B. Kripalani.

The Prime-Ministers in the seven Congress provinces were invited to attend. Those present were Shris Govind Ballabh Pant (U. P.) B. G. Kher (Bombay), Shri Krishna Sinha (Behar), N. B. Khare (C. P.) and Bishwanath Das (Orissa). Shri Rajagopalachari was absent owing to ill health. Dr. Khan Saheb was absent owing to pressure of work. The Committee conferred with those, present, on the problems arising in their respective provinces.

The Committee recommended resolutions on the following subjects for adoption by the A. I. C. C.

(1) Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund, (2) Condolence—Shri Manilal Kothari, (3) Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore's recovery, (4) Ratification of Working Committee Resolution on Office Acceptance, (5) Federation, (6) Japan's Aggression in China, (7) Midnapore Congress Organisation, (8) Detenus and Andamans Prisoners, (9) Repression in Bengal and Punjab, (10) Indian Exiles Abroad, (11) Indians in Zanzibar, (12) Palestine, (13) Meerut and Muzaffarnagar Districts, (14) Slump in Cotton prices.

Note—For the text of the resolutions see the proceedings of the A. I. C. C. given above.

The following further resolutions were passed by the Committee :—

15. Minority Rights

The Congress has solemnly and repeatedly declared its policy in regard to the rights of the minorities in India and has stated that it considers it its duty to protect these rights and ensure the widest possible scope for the development of these minorities and their participation in the fullest measure in the political, economic and cultural life of the nation. The objective of the Congress is an independent and united India where no class or group or majority or minority may exploit another to its own advantage, and where all the elements in the nation may co-operate together for the common good and the advancement of the people of India. This objective of unity and mutual co-operation in a common freedom does not mean the suppression in any way of the rich variety and cultural diversity of Indian life, which have to be preserved in order to give freedom and opportunity to the individual as well as to each group to develop unhindered according to its capacity and inclination.

In view, however, of attemps having been made to misinterpret the Congress policy in this regard, the All India Congress Committee desire to reiterate this policy. The Congress has included in its resolution on Fundamental Rights that

(*i*) Every citizen of India has the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, for a purpose not opposed to law or morality.

(*ii*) Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to public order and morality.

(*iii*) The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected.

(*iv*) All citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex.

(*v*) No disability attaches to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling.

(*vi*) All citizens have equal rights and duties in regard to wells, tanks, roads, schools and places of public resort, maintained out of State, or local funds, or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public.

(*vii*) The State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions.

(*viii*) The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

(*ix*) Every citizen is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle in any part thereof, to acquire property and to follow any trade or calling, and to be treated equally with regard to legal prosecution or protection in all parts of India.

These clauses of the Fundamental Rights resolution make it clear that there should be no interference in matters of conscience, religion, or culture, and a minority is entitled to keep its personal law without any change in this respect being imposed by the majority.

The position of the Congress in regard to the Communal decision has been repeatedly made clear in Congress resolutions and finally in the Election Manifesto issued

last year. The Congress is opposed to this decision as it is anti-national, anti-democratic and is a barrier to Indian freedom and the development of Indian unity. Nevertheless the Congress has declared that a change in or supersession of the Communal Decision should only be brought about by the natural agreement of the parties concerned. The Congress has always welcomed and is prepared to take advantage of any opportunity to bring about such a change by mutual agreement.

In all matters affecting the minorities in India, the Congress wishes to proceed by their co-operation and through their goodwill in a common undertaking and for the realization of a common aim which is the freedom and betterment of all the people of India.

16. Damodar Canal Tax

The Working Committee sympathises with the brave strugle carried on by the agriculturist population of the Damodar Canal area of Burdwan District against the imposition of an unjust and excessive tax for the supply of water from the Damodar Canal.

17. Punjab Unity Conference

The Working Committee have fully considered the recommendations of the Executive of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee in regard to Congress participation in the provincial Unity Conference and have heard the representatives of the P. C. C. and of the Congress Party in the Punjab Assembly on this subject. The Committee appreciate the weight of the objections advanced by the executive of the Punjab P. C. C. and feel that, in view of the repression of political activity and the arrest of Congressmen by the Punjab Government, and repeated attacks on the Congress by the Punjab ministers, it is difficult to extend any measure of co-operation to that Government. The Committee further realise that the withdrawal of prominent Sikh and other representatives frow the Conference make any satisfactory settlement by the Conference difficult of achievement. Nevertheless the Committee are of opinion that the Congress should not withhold its co-operation from any effort to solve the communal problem. Such co-operation should, however, be offered on the basis of Congress principles and an agreement should be sought in accordance with those basic principles. The Working Committee therefore recommends that the Congress representatives on the Conference should remain there until further directions are given.

18. Shri K. F. Nariman

The Working Committee considered the report of Shri M. K. Gandhi and Shri D. N. Bahadurji regarding the issues raised by Shri K. F. Nariman. The Committee also considered the covering letter of Shri M. K. Gandhi and the two statements issued by Shri K. F. Nariman in regard to the report of the Inquiry Committee. The Committee are of opinion that in view of the findings in this report and his acceptance of them and his subsequent recantation, his conduct has been such as to prove him unworthy of holding any position of trust and responsibility in the Congress organisation.

In view of these facts the Working Committee directs that the report and the letters accompanying it be published in the press.

The Committee gave the following interpretation of Article III Clause (*f*) :—

19. Membership Year

A primary member who has enrolled himself in any particular year shall continue to be on the electoral roll till the next annual electoral roll is prepared.

It was also decided that between the period of completion of the electoral roll and the next general election the enrolment of primary members should stop.

Interpreting Article VI (*g*) the Committee decided that the number of primary members entitled to elect a delegate in any province should be the same and not vary from district to district.

21. N. W. F. Province—Last Date of Enrolment

As the Congress organisations in the Frontier Province were under ban until recently the Committee as an exceptional case extended the last date of the enrolment of primary members to December 15, 1937.

The Bande Mataram Song

Following statement was issued by the Working Committee with regard to the controversy about the national song "Bande Mataram" :—

A controversy having recently arisen about the Bande Mataram song, the Working Committee desire to explain the significance of this song. This song appears in Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novel "Anandamatha" but it has been pointed out in his biography, that the song was written independently of, and long before the novel, and was subsequently incorporated in it. The song should thus be considered apart from the book. It was set to music by Rabindranath Tagore in 1896. The song and the words "Bande Mataram" were considered seditious by the British Government and were sought to be suppressed by violence and intimidation At a famous session of the Bengal Provincial Conference held in Barisal in April 1906, under the presidentship of Shri A. Rasul, a brutal lathi charge was made by the police on the delegates and volunteers and the "Bande Mataram" badges worn by them were violently torn off. Some delegates were beaten so severely as they cried "Bande Mataram" that they fell down senseless. Since then, during the past thirty years, innumerable instances of sacrifice and suffering all over the country have been associated with "Bande Mataram" and men and women have not hesitated to face death even with that cry on their lips. The song and the words thus became symbols of national resistance to British imperialism in Bengal especially, and generally in other parts of India. The words "Bande Mataram" became a slogan of power which inspired our people, and a greeting which ever remind us of our struggle for national freedom.

Gradually the use of the first two stanzas of the song spread to other provinces and a certain national significance began to attach to them. The rest of the song was very seldom used and is even now known by few persons. These two stanzas described in tender language the beauty of the motherland and the abundance of her gifts. There was absolutely nothing in them to which objection could be taken from the religious or any other point of view. The song was never sung as challenge to any group or community in India and was never considered as such or as offending the sentiments of any community. Indeed the reference in it to thirty crores of Indians makes it clear that it was meant to apply to all the people of India. At no time, however, was this song, or any other song formally adopted by the Congress as the National Anthem of India. But popular usage gave it a special and national importance.

The Working Committee feel that past associations, with their long record of suffering for the cause, as well as popular usage, have made the first two stanzas of this song a living and inseparable part of our national movement and as such they must command our affection and respect. There is nothing in the stanzas to which any one can take exception. The other stanzas of the song are little known and hardly ever sung. They contain certain allusions and a religious ideology which may not be in keeping with the ideology of other religious groups in India.

The Committee recognise the validity of the objection raised by Muslim friends to certain parts of the song. While the Committee have take note of such objection in so far as it has intrinsic value the Committee wish to point out that the modern evolution of the use of the song as part of National life is of infinitely greater importance than its setting in a historical novel before the national movement had taken shape. Taking all things into consideration therefore the Committee recommend that wherever the Bande Mataram is sung at national gatherings only the first two stanzas should be sung, with perfect freedom to the organisers to sing any other song of an unobjectionable character, in addition to, or in the place of, the Bande Mataram song.

But while there can be no question about the place that Bande Mataram has come to occupy in the national life, the same cannot be said as to the other songs. People have adopted songs of their choice, irrespective of merit. An authentic collection has long been felt as a desideratum. The Committee therefore appoint a sub-committee consisting of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shri Jawharlal Nehru, Shri Subhas Chandra Bose and Shri Narendra Dev, to examine all the current national songs that may be sent to it and those who are so inclined are invited to send their compositions to this sub-committee. The committee will, out of the songs so received, submit to the Working Committee the collection that it may choose to recognise as being worthy of finding a place in a collection of national songs. Only such songs as are composed in simple Hindustani or can be adapted to it, and have a rousing and inspiring tune will be accepted by the sub-committee

for examination. The sub-committee shall consult and take the advice of Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore.

The Working Committee recommends to P. C. Cs. to take similar steps in regard to songs in the provincial languages.

Note—In the above statement attention is drawn to the reference in the Bande Mataram song to thirty crores of Indians. It should be remembered that this figure crept in at a later stage when the song came to have a national significance. As Bankim Chandra Chatterji wrote it, the figure was seven crores. This applied to the then province of Bengal which included Behar. Even then it referred to the entire population of the province without any religious distinction.

Congress Time-Table

The following circular was issued by the General Secretary to all the Provincial Congress Committees on November 13, 1937 :—

Dear Sir,

The previously announced dates of the open Session of the next Congress at Haripura have been changed as these conflicted with the Id holidays As a consequence the dates for the election of delegates and the President have also been changed. The new dates are as under :—

Open Session of the Congress—Feb. 19, 20 and 21, 1938.
A. I. C. C. and Subjects Committee—February 16, 17 and 18, 1938.
Election of President and members of the A. I. C. C.—January 16, 1938
Presidential Nomination upto—January 3, 1938.
Election of delegates—Dec. 19 to 26, 1937 (both days inclusive).

(For the election of delegates eight days have been given. The election may be held on any of these days. The three months' rule has been slightly modified owing to the exigencies of the situation.

Congress Members for 1938

The total number of primary members enrolled this year is 31, 84, 249. This figure does not include the members from Burma and N W. F. Provinces, whose figures have not been received at the time of writing.

The total number of members enrolled last year was 6,36,131. The increase this year has been phenomenal.

THE CONGRESS LABOUR COMMITTEE

:Wardha, September 18 and 19, 1937

A meeting of the Labour Committee was held at Wardha on September 18 and 19. The members present were : Shris Shankerlal Banker, M. R. Masani and J. B Kripalani. The following resolutions were passed :

Joint Meeting of Labour Committee and Congress Ministers for Labour

The Labour Committee, while noting with satisfaction the first steps taken by Congress Cabinets in various provinces towards the implementing of the policy and programme of the Congress in respect of industrial workers, stresses the urgent necessity of devising measures to give effect to the programme envisaged in the Congress Election Manifesto and to those items referred to in the Working Committee's Resolution of March 1, 1937, and to foster the growth and development of a healthy and strong Trade Union movement.

The Committee is of opinion that the working out, as far as local conditions permit, of a uniform labour policy to be followed by Congress Cabinets in seven provinces will help the cabinets in those provinces to quicken the pace of progress and will also facilitate the adoption of a similar policy in other provinces.

The Committee therefore resolves that a Joint Meeting of the Committee and Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries for Labour in Congress Cabinets should be held to exchange views, discuss common problems and difficulties and evolve, as far as conditions permit, a uniform Labour Policy for Congress Cabinets.

The Secretary of this Committee is requested to convene such a meeting at Calcutta on or about October 26, 1937 and to issue invitations to it.

The Committee requests the Secretary to communicate with the Ministers for Labour in Congress Cabinets and to obtain from them all available information on the following points for the above meeting.

(a) Measures, administrative and legislative, already taken in respect of industrial workers in accordance with the terms of the Congress Election Manifesto and particularly the Working Committee's resolution of March 1, 1937 for a Living wage, Eight Hours' day without reduction of wages and unemployment relief ; and also their programme for the future.

(b) Their views and comments on the communique of the Bombay Cabinet dated August 17, 1937.

(c) Difficulties encountered by them in their work.

(d) The attitude of Trade Union organisations towards their cabinets and its policy.

(e) Matters requiring co-ordinated action by more than one provincial Government and proposals for action in other provinces which would help them in their work.

(f) Proposals for action, legislative or administrative, called for on the part of the Government of India.

The Secretary is requested to circulate material received from Ministers of Labour to members of this committee and other Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries in advance of the meeting.

Collection of Statistics

The Committee feels that reliable statistics and information regarding the wages, conditions of employment and state of organisation of industrial labour are essential for the proper understanding and for devising measures for the amelioration of the conditions of the workers and therefore urges on Provincial Government and particularly on Congress Cabinets, the urgent necessity of collecting and publishing such statistics and information where these are not at present available.

Congress Committees and Labour

The Committee draws attention to its resolution adopted on August 18 and 19, 1936 to the effect that "Congress Committees should take more active interest in questions affecting the welfare of Industrial labour and give all such help as they can to the unions working on principles and policies of the Congress and where no labour unions exist the Committees should through suitable ageney help the workers to organise on the above lines"

The Secretary should ascertain from the Congress Committees what steps they have taken and are taking in furtherance of the resolution and report to the next meeting of the Committee

Protected Industries

The Committee draws the attention of the Congress Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly to the resolution of the Committee adopted on August 18 and 19, 1936 that "Industries receiving protection from the State should be under a legal obligation to give adequate wages to their workers and generally accord fair treatment to them" and requests them to give effect to the said resolution.

The Secretary be requested to communicate this to the Assembly Party, onquire what steps were being taken in furtherance of the resolution and to report to the next meeting of the Committee.

Calcutta—October 25th. and 26th. 1937

The Congress Labour Committee met in joint session with the Congress Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries of labour in the seven Congress provinces at Calcutta, on October 25 and 26, 1937

The members of the Labour Committee present were . Shris Jairamdas Doulatram, Shankerlal Banker, Jaiprakash Narayan, M. R Masani, J. B. Kripalani.

The Labour Ministers present were : Shris B. G. Khare (Bombay), Kailashnath Katju (U. P) and Bodhram Dube (Utkal).

The Parliamentary Secretaries present were : Shris Gulzarilal Nanda (Bombay) and Jugalkishore Agarwal (U. P.) Shri V. R Kalappa was deputed by the Madras and C. P. Governments to participate in the Joint Conference.

The Conference was opened by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, President, Indian National Congress. Shri Jairamdas Doulatram presided

Shri Shibnath Banerji, President All India Trade Union Congress placed before the Congress the labour demands formulated by the Trade Union Congress.

Shri N. G. Ranga placed before the Conference the grievances of agricultural labour.

The Conference then discussed the question of uniform labour programme and policy to be followed in the Congress provinces.

The Conference passed the following resolutions :

1. Labour Departments

The Congress Labour Committee met in joint Conference with the Congress Ministers and Parliamentary secretaries of Labour of some of the provinces and considered with them the question of laying down a uniform programme in regard to labour. The statement of Labour policy issued by the Bombay Congress Ministry was approved of and was made the basis of discussion for detailed recommendations for action. The discussion disclosed that in most provinces pre-congress Governments had not set up adequate machinery for the study and solution of labour problems. The joint Conference feels that it will be difficult to make headway in the treatment of labour questions in the provinces and in the preparation of a concrete programme for uniform action, unless necessary information is collected and made available. The Conference therefore resolves that as an indispensable first step an adequately staffed Labour Department, on the lines generally of the Bombay Labour Office be set up immediately for the collection and publication of the required satistical and other data relating to labour particularly in regard to cost of living, family budgets, rates of wages and average earnings, trade disputes, trade unions and condition of industry including profits.

2. Programme of Work

With a view to secure uniform action in the various provinces the Conference recommends to the provincial Governments the adoption of the following programme and resolves that necessary investigation in respect of the various items should be carried out, mutual consultations held, and proposals formulated, before the 30th of June '38 :—

(*a*) Introduction of legislation facilitating the collection of statistics ; (*b*) Extension of the factories Act to unregulated establishments ; (*c*) Stricter enforcement of Factories Act in the case of seasonal factories ; (*d*) Introduction of legislation providing for maternity benefit for a period of not less than eight weeks in provinces where it does not exist , (*e*) Inquiry into the question of adequacy of wages in organised industries ; (*f*) Labour exchanges , (*g*) Leave with pay during sickness ; (*h*) Minimum wage fixing machinery ; (*i*) Machinery for the settlement of disputes , (*j*) Recognition by the State and employers of Trade Unions which accept the policy of using peaceful and legitimate means ; (*k*) Housing of labour , (*l*) Scaling down of debts , (*m*) Hours of work ; (*n*) Holidays with pay ; (*o*) Employment insurance , (*p*) Conditions for State aid to industries in regard to treatment of labour.

The Conference further resolves that administrative or legislative action, as the case may be, should be taken by Provincial Governments in respect of as many of the aforesaid matters as possible in the course of the next year.

3. Joint Conference

The Joint Conference is of opinion that it would help the evolving of uniform policy of programme if the Congress Ministries of Labour met in periodical Conference. The Conference is further of opinion that the Congress Labour Committee and the Congress Labour Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries should meet from time to time to review the situation in regard to the carrying out of the Labour programme.

The Congress Labour Committee also passed the following resolutions and recommended them for the consideration of the Congress Ministries.

Condition of Serfdom

This Committee draws the attention of the Congress Ministers to the deplorable condition of some of the communities who are even today living in a state of semi-serfdom and requests them to take prompt and effective measures to liberate them from this condition and to render such assistance as may be found necessary to enable their members to earn a decent livelihood while enjoying full personal freedom for themselves and their families.

[5. Landless Rural Labour

This Committee invites the attention of the Congress Ministries to the growing distress of landless rural labourers, whose number is differently computed at from two to three crores, who are living, because of the exceedingly restricted scope of occupation in a condition of periodical enforced idleness, and who generally receive, even when on intermittent work, very meagre wages and these too often in kind and urges upon the ministries the urgent necessity of devising plans for offering them substantial relief by way of suitable occupation in works of rural development during periods of general seasonal unemployment.

6. Mines and Plantations

This Committee is of opinion that the conditions of mining and plantation labour are particularly backward and present problems that are peculiarly their own. The Committee therefore especially draws the attention of the Labour Ministers concerned to the conditions in these industries and recommends an immediate enquiry to be instituted into them with a view to evolving schemes to better them within the shortest possible time.

7. Women Workers

This Committee is of opinion that women workers should also be given the same wages for doing the same work as men This Committee requests the Congress Ministers to help, in every possible way, to introduce a suitable standard of wages for women workers in the factories in their provinces.

8. Sweepers

This Committee draws the attention of the Congress Ministries to the deplorable condition of the majority of the sweepers who are engaged by the Urban Municipalities for cleaning the latrines, not fitted up with flush system, and requests them to take prompt and effective measures to improve their conditions of work and also wages, where these are found to be inadequate.

9 Education of Industrial Labour

This Committee is of opinion that lack of education is operating as a very serious obstacle in the way of the development of healthy trade-union organisations and it is therefore, necessary to take all effective measures for the spread of education amongst the working classes To this end this Committee requests the Congress Ministries to advice all municipalities in industrial towns and cities to arrange for and offer all possible facilities for the spread of education amongst the working classes.

10. Canteens

This Committee is of opinion that fresh, nutritive and well balanced diet is necessary for the health and efficiency of the factory workers and to this end requests the Congress Ministries to advice all employers of factory labour to set up canteens on the factory premises for supply of wholesome food to the workers during factory hours.

11. Prohibition in industrial Centres

This Committee is of opinion that the existence of liquor shops in industrial areas leads to wastage of considerable portion of the earnings of the working classes, besides affecting adversely the health and vitality of those addicted to the use of intoxicants, and therefore requests the Congress Ministries to give preference to these areas in working out the policy of prohibition in industrial centres.

PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS

Cloves Boycott Committee

The President issued the following statement from Bombay on September 18, 1937 appointing a Committee to organise the boycott of cloves :—

A Committee consisting of Shri Vallabhbhai Patel, Shri Khaitan Vallabhdas Tejpal, Shri Hirji Jeram of Vajiramdas Hirji & Co., Shri Vanmalidas Harjiwandas of Lakhmidas Vassanji & Co., Shri Hirachand Maneckchand of Virchand Panachand & Co., Shri Velji Kalidas of Velji Kaljdas & Co., Shri Husenibhai Lalji, Shri Tyab Ali,

President, Indian National Association Zanzibar, Shri Bhulabhai Desai and Shri S. K. Patel, Secretary Bombay P. C. C. (Convener) is appointed to take all necessary measures, in furtherance of the Congress decision to help Zanzibar Indians, to stop the import of cloves from any foreign country into India and to organise the boycott of cloves in the country. The Committee will have power to co-opt members from other business centres in India. The Committee will report from time to time to the Working Committee of the Congress as to the steps taken, and will co-operate with the Provincial Congress Committee in the organisation of the boycott. The Committee will have power to raise funds for the purpose.

China Day

The following statements were issued by the President :—

The war in China goes on, undeclared in the approved modern way, but nevertheless ruthless and accompanied by the slaughter of thousands of human beings. Japanese aggression continues and the League of Nations, originally founded to protect the rights of peoples and to prevent aggression, has become so helpless and impotent that it dare not even discuss the urgent problems of the day, much less take a decision on them. Meanwhile fascism grows and tears up every international treaty and obligation. Britain, one of the principal League Powers does not even protest and gives its indirect support to fascism. India, though not in a position to take any effective action, cannot remain a silent spectator of this tragedy, which might affect it considerably. We must organise our protest and keep a vigilant eye on what is happening. I suggest that Sunday September 26th should be observed as a special day for this purpose, when we should condemn Japanese aggression on China and send our full sympathy to the Chinese people We must also record our organised protest on the sending of Indian troops to China without the assent of the Indian people. And in doing so we should keep the larger danger of international war before us. The War Danger resolution of Faizpur Congress should therefore be repeated and explained. I trust that Congress Committees will organise meetings all over the country for this day and pass these resolutions.

Frontier Tour

Three days in the Frontier Province—three brief days I spent there and saw with my own eyes this historic gateway of India, rich with memories of our long past, rich also with memories of recent brave deeds and sufferings for the sake of India's freedom. I saw the gallant people of this northern tip of India and their virile enthusiasm and discipline and frank and simple nature captured my heart. The freedom of India has no stouter soldiers, no braver defenders, and to have comrades such as these is a joyous privilege and a rare delight. Guardians of the gateway of India, they are also foremost among the fighters and guardians of our national freedom. They can learn much from the more sophisticated people of other provinces but others can also learn much of courage and brave endurance and splendid discipline and freedom from narrow sectarianism from these dear comrades of ours in the north. And so we shall march together, the struggle side by side, and win together in that great enterprise of India's freedom which draws our millions ever forward. To the north I brought the admiration and comradely greeting of the people of other provinces. Affection and hospitality overwhelmed me and now I go back with living and throbbing pictures in my mind and tens of thousands of voices ringing in my ears. These voices pull me back, and, even as I go away, the call of the Frontier comes to me and soon I hope to renew acquaintance with these brave comrades of the north.

October 17, 1937

Ajmer Merwara and the Indian States

Some weeks ago I was in Ajmer and I was informed that there was a strong rumour to the effect that the Government of India was bargaining with the Udaipur and Jodhpur Durbars about the proposed Federation. It was said that discussions were being carried on for the transfer to these States of parts of Merwara. This was supposed to be the consideration for their joining the Federation. There was great resentment at this proposal all over Ajmer-Merwara and especially among the Mers, who would be cut into three parts if this proposal was accepted. The Mers are a brave compact people who intensely dislike the idea of being split up. They disliked also the idea of being placed under the State Governments with their medieval and feudal laws and customs, and hence

an agitation has been forming against this proposal. How far the proposal has ripened or not I do not know, but the reaction of this agitation has been numerous house searches in Beawar, including the office of the Town Congress Committee, and the removal of all correspondence on this issue from that office. In Jodhpur the Prajamandal and the local branch of the Civil Liberties have been declared unlawful, and the president of the Prajamandal, Shri Achhleshwar Prasad Sharma, has been arrested. Numerous house searches have taken place there also.

These are significant facts and they tell us eloquently how the ground is being prepared for the proposed Federation. Governments and State officials discuss the fate of an old Community without any reference to them. They might be transferred like chattels from one government to another. It is of no consequence what they think about it. And if any presume to think and to protest they are clapped in prison and the organisation declared illegal.

This matter, even from the suppression of Civil Liberty, is an all India matter, for it involves the transfer of a territory which is now part of what is known as British India to Indian States Such a transfer cannot be accepted or agreed to unless the people concerned themselves desire it. It is clear that they do not.

November 8, 1937.

The A. I. C. C. and Congress Ministries

The recent meeting of the A. I. C. C. in Calcutta was the first meeting held since the formation of Congress Ministries in various provinces. Inevitably, the work of these Ministries came up for discussion and review Such a review is, in the nature of things, beset with difficulties These difficulties increase because we have no rules or conventions for the purpose We are on new ground, and though we might adjust ourselves to it in course of time, we may not pitch our tents on it, for our resting place is yet afar and we must ever keep moving towards our objective. It is clear that Congress Ministers have to follow Congress principles and to govern themselves by the general directions issued by the Congress or the All India Congress Committee or the Working Committee It is also clear that it is not possible or desirable to interfere in the day to day work of the Ministries, or to call for explanations from them for administrative acts, unless some important principle is involved. Even when such explanations are necessary, it is not always easy to discuss them in a public forum like that of the All India Congress Committee We have thus to strike a mean—to keep the control of the policy in the hands of the A I. C C. and not to interfere too much in administrative matters Where such intervention is considered desirable, the Working Committee should make inquiries and, if necessary, report to the A. I. C. C.

Our past history has been an agitational history and we have developed as a semi-revolutionary organisation. By our day to day activities and especially through the great mass movements that the Congress has undertaken, we have released an enormous amount of energy among our people That energy represents the strength of the nation, provided it is not frittered away but is directed in a disciplined way to consciously held objectives. To some extent it was directed in the past to constructive activity but the background was largely agitational. That background has still to remain as our struggle for freedom is likely to bring in the future severe conflicts with British imperialism Nevertheless the acceptance of office and responsibility and the formation of Congress Ministries have changed considerably the aspect of our work. Our general attitude to these Ministries cannot be agitational in the old sense of the word, we cannot agitate against ourselves. We may and should, when necessity arises, criticise them or press them to further the Congress programme, but that criticism must be friendly and co-operative criticism. Any unfriendly or hostile attitude to them must inevitably react on the Congress organisation and weaken it. Hostile criticism must logically lead to the changing or the ending of the Ministry. Circumstances might arise when this is necessary, and when this happens we shall take the step deliberately and after full consideration, realising the consequences which will flow from our action. To indulge in any action on the spur of sentiment and without thought of the consequences is likely to lead us to trouble, out of which it may be difficult to extricate ourselves.

It is not an easy matter for the Congress organisation, with its vast membership and past traditions, to adapt itself to new conditions. Contradictions and conflicts are inherent in the situation, yet perhaps we may tone them down to some extent with some more experience and adjust ourselves to the new scheme of things. But

that scheme has no permanence in it for our very acceptance of office is limited and circumscribed by our pledge to combat and end the new Constitution, and to produce the conditions and the strength in the nation for a Constituent Assembly to meet and frame the constitution for an independent India.

Our primary objective is thus, and must remain, to increase the strength of the Congress and through it of the nation. In this task, unless there is the fullest co-operation between the Congress organisation and the Congress Ministries, difficulties will continually crop up and a measure of failure might also attend our efforts.

The Ministries are in an unenviable position. They are tied up in many ways by the Constitution and their resources are limited and largely mortgaged in favour of British imperialism and other interests. They have to function through permanent services which cannot be expected to get out of their old ruts and traditions and get in tune with the new order, however much they might loyally carry out the directions issued to them. Sometimes that loyalty itself might be lacking. With all these and other handicaps, the Ministers have to face tremendous tasks, the legacy of a long period of inaction or wrong action on the part of previous Provincial Governments. Urgent and vital problems shout for solution and the very spirit we have evoked in the masses demands such a solution. Delay on our part in effectively dealing with these problems irritates many of our own people, we have no clear conception of the difficulties and obstructions in our path, but we are naturally eager to get things done. Demands also come from a host of individuals for petty personal attention or to remove individual grievances and they cannot always be ignored. Administrative work absorbs a great deal of time. And so the big things are thrust into the background and this again gives rise to complaints.

It is an embarrassing position for our ministers. On the one hand they have to face the inherent contradictions and obstructions which flow from the present Constitution; on the other, they are responsible to and have to satisfy all manner of people and committees. They are responsible to their electorates, to their party in the legislature, to the Provincial Congress Committee and its executive, to the Working Committee, and to the All India Congress Committee. Even local Congress Committees think it their function to have their say in the work of the Provincial Government. All this sounds very complicated and confusing and yet in reality it is not so. What is the responsibility to the electorates? That electorate plumed for the Congress candidates not because of their individual merits, but because they represented the Congress and its programme. Nothing could be clearer than this. The vote was for the Congress. Every single Congress member of the legislature to-day, if he was unwise enough to backslide and seek election again in opposition to the Congress, would be defeated by a Congress candidate, whoever he might be. It is to the Congress as a whole that the electorate gave allegiance, and it is the Congress that is responsible to the electorate. The Ministers and the Congress Parties in the legislatures are in their turn responsible to the Congress, and only through it to their electorate. The Congress, though it functions through a host of committees, is essentially one and has one basic policy. There are thus no conflicting allegiances for Congress Ministers or Congress Parties in the legislatures. That basic policy is laid down by the annual session, and it is interpreted and implemented by the A. I. C. C. The Working Committee, as the executive of the Congress, is charged with the carrying out of this policy.

The A. I. C. C. should therefore consider the broad lines of policy and discuss questions of principle. The Working Committee can, whenever necessity arises, go into greater detail and review the work of the Ministries. For the A. I. C. C. to discuss the details of administrative action is obviously not possible, for the A. I. C. C. is a public forum and such acts cannot be discussed with advantage in public by large committees. It would be unfair to the ministers to ask them to make public statements about all the details of their administrative work.

To some extent this procedure would apply to the Provincial Congress Committees also. It is necessary and desirable that the Ministers should keep in the closest touch with the Provincial Committees for these Committees are the channels through which they reach the electorate. If they lose touch with the P. C. C.s, they lose touch with the Congress organisation and with the electorate. But the P. C. C. is too big a committee for any detailed discussion, or for any criticism of the ministers to be effectively met by them. The executive of the P. C. C. however is a small compact body and the Ministers should take this more into their confidence. We have been directed to co-ordinate our activities outside the legislatures with those inside. This

can only be done effectively if the P. C. C. executive is in close touch with the Ministries. The P. C. C. should also give publicity to the achievements of the Ministries and to their future programme.

Local Congress Committees have every right to make suggestions to and even friendly criticisms of Ministers, but anything savouring of hostile criticism by them should be avoided. Such local committees are seldom in possession of all the facts, and it would make the position of the Ministers intolerable if we were to require them to appear before local committees and to furnish explanations to them. If a local committee has complaints or doubts, it should refer to the provincial executive which, in its turn, in important matters, might make a reference to the Working Committee. But Ministers should of course get into touch with local committees wherever they go and through them with the views of Congressmen in general and the public.

The Ministries have especially to face two sets of problems; those relating to civil liberty, and those appertaining to agrarian and labour conditions. The latter have obviously the larger mass significance, and yet the former have importance as civil liberty is the basis of all progress. For us the long deprivation of many forms of civil and personal liberty has given it a special importance, and to remove the obstructions to it should be our first objective There is strong feeling in the country on this point and the Calcutta meeting of the A. I. C. C. gave expression to it. The strangling of Bengal with her detenus and internments and externments, and bans on organisations, and ticket-of-leave persons, and hosts of political prisoners oppresses the whole of India. Perhaps one of the more potent methods of helping our comrades in Bengal is to have a clean sheet in regard to civil liberty in the provinces controlled by Congress Ministries. Already the contrast between the two is great. The wider the gap, the more we demonstrate the futility and incompetence of the policy of repression.

We have stood for civil liberty and made it one of our fundamental rights. As a people claiming to be progressive we must necessarily do so as this is the only correct policy. But we have another important reason for doing so—our policy of non-violence. The policy was deliberately adopted by us in our struggle for freedom and we have stuck to it through all these years. Equally so must we adhere to it and apply it to those who may be opposed to us or critical of us when we control the Provincial Government. Even the wrong-doers must be approached non-violently, for a violent suppression of wrong doing does not end it. Thus a Congress Ministry must avoid, as far as it possibly can, the use of the coercive apparatus of the State. It should approach the wrong-doer and try to win him over and point out the evil consequences of his act Even if this approach is not successful, coercive action should be avoided, unless dangerous consequences are feared.

It is clear that, in spite of every desire to avoid it, coercive action may become necessary in particular cases. This will not be for sedition as such, for sedition is no crime for a Congressman, and all of us may be considered guilty of it in varying degrees. Violence or dangerous incitement to violence and communal strife cannot, however, be tolerated by any State. Even in such cases the personal approach should be a pre-requisite, and our constant endeavour should be to create an atmosphere which does not encourage the violent approach to problems. Violent suppression of individuals or groups or ideas militates against this atmosphere and so, though it might be momentarily successful, it adds to the difficulties Thus not only our policy and pledges, but liberty is desirable. Congress Ministries will have to go to the furthest limit possible in removing present restrictions and the laws which impose them.

November 4, 1937.

Leg. & Exec. Activities in the Provinces under Congress Govt.

Some of the Congress Provincial Governments have sent us reports or their activities. The reports are neither exhaustive nor up todate. The provinces of Behar, Utkal and the Frontier have not yet sent their reports.

Bombay—Budget Session

The Budget Session concluded its business on September 23. There was little legislation of note this session. But there were two important official resolutions passed in this Session, one on the Constituent Assembly and the other on the return of the confiscated lands to Satyagrahis.

1. Re. Constituent Assembly

This Assembly is of opinion that the Government of India Act 1935, in no way represent the will of the nation, and is wholly unsatisfactory as it has been designed to perpetuate the subjection of the people of India. Therefore the Assembly is further of opinion that the said Act should be repealed and replaced by a Constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of adult franchise, which allows the Indian people full scope for development according to their needs and desires.

2. Re. Return of lands to Satyagrahis

This Assembly accepts the policy of repurchasing, at the cost of Government, lands and other immovable properties forfeited and sold in consequence of the Civil Disobedience Movement, with a view to their restoration to the original holders or their heirs, free of occupancy price.

Record of Achievements—

On the 15th September, the Home Minister reviewed the steps already taken by the Government in direction of implementing the Congress Policy in regard to restoration of civil liberty and said :—

The Congress formed Ministry on 17 July.

Senapati Bapat was released on 22nd unconditionally and the next day securities of two newspapers amounting to Rs. 7,000 were refunded. The same day another aggregate amount of Rs. 7,000 was refunded to presses.

On 30th the ban on 227 political and others organisations was removed.

On August 4, Rs. 9,000 of securities from presses were refunded and notices demanding securities aggregating to Rs 11,250 from 19 newspapers were ordered to be cancelled. The same day notices demanding deposit of securities amounting to Rs. 20,000 from eight presses were ordered to be cancelled.

On 10th August restrictions against Mr. Indulal Yagnik, not a Congressman, to keep out of three districts and not to take part in any meetings or make any public speech or statement in Ahmedabad District, were cancelled.

On 15th August notice demanding deposit of security of Rs 2,000 from "Ekjut", a Labour Weekly of Mr. R. A. Khedgiker was cancelled. Orders prohibiting giving of advertisements to certain newspapers were cancelled.

On 20th August notice demanding security from the Mahamadi Fine Art Litho Printing and Book Binding Works was cancelled.

On 26th August ban on 26 films connected with Mahatma Gandhi's activities during the R. T. C. and C. D Movement had been removed.

Bans were being removed on literature consistently with the policy of Government in regard to dissemination of class hatred and ideas involving organised or unorganised violence. The process was naturally slow.

In the meantime the ban on the speeches and biography of Lokmanya Tilak by K. A. Guruji, "Patri" by P. S. Sane and "Hindu Samaj Darshan" by L B Bhopatkar had been removed.

On 10th September notices demanding securities from "Cutch Samachar" and "Exhibitors Review" were cancelled. Securities were ordered to be refunded in respect of "Oriental Review". "Krishibal" and Sherkari Printing Press, Kolaba.

There was only one prosecution pending under the Indian Press Act, 1931 and that was against Messrs. S. M. Joshi and S. K. Nigde. Government were remitting the punishments and refund of fine in each case was being ordered

Restrictive Orders on Labour Leaders Cancelled

On the same day, i.e., on the 15th, the Home Minister announced in the Bombay Legislative Assembly that the Government had decided to cancel the restrictive orders against the labour leaders, M. N. Misra, S. D. Khan, Anantachari, H. D. Rajah, K. C. Gupta and K. N. Joglekar. He also announced that the sentence on Gogte, the Poona youth, who was convicted in connection with the shooting on Sir Ernest Hotson, then acting Governor of Bombay, had been remitted, and that the allowances of Messrs. S. V. Deshpande and S. S. Mirajkur, labour leaders under exterinment orders, have been doubled.

(Since writing the above, the Government have cancelled all the remaining orders, either in respect of individuals or organisations which were imposed under Emergency laws by the previous governments in Bombay.)

During the month under report, the Congress Cabinet of Bombay decided to remove the disabilities imposed by previous administration on law-abiding citizens

by withdrawing the restrictions on arm licenses which had been enforced during the Civil Disobedience Movement.

The Cabinet also decided to extend the Indian Factories Act to premises employing ten or more workers where manufacturing process is carried on with or without the aid of power and also to extend the provision of the payment of Wages Act and Maternity Benefit Act to more industrial concerns.

The Government of Bombay on the 28th September appointed a committee called Physical Education Committee to investigate the question of introducing Physical Education in schools. Swami Kuvalayananda has been appointed Chairman of the Committee.

The Government also circulated during the month an elaborate questionnaire to Presidents of Local Bodies and prominent leaders of public opinion asking for their views on various problems of local self-government, franchise being one of the most important questions.

MADRAS

The Party consists of 188 members of the Madras Legislature. 160 being members of the Assembly out of a total strength of 215, and 28 being members of the Council out of total strength of 55 Mr. Moideen Kutty, Independent Muslim member of the Assembly was admitted to membership of the Party on September 4, 1937.

The Executive Committee consists of 20 members, being the Party Leader, three Deputy Leaders, two Secretaries, twelve Whips, the Treasurer and the floor leaders of the second chamber.

The General body has met seven times, and the Executive Committee 8 times. Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries, who are not on the Executive Committee, are also invited to attend the meetings.

Questions of policy arising from time to time and elections to various committees of the Legislature and other bodies as the Universities, Railway Advisory Boards etc., have been considered at these meetings. Adequate representation has been allowed to other parties in respect of committees of the Legislature. So far all the elections to committees of the houses of the Legislature have been uncontested

The assumption of office by the party has necessitated a new orientation in the work of members of the party inside the Legislature. There is no longer any need for members of the Party to put questions or bring in bills or initiate other motions to draw the attention of Government to popular grievances, since these may be remedied by a direct approach to the Ministers concerned It is only very rarely, therefore, the members of the Congress Party need have recourse to ventilation of grievances on the floor of the Legislative Assembly or that of the Council, the normal function of Party members being the defence of Government policy from attacks by opposition parties The Party has decided that in cases when members of the Party desire to out interpellations, or introduce bills or initiate motions, notice of these may be sent to the Party office so that they may be examined by the committee of Parliamentary Secretaries to Ministers with a view to allow them to take the usual course on the floor of the Assembly or the Council, or to recommend to the Ministers to take executive action in regard to these.

The members have toured their constituencies, and the Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries are keeping touch with the electorate

The work of formulating policies and programmes for the Ministry in accordance with the Congress election manifesto is entrusted to the Party Committees For this purpose, forty-one subjects were selected and distributed among ten committees each of which functions with a Parliamentary Secretary as convener The Ministers concerned, attend the meetings of these committees and preside and thus keep in touch with the trend of opinion in the Party.

The Committee on Religious Endowments has suggested reform of the Religious Endowments Board and the extension of the Jurisdiction of the Board to the temples in Madras City and public charitable endowments throughout the Presidency.

Radical changes in the constitution of functions of local bodies and municipalities are being considered.

The Committee on Rural Indebtedness decided to recommend the declaration of a moratorium on agricultural debts.

The Irrigation Committee has examined the major and minor irrigation Act for the Province

It is too soon yet to assess the value of the achievements of the Congress Government. But certain outstanding features of the work turned out by the various departments may be indicated.

Prohibition

This is the most outstanding reform announced so far by the Government. As a policy to be worked through the entire Province by stages, prohibition has been adopted. The first district where the new policy will take effect is Salem. From 1st October this district is declared "dry" and steps for enforcement of the new policy have been outlined in a Government communique published on 13th September. Legislation is being introduced in the present session which gives power to Government to function effectively in this behalf.

Return of Securities to Newspapers

Securities deposited by the following newspapers and presses under the I. P. (E. P.) Act, 1931 have been ordered to be refunded.—

Newspapers—Rajakula Dipikai, Saidapet, Kistna Patrika, Masulipatam, Dhinamani, Madras.

Presses—Cocanada Printing Works, Cocanada, Indian Express, Madras; Mathrubhumi Press, Calicut, Raju Press, Saidapet.

Abolition of the Black List

The Black List of Newspapers and presses to which Government advertisements and printing work were not given was cancelled. Advertisements are given on the basis of receiving value for money paid and not as political patronage

Proscription of Books

The notification proscribing the book entitled "Malapalli" has been cancelled. The ban on various other books are considered as they come up.

Reform of Jails

A provision of Rs. 50,000 has been made in the Budget Estimate for 1937 38 for the supply of butter milk to all prisoners in the Province

Scavenging work inside the jail was till now allotted to prisoners on the caste basis, and usually Harijans were made to do the work. This rule has now been amended so as to omit specific reference to caste, and the work is now allotted to prisoners with due regard to the status and previous habits of the prisoners, and the Superintendent of each jail is given discretion to allot the work

Repeal of Repressive Law

The Moplah Outrage Act has been repealed.

Release of Prisoners

Prisoners convicted in the Kottapatam Summer School Case, Cocanada Conspiracy Case, Rampa Rebellion prisoners, Security Case prisoners, S I R. Strike prisoners, and Moplah State prisoners, have been released

Remission of Land Revenue

The Government have budgetted for a remission of land revenue to the extent of Rs. 75 lakhs.

Reinstatement of Village Officers

The reinstatement of village officers dismissed from service for participation in Congress activities is under consideration.

The Peasant Problem

A committee of the Legislature is appointed to investigate into the conditions of tenants in zamindary areas with a view to revise the Estates Land Act.

Assignment of waste lands and vacant sites has been temporarily suspended with a view to formulate a policy towards a just and equitable distribution of the same for the benefit of the poorer classes and relief of unemployment.

Agricultural Indebtedness

Legislation for the declaration of moratorium on Agricultural Debts with a view to ultimate compulsory scaling down is being promulgated.

Handspinning

A provision of a sum of Rs. 2,000 has been included in the current year's budget for encouraging the handspinning movement in the shape of grants. The grant will be devoted to two main purposes, firstly, for the improvement of the implements employed in handspinning, and secondly for assisting the production of khadi to develop by means of a bounty on increases over present production. The bounty will be paid as and when increased production is obtained, thus ensuring the expansion of the occupation to larger areas than at present covered.

Khaddar (Name Protection) Act, 1934

The provisions of Section 2 of the Khaddar (Name Protection) Act 1934 have been brought into force in this Province. The name 'Khaddar' can now be applied only to cloth that is handspun and handwoven Spurious khaddar production will be brought under 'false trade description' under the provisions of the Indian Merchandise Marks Act and will be liable to penalty. This is intended to encourage production of genuine khaddar.

The Madras Regulation of the Sale of Cloth Act, 1937

It is proposed to introduce a Bill to regulate the trade of dealers in cloth within the Province in the Legislative Assembly on the 25th September, 1937. It is proposed to make a licence necessary for the carrying on of such trade. Dealers exclusively selling handloom products will have licence without any fee but all others are to pay a fee. The fee is fixed at a very low sum of Rs 2 per annum in the case of shops, the monthly turnover of which does not exceed Rs 5,000 and of Rs 5 per annum in case of other shops If the licence fee is not obtained within the time provided in the Bill, double fees will be levied. This measure will act as a first step in the ultimate protection intended for the handloom weaver.

The Bill further to amend the Madras State Aid to Industries Act, 1922 (Madras Act V of 1923)

It is proposed to introduce the Bill in the Legislative Assembly on September 25, 1937 The Act as it stands does not permit of the giving of a subsidy to cottage industries except for research or the purchase of machinery. The development of cottage and village industries is a matter of vital necessity, the former being an industry carried on by a worker in his own home and the latter being an industry which forms the normal occupation whether whole or part time, of any class of the rural population. The object of the Bill is to enlarge the scope of the Act so as to permit of the giving (a) of subsidies for any purpose in the case of cottage industries, and (b) of such assistance to village industries as may from time to time be found necessary

Provision of Employment for the fermented toddy tappers in Salem District

With a view to absorbing the toddy tappers likely to be thrown out of employment consequent on the introduction of prohibition in Salem it is proposed to employ the tappers to the production of unfermented sweet cocoanut toddy and to convert it into jaggery. As a preliminary to this, it is proposed to conduct certain experiments under the control of the Industries Department to find out the economics of jaggery manufacture from cocoanut sweet toddy The interests of owners of cocoanut topes have not been lost sight of by the Government Salem imports a great deal of cocoanut oil from the West Coast. When a large number of cocoanut trees are released from tapping some use must be found for the nuts. It is proposed to conduct certain experiments to extract oil from copra.

Educated Unemployed

The Government have ordered the collection of statistics regarding the educated unemployed through the agency of the Revenue Department.

Settlement of Strikes

The Government had appointed a board of Conciliation in connection with a recent strike in Sree Ganesar Aluminium Works, Madras. The differences between

the employer and Workmen are now under the investigation of the Board. By agreement of parties, the Labour Union was recognised by the management at the suggestion of the Minister for Labour.

As regards another strike in the Ring Frame Department of the Madura Mills managed by Messrs, A. & F. Harvey Ltd the Government have announced their decision to appoint a court of enquiry under Section 3 of the Trade Disputes Act, 1929. The strike of electrical workers at Cannanore was settled at the instance of the Department of Industries and Labour.

The strike at the P. W. D. Workshops was called off on the Government promising to investigate the grievances of the workers. Certain suggestions have been made to the Union with a view to granting recognition.

Public Health

The Government have taken on hand the reorganisation of the Provincial Medical Service with a view to utilising all the medical talent available by providing for the enlisting of the services of honorary medical officers on a much larger scale than at present.

For the first time in the history of the Madras Medical College an Indian Principal was appointed soon after the assumption of office by the Congress Ministry.

Urgent measures were taken for tackling the cholera epidemic in Guntur District. The local medical practitioners, the Congress volunteers, the officers of the Health Department, the District Collector and Shri Konda Venkatappiah have all cooperated in fighting the epidemic which was brought under control within a week of its incidence. Such co-operation was unprecedented and proved an object lesson for the control of epidemic in the future. Similar measures were also taken to combat the outbreak of plague in the Nilgiris, with the result that the hill station was free from the infection within a period of three weeks after the report of the first case.

The Budget for the current year provides for the carrying out of all drainage and water supply schemes for which details have been already worked out.

A scheme of providing protected water supply to all the villages in the Province is under the active consideration of the Government. Details have been called for with a priority list so that the regular execution may be taken up immediately. A new Public Health Act is being drafted.

Religious Endowments

The Government have suspended notifications of all temples with a view to enquire whether a less drastic method cannot be found for dealing with reported cases of mismanagement. A committee is investigating amendments to the Act with a view to remedy the many defects complained of by the Public.

Local Administration

Government have introduced the coloured ballot box system of voting at elections to Municipalities and District Boards. The franchise for elections to local bodies has been extended by the adoption of the Legislative Assembly electoral roll in respect of elections to local bodies also. Legislation is under consideration to abolish the system of nominations to local bodies. The ban on the hoisting of the National Flag by local bodies has been removed. Proposals are under consideration for holding elections to local bodies that have been superseded by order of the previous Governments.

Irrigation

The Criterion for undertaking irrigation works of a productive nature which was fixed as a return of 6 p. c. on the sum-at-charge since 1921 has been reduced to 4 p. c. with effect from 1st April 1937 with the result that it is now possible to take up certain schemes previously abandoned on the ground that they did not satisfy the criterion of productivity. Some of these schemes are now being re-examined and it may be possible to undertake some of them in the near future.

Several extension schemes to benefit rural areas have been sanctioned recently. Work on the installation of an additional penstock pipe and additional generating machinery at the Pykara Power House to meet the increasing load is proceeding apace. Construction work on the extension of Pykara power to Madura, Virudhunagar and Rajapalayam is proceeding rapidly and supply to Madura is expected to be given in December 1937. The Mettur Hydro-electric Scheme commenced partial operation in July and it is expected to be in regular operation in December 1937.

The investigation of the Papanasam Hydro-electric Scheme has been completed and the report on the Scheme will be examined shortly.

Construction work is in full swing in the Vizagapatam and Bezwada Thermal-Electric Scheme which will meet the immediate power needs of some of the Andhra districts.

Extensions costing 1 42 lakhs had been sanction in order to meet the increased demand for power by the Steel Rolling Mills at Negapatam which are installing additional furnaces for the purpose of smelting and refining. The national importance of the establishment of this basic industry in this Presidency apart altogether from the revenue which will accrue to Government from the scale of electricity is too obvious to require emphasis. Besides other economic advantages a certain amount of permanent employment will be created.

Education

Measures are being investigated for the re-organisation of the entire machinery of elementary education. Steps are being devised for the introduction of compulsory learning of Hindustani, with option in script in the First, Second and Third Forms.

THE UNITED PROVINCES

Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the leader of the Congress Party in the U P. Legislative Assembly along with his colleagues took charge of the Government in U P on July 16, 1937

I The salary of the Hon'ble Premier and each of the Hon'ble Ministers is Rs 500 p m plus Rs 150 as car allowance and free furnished residence.

In order to secure the good will and co-operation of the minorities more particularly of the Muslims the Hon'ble Premier in selecting his ministers and their Parliamentary Secretaries kept in view the claims of the minorities as well. Two of the six Hon'ble Ministers and three out of thirteen Parliamentary Secretaries have been appointed from amongst the Muslims while the two Parliamentary Secretaries represent the depressed classes The United Provinces has the unique distinction of having a lady as a Minister Every important community has a representative amongst the Parliamentary Secretaries

3 Soon after taking up the reins of Government the Congress Ministry examined the cases of the political prisoners and issued orders for the release of all persons convicted under Section 124-A I. P. C. or ordered to furnish security under Section 108, Criminal Procedure Code.

Orders for the withdrawal of all cases pending in courts under Section 124-A, I. P. C and 108, Cr. P C were also issued.

4. The cases of prisoners convicted of offences in connection with political movements have also been examined. Most of these prisoners have already served the major portion of the terms of their imprisonment and Government are confident that they no longer believe in the policy of violence and have no intention of following it further Acting on that belief the Government have decided to remit the unexpired portion of the sentences of certain prisoners whose cases have been considered and to release such of them who have already served long terms of imprisonment. Some other cases are still under consideration.

The Government have also examined the cases of organisations which had been declared unlawful associations in 1932 and have removed the ban under Criminal Law Amendment Act in the case of certain associations in Cawnpore, Allahabad and other districts of the province which are still subject to it. The Government have also issued orders for the refund of the securities which were demanded from presses and newspapers under the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act 1931 save in the cases of securities recently demanded in connection with communal tension which cases are also being examined.

The Government are also recognising the principle of the freedom of the press and in pursuance of their policy of impartiality in this matter do not observe any discrimination against any press or newspaper on account of the political opinions of its editor or manager and that all questions of press advertisements, court notices and printing work are treated impartially on a strictly business basis.

5. The Government have also taken in hand several measures for the relief of the peasantry. It has appointed 2 committees, one for the purpose of examining existing laws relating to land revenue and tenancy with a view to revising them in

order to put an end to the distress among the peasantry. In the meantime steps are being taken to stay proceedings for ejectment of tenants and under-proprietors, for enhancement of rent and realisation of rent due for periods prior to and including Kharif 1344 Fasli and in the case of areas damaged by hail or other calamities in recent months for Rabi 1344 Fasli as well. The Government desire to secure stability of tenure for all tenants and to effect reduction in heavy burden of their arrears of rent The Government have asked the Board of Revenue to issue orders to the Revenue Courts to stay all proceedings for ejectment, for realisation of old arrears of rent, for resumption of holdings and the like until the enactment of necessary legislation. The Government therefore consider it a matter of justice to protect those tenants who are at present in possession of their holdings from ejectment on the expiry of their tenure or for old arrears of rent

The other committee is being appointed to consider the steps necessary to remove the burden of rural indebtedness and to propose measures for relief. Pending such legislation Government intend introducing a Bill to stay proceedings for the recovery of the debts of the peasants through orders and processes issued under the existing laws.

In this connection Government also propose to examine other laws touching the peasantry with a view to render them more beneficial to tenants, under proprietors and small zamindars. They have also asked the Board of Revenue to stay proceedings for execution of civil decrees by the sale of land in the case of small zamindars, and to stay the Encumbered Estates Act, while new measures are hammered out

It is expected that these committees will be able to commence their work sometime in October next and finish their labour by the end of this year, so that the Government may consider their reports before any final decision and formulating necessary legislation. The Government have emphasized that the rent for Rabi 1344 Fasli in areas other than those affected with natural calamity, as also future rents, during the period of enquiry should be promptly paid by the tenants and protection against suits and executions given now by the Government Orders does not extend to Rabi 1344 Fasli and future instalments of rent. The Government hope that the tenants in their own interests will co-operate fully and promptly and assist in the task of introducing beneficent measures of relief

6. The situation created by the disputes between the employers and their workers in Cawnpore has been engaging the close attention of the government ever since they assumed office. Relations between the mill-owners and workers in the textile industry have been unsatisfactory for many months past. During the last 9 months there have been numerous strikes. On July 26, 1937 there has a general strike in the Muir Mills and since that date these mills have been closed. The workers in other mills—Swadeshi Cotton Mills, Textile Mills—also went on strike The Hon'ble Premier and the Hon'ble Minister for Industries several times visited Cawnpore and held a conference with labour representatives as well as the Managing Committee of the newly formed Mill Owners Association and considered their grievances Settlement of the whole dispute was however arrived at and the strike terminated when an agreement was signed by the Employers' Association and the labour leaders on August 9, 1937. The Government provided for (1) Recognition of the Union, (2) No victimisation and wage-cuts, (3) Committee of enquiry. (4) No strikes during the period of the enquiry The Government has appointed a Committee of enquiry with B. Rajendra Prasad as Chairman to investigate and report on relations of the employers and labour in Cawnpore in all its aspects A labour welfare officer has been appointed at Cawnpore by the Government to look after the interests of labour to secure immediate relief wherever possible and to promote good relations between the employers and the employed.

General municipal elections in certain areas have been postponed. The Government intends to examine the question of revising the municipal law and of widening of the franchise.

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

A statement showing the work already accomplished and the work under consideration .—

I—Home Affairs, Law and Order and Justice

A.—*Work Accomplished* :

(i) Release of all political prisoners ;
(ii) Repatriation of Bengal Detenus confined in Damoh jail ,

(iii) Release of communal riot (1927) prisoners ;
(iv) Return of Press Securities and restoration of forfeited amounts ;
(v) Issue of a circular removing disqualifications imposed upon Civil Disobedience convicts ;
(vi) Withdrawal of prosecution of political character ;
(vii) Removal of ban from some proscribed literature and proscribed films.

B—*Work under consideration* :

Legislative changes concerning various departments to be submitted early so that amendments to Acts concerned be introduced in the December Session.

The contemplated changes cover the following subjects .

Jail Reform , Amendment of the Police Act and curtailment of expenditure over police , Revision of Book-Circulars Reform in Publicity Department ; Separation of Executive and Judicial functions ; Revision of the system of appointing public prosecutors , Reduction of the salaries of Advocate General and Government Pleader, abolition of the post of the Government Pleader , Revision of the system of Hony. Magistrates , Amendment of Court Fees Act , Retrenchment in the Judicial Department and direct recruitment to be proposed , Abolition of Commissioners' Divisions and Circle Inspectors of Police , General retrenchment to the extreme limit, abolition of Civil and revenue districts and retiring those judicial officers who have been in service for 25 years and are inefficent.

II—Finance, Forest and Industries Departments

A—*Work accomplished*

(i) Reduction in the grazing rates and allowing extraction of minor forest produced free of cost in tracts inhabited mostly by the aborigines. (ii) Opening schools for aborigines. (iii) Giving preference by Government departments to manufactures of the province.

B—*Work under consideration* :

(i) Commercial and economic survey of the provincial forests ; (ii) Survey of the Mineral wealth of the province , (iii) All round financial retrenchment.

III—Revenue and Excise Departments

(i) It has been decided to permanently reduce land revenue by 12 and a half per cent in the case of small holders throughout the province ,

(ii) More Debt Conciliation Boards are established with a view to reduce agricultural indebtedness ,

It has been decided to re-examine the settlements which were made after 1924 to give relief where assessment is found to be very heavy ,

Legislation will shortly be introduced giving more rights to the tenants and greater relief as against the malguzars ,

One district, one sub-division and one Taluqa are to be declared dry from the 1st of January 1938 ,

Some industrial areas are also to be declared dry , Hinganghat, Badnera and Katni cement area are to be taken up first ,

Clubs will be licensed and foreign liquor shops will be reduced , country liquor shops will be reduced in other areas and the price of the liquor will be slightly enhanced , outstill area will be considerably reduced.

IV—Local Self-Government, Medical and Public Health Departments

(i) A comprehensive scheme for the reconstruction of the entire system of local Self-Government has been prepared and will soon be placed before the public by the Government. A new local self-Government Act will be framed on the basis of this scheme in the near future. Copies of the new scheme are enclosed herewith.

(ii) The rule disqualifying ex-C. D. convicts for employment for municipal service and that of other local bodies suitably amended.

(iii) Franchise for local bodies scaled down to bring the number of their voters to the level of Assembly voters.

(iv) Representation sent to the Secretary of State urging upon him the necessity of allowing the Provincial Government to appoint a non-I. M. S. officer as the Superintendent of the Medical School, Nagpur.

A Committee of officials and non-officials will soon be appointed to examine the question of extending medical aid to rural areas through the agency of indigenous systems of Ayurveda and Yunani; an announcement to this effect will be made shortly.

A bill to constitute a provincial board to which will be delegated the task of organising public health activities coupled with physical education, sports and other allied activities in rural and urban areas, is under consideration.

V—Public Works and Settlement Departments

A—*Work done*:

(i) The High Court Building estimate has been brought down (10 5 lakhs to 7 5 lakhs). It is being further examined with a view to effect further reduction,

(ii) Construction of some residential buildings has been stopped,

(iii) Recruitment to class I service has been withheld with a view to implement the Congress Resolution of fixing the pay of public services so that they may not exceed Rs. 500 per month. New entrants are also warned that their pays may be subjected to new scales consistent with the above limitation.

(iv) Irrigation rates have been ordered to be reduced from Rs 3-8 to Rs 2-4, this was done against all laws and rules to avert a crisis · it is however another matter that the crisis was averted by heavy rains thus practically rendering the reduction futile. But the fact of reduction against all rules will go a great way in letting the cultivators know that the Congress will not make a fettish of laws and rules when it is a question of averting a crisis and preventing hardship to the cultivators.

B—Work under Consideration.

(i) Examination of rates of P. W. D. Irrigation works with a view to effect permanent reductions.

(ii) Substitution of Indian materials for foreign ones in the matter of roads and other works, tar for roads shall henceforth be of Indian make:

(iii) A proposal has been submitted whereby no land-holder shall be dispossessed of his land completely, none shall be dispossessed below the limit of 25 acres which will provide the holder with a bare means of livelihood Similarly, the Bill provides that a person holding more that 200 acres shall not deprive any one having land below that limit: this provision will check concentration of land in few hands on one side and landlessness on the other. The measure may be described as introducing "socialism' without expropriation of confiscaiton

VI—Education

Work under consideration:

(i) Compulsory primary education to be enforced in areas where there are schools; next step in compulsion will affect the girls who will be compulsorily educated, Local bodies are already being moved to introduce compulsion on the above lines:

(ii) The scheme of Vidya Mandir is being introduced to meet the requirements of 24,000 villages which now go without any educational facilities and for which the Government cannot provide funds to establish schools of the existing types

(iii) Revision of curriculum in primary and secondary schools so as to make it more national and suitable to the needs of the times, (iv) Some examinations to be abolished; (v) Education through radio and motion pictures—Schemes are under consideration, (vi) Revision of Education Acts (vii) Introduction of adult education, (viii) Physical education, and reorganisation of boy scout movement, (ix) Revision of the University Act with a view to make the constitution more democratic than at present.

The Vice-Chancellor has already been approached and a Sub-Committee has appointed to prepare a draft.

CONGRESS MINISTERS & PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIES

Bombay

(1) Shri B. G. Kher Premier—(*Education and General*)

Parliamentary Secretaries—(i) Shrimati Hansa Mehta, (*Education*) (ii) Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, (*Labour*)

(2) Shri K M. Munshi—(Home and Law and Order)
Parliamentary Secretary—Shri B. S. Hire, (Public Information)
(3) Shri A B. Lathe—(Finance)
(4) Dr. M D. Gilder—(Excise and Public Health)
(5) Shri Morarji R Desai—(Revenue, Rural Development and Agriculture).
Parliamentary Secretary—Shri M. P. Patil, (Revenue)
(6) Shri L M Patil—(Local Self-Government and Miscellaneous)
Parliamentary Secretary—Shri B. M. Gupta, (Local Self-Government)
(7) Shri M V. Nurie—(Public Works)
Parliamentary Secretary—Shri T. R Nesvi, (Public Works).

Madras

(1) Shri Rajagopalachariar, Premier—(*Public and Finance*). Parliamentary Secretary—Shri A. Kaleshwar Rao, (*Chief Parliamentary Secretary*)
(2) Dr. P. Subbaroyan—(*Education*)
Parliamentary Secretary—Shri C. J. Varkey
(3) Shri T Prakasham—(*Revenue*).
Parliamentary Secretary—Shri T. Vishvanatham.
(4) Shri V I. Muniswami Pillai—(*Agriculture and Rural Development*).
Parliamentary Secretary—Shri N. S Varadachari.
(5) Shri K Raman Memon—(*Courts and Prisons*).
Parliamentary Secretary—Janab A. K. Mohideen Maraicair.
(6) Shri S. Ramanathan—(*Public Information and Administrative Report*)
Parliamentary Secretary—Shri Bapineedu.
(7) Shri V V Giri—(*Labour*)
Parliamentary Secretary—Shri B S. Murthy
(8) Shri B Gopal Reddy—(*Local Administration*)
Parliamentary Secretary—Shri M. Bhaktavatsalam
(9) Shri Yakub Hassan —(*Public Works*)
Parliamentary Secretary—Shri K R Kaiantha
(10) Shri T S S. Rajan—(*Public Health and Religious Endowment Board*)
Parliamentary Secretary—Shri A. B. Shetty.

United Provinces

(1) Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Premier—(*Home, Law and Order and Finance*)
Parliamentary Secretaries—(i) Shri Venkatesh Narain Tewari, (ii) Shri Suleman Ansari, (iii) Shri Mahamud Ullah Jang.
(2) Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai—(*Revenue, Agriculture and Jails*)
Parliamentary Secretaries—(i) Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, (ii) Shri Gopinath Shrivastava, (iii) Shri Hukum Singh
(3) Dr Kailas Nath Katju—(*Development & Justice*)
Parliamentary Secretaries—(i) Shri Jugal Kishore (ii) Shri Bihari Lal Chaudhuri.
(4) Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit—(*Local Self-Government & Health*).
Parliamentary Secretaries—(i) Shri A. G. Kher, (ii) Shri Chandra Bhal
(5) Shri Pyare Lal Sharma—(*Education*).
Parliamentary Secretaries—(i) Shri Husain Zaheer, (ii) Shri Karan Singh Kane.
(6) Shri Mohammad Ibrahim—(*Communication and Irrigation*).
Parliamentary Secretary—(i) Shri Laxmi Narayan.

Behar

(1) Shri Srikrishna Sinha, Premier—(*Home and Revenue including Jails, Judiciary and Legislature*)
Parliamentary Secretaries—(i) Shri Shivanandan Prasad Mandal—(*Judiciary and Jails*), (ii) Shri Krishna Ballabh Sahay—*Revenue, Appointments and Political*)
(2) Shri Anugraha Narayan Sinha—(*Finance and Local Self-Government including Public Works and Commerce*)
Parliamentary Secretaries—(i) Shri Jagat Narayan Lal—(*Finance and Commerce*), (ii) Shri Jimut Bahan Sen—(*Public Works and Irrigation*), (iii) Shri Binodanand Jha—(*Local Self-Government, Medical and Public Health*).
(3) Dr Syed Mahamud—(*Education and Development*).
Parliamentary Secretaries—(i) Shri Sarangdhar Singh (*Education and Registration*), (ii) Shri Jagjiwan Ram—(*Development*)
(4) Shri Jaglal Chaudhury—(*Excise and Public Health*).
Parliamentary Secretary—Maulvi Sayeedul Hoque—(*Excise*)

Central Provinces

(1) Dr. N. B. Khare, Premier—(Home)
(2) R S. Shukla—(Education)
(3) Shri D. P. Misra—(Local Self-Government)
(4) Shri R. M. Deshmukh—(Public Works)
(5) Shri Y. M. Shareef—(Law)
(6) Shri D. K. Mehta—Finance)
(7) Shri P. B. Gole—(Revenue and Excise)

Orissa

(1) Shri Biswanath Das, Premier—(Home, Finance, Education and Development)
(2) Shri Nityanand Kanungo—Revenue and Public Works)
(3) Shri Bodhram Dubey—(Law, Commerce, Public Health and Local Self-Govt.

Parliamentary Secretaries .—(i) Shri Jagannath Misra—(Irrigation and P. W. D. (ii) Shri Rajkrishna Bose—(Education, Local Self-Government, Excise and Forest). (iii) Shri Jadumani Mangraj—(Finance and Publicity). (iv) Shri Radhakrishna Biswas Roy—(Law and Commerce).

N. W. F. P.

(1) Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier—(Political, Home and Public Works)
(2) Shri Bhanjuram Gandhi—(Finance and Legislature)
(3) Kazi Ataullah—(Education, Revenue and Agriculture)
(5) Khan Md Abbas Khan—(Industries)

The Wardha Education Conference

As soon as Congress took up office and had to face the problem of mass education Gandhiji gave his attention to the question in all its aspects—but particulary to primary education in rural areas. His suggestions on this, appeared in Harijan as a scheme of education to centre round some form of productive manual work, and to be self-supporting in the sense that it should pay for the expenses of its teachers. He invited the opinions of educationalists and national workers on his suggestions, and finally a Conference on National Education was called to meet at Wardah on October 22 and 23 under Gandhiji's presidentship, to discuss the question in all its bearings and if possible to give some practical shape to his scheme Originally it had been planned that the Conference should cover in its deliberations the whole field of national education, but as it was necessary to arrive at some practical conclusions within the short time at its disposal only the most immediate and pressing problem, the problem of primary education was discussed The Conference was a very small and select body Invitations were confined to the Education Ministers of the six Congress Provinces, and to representative workers in the field of national education. The proceedings of the Conference conducted in Hindustani were entirely business-like

The president explained his scheme and placed it before the conference not only as a provisional educational experiment to meet the exigency of the limited resources at the disposal of the Congress Ministers, but as one based on a recognised educational principle and suited to the genius of our people and the essentially rural character of our culture.

The subject was thrown open for discussion and after a full and free discussion in five sittings the Conference passed the following four resolutions

1. That in the opinion of the Conference free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale

2. That the medium of instruction be the mother tongue.

3. That the Conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout the period should centre round some form of manual and productive work, and that all the other abilities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

4 That the Conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers

The Conference then appointed a small committee to prepare a planned syllabus on the basis of the resolutions passed by the Conference, and to submit their report to Mahatma Gandhi within one month.

Members of the Committee

Dr. Zakir Husain (*President*), Syt. Vinoba Bhave, Syt. Shree Krishna Das Jajoo, Syt Kishori Lal Mashruwala, Syt. J. C Kumarappa, Prof Siyuddin, Prof K T. Shah, Syt. Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Shrimati Asha Devi and Syt Aiyanayakam (*Convener*).

Release of Detenus and Politicals in Bengal

Mahatma Gandhi stayed in Calcutta for nearly three weeks from 25th October to 16th November despite a very high blood pressure and otherwise bad state of health. He carried on long talks with the Bengal Ministry and the Provincial Governor. He met a number of ex-detenus and other political prisoners. On his way back from Calcutta he paid a visit to the Hijli Concentration Camp where he had a two hours' talk with sixteen state prisoners. The Government has now issued a communique ordering release of about 1,100 detenus with the restriction that they have to notify the police of any change in their address. The communique further says "As regards the remaining detenus, no more than 450 in number, a large portion of whom are in camps and jails, Government propose to take up their cases in the near future Mr. Gandhi has offered to interview individual detenus, a task which he intends to undertake in about four months time and for which Government will gladly afford him every facility Government hopes then to be in a position to grant immediate release to those detenus in respect of whom Mr Gandhi may be able to give Government satisfactory assurances after seeing the individual detenues. In the meantime the Government will continue to consider relaxation in individual cases and, if such action appears to be justified, complete release"

Mahatma Gandhi has pointed that the maintenance of "non-violent atmosphere" in the province is absolutely necessary. The Government uses different language inasmuch as it says "Its (the policy of progressive release of detenus) success must however depend on the co-operation of the public and the leaders of public opinion maintaining an atmosphere in which subversive movements will find no encouragement." Mahatma Gandhi has expressed the hope and belief that the words "subversive movements" used in this connection mean "no more than activities which are either themselves violent or which are intended to further violence."

NOTES

Congress Ministry in N W. F.

Dr. Khan Sahib's motion of no-confidence in the Council of Ministers consisting of Sir Abdul Qaiyum and two others was passed in the Frontier Assembly on September 3 by 27 votes to 22 Thereupon the Governor invited Dr. Khan to form a Ministry The new Ministry that Dr. Khan formed consisted of three Congressmen and one a member of the Democratic party, Khan Abbas Khan who signed the Congress pledge. Babu Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who had gone to the Frontier in the course of a joint statement made clear that the new Ministry formed in the Frontier Province was purely a Congress Ministry, eight non-Congressites who were instrumental in ending the Qaiyum Ministry having signed the following Declaration "Finding ourselves in agreement with the policy and programme of Congress work in the Legislatures and considering the situation in this province, we hereby agree to give our full co-operation to the Congress Party in the Frontier Legislative Assembly in furtherance of that programme, to participate in the deliberations of that party, to be bound by its decisions regarding its constitutional activities within the Legislature and to be subject to the control and discipline of the party in equal measure with other members of it."

Bijnore Bye-election

The Hon. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim was elected by the Garhwal and Bijnore Districts Mohammedan Rural Constituency as a member of the U. P. Legislative Assembly on the Muslim League Ticket Shortly afterwards he resigned his membership of the Muslim League and joined the Congress party in the Assembly. He agreed to his inclusion in the Congress cabinet on the condition that he would be permitted by the party to resign and seek re-election to the Assembly. He resigned his seat on the 1st of October The bye-election that followed roused widespread interest. It was regarded as a test-contest between the

Muslim League and the Congress. The result was announced on the 6th November. The Hon. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim was declared elected securing 7271 votes. The rival candidate of the Muslim League, Khan Bahadur Abdus Sami, polled 2102 votes only.

Gandhi Jayanti Week

The 69th birthday of Mahatma Gandhi was celebrated with enthusiasm all over the country. The 2nd of October, as usual, heralded a week of large public meetings, special Gandhi Jayanti numbers of newspapers and sale and hawking of Khadhi. The President in the course of his statement reminded the country specially of the "lesson he has taught us of peaceful, disciplined action" and of Khadi 'the symbol of our struggle for freedom" and 'the livery of national service'.

China Day

In response to the appeal issued by the President, 26th September was observed as China Day for expressing the Country's condemnation of Japan's wanton aggression in China and conveying its full sympathy to the Chinese people in their brave resistance in several places. The War Danger Resolution of the Faizpur Congress was explained to the people and passed and protest recorded against the sending of Indian Troops to China without the assent of the people.

President's Tour

Accompanied by Sri Vallabhbhai Patel, the President commenced his tour of four days in Gujrat on September 13. As usual large and enthusiastic crowds greeted him everywhere. Peasants mustered in their scores of thousands to listen to the Congress message. He addressed a record gathering of 20,000 women in Ahmedabad. The city of Baroda also, accorded him a rousing reception. On his way back he stopped for a day at Ajmere and Beawar where he met Congress workers and addressed big mass meetings.

A large number of addresses and purses were presented to the President in the course of his Gujrat Tour The total amount of purse collection was Rs. 55,885-11 Of this Rs 20,112-7-3 represented contributions earmarked for the Kamala Nehru Memorial Fund.

Political Arrests, Searches, Convictions etc.

The following are some of the cases of arrests, convictions, internments, externments, searches, gagging orders and the like compiled from the Daily Press. The list is not exhaustive.

In The Punjab

The Punjab C. I. D arrested on September 3, Sri Dev Dutt, President of the Bharat Saput Mandal under the Punjab Criminal Law Amendmen' Act

Charges under Section 124-A I P. C, were framed against Mohinder Sinha, a socialist of Jullundur in respect of alleged seditious speeches

Addl. District. Magistrate, Hoshiarpur framed charges against Maulvi Mohammad Sharif, President of the Local Congress Committee under 124-A for alleged seditious speeches

The C. I. D Police arrested an alleged communist, a young Sikh under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The youngman had recently returned from America

A police party raided Bradlaugh Hall in Lahore on September 21 and arrested Bibi Fatima Begum, a prominent congress worker under section 153 I. P C. for the alleged offence of reciting an objectionable poem at Batula

The Ludhiana Police arrested on September 21 Mufti Mohammad Nasim, President, City Congress Committee, Ludhiana under Section 124-A of I. P. C.

September 22. Babu Dhian Sinha, a well known political worker of Jaudiala was placed under strict surveillance on his release after undergoing 2½ years rigorous imprisoument

September 27. Sardar Hazara Sinha American, a socialist, ex-editor of the 'Kirti' was arrested under Section 420 I. P. C.

September 27. The name of Ujjagar Sinha, Socialist worker of the Doaba was registered as a bad character by the police under Section 110, Cr. P. C. Two other Socialists, Lakori Ram Pardesi and Sardar Munsha Sinha have been placed under police surveillance.

Master Tara Sinha of Lahore was arrested under Section 324 I P C on September 29.

Babu Kharak Sinha was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment at Hoshiarpur

Charges were framed against Sardar Balwant Sinha under Section 302-115 I. P. C. on the basis of the speech delivered by the accused on the Andamans Prisoners Day.

The Punjab Government served notice on Sachindra Nath Sanyal and Mr. Manmath Nath Gupta to remove themselves within 24 hours from the Punjab.

An order from the Governor of the Punjab was served on Uday Sinha Rawat, a prominent worker of the Congress Socialist Party to remove himself from the Punjab before the expiry of 24 hours from the time of service of the order.

Lahori Ram, a socialist of Jullundur district was convicted on October 25 under Section 124-A I P C. and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment for delivering a seditious speech in August last.

November 3 An order forfeiting the security of Rs 1 000 was served to-day by the Punjab Government on Milap, a vernacular Daily of Lahore The action was taken under the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act for publication of an article calculated to prejudice recruitment to and discipline of the army.

In Bengal

Notices under the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act were served on Awga Mohan Bannerjee, Ramani Ray, Moni Das and seven other Bengali youths directing them not to leave the Municipal limits of Calcutta without permission and to report themselves once a day to the police.

Sudhir Kumar Dutt, a boy of eigtheen was convicted under Sections 35 and 36 of the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act and sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment

Anil Baran Bannerjee, a student aged 16 years was sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment under the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act

Dr J M. Das Gupta, Acting President B. P. C. C was fined Rs 100 on charge of causing obstruction to public street on Andaman Day Sri Rajani Mukerjee, a socialist Leader was similarly convicted.

Surendra Nath Bannerjee, owner of the Ajanta Printing Works was hauled up under the Press Emergency Powers Act for printing a leaflet issued by the Andaman Political Prisoners' Relief Committee.

In Madras

October 2 —Shri S S Batliwalla was arrested under 124-A I. P. C. at Tellichery on a warrant issued by the District Magistrate Nellore.

In the Indian States

Rampur. September 16 As a measure to stem the agitation which followed the announcement of new reforms in the State, Section 144 Cr. P. C. was promulgated prohibiting all political meetings and processions and 57 arrests had been made mostly under Section 144 Cr. P C. according to a telegram received from the Chief Minister.

September 22. The Jind State had externed S Kaur Sinha, Secretary, Jind Siyasat Proja Mandal and five others some three years ago. Last year their properties were confiscated on account of their political activities The State authorities have now ordered for the auction of those properties.

The City Magistrate directed Shri G. R Swamy, joint Secretary of the Bangolore Distrfct Congress Committee to execute a bond for Rs 200 and also to furnish two securities of like amount under Section 108 Cr. P. C. to keep the peace till the end of December 1337

Chickmaghur, October 8. The District Magistrate has issued a notification banning the erection of a flag staff and the hoisting thereon of the tri-colour flag and also parading it in procession for a period of six months within a radius of five miles of the town. Notices have been served on sixteen persons, including lawyers, booksellers and merchants.

Bangalore. Mr. Nariman was served with an order under Section 39 of the Police Regulations prohibiting him to address any meeting. On defiance of the order he was arrested.

November 1. Syt. G. R. Swamy, Secretary of the City Congress Committee, Bangalore was arrested on a charge of rioting. About seventy persons majority of

whom are congressmen were arrested under various sections in connection with recent Bangalore disturbances.

November 2. The office of the Beawar Town Congress Committee, Merwara Anti-Separation Committee and the labour committee and the houses of the President and the Secretary of the Congress Committee were searched and many files and documents removed.

November 2. Simultaneous searches at about one dozen places in the Jodhpur city were made by the police. The Jodhpur Praja Mandal and the Civil Liberties Union have been declared unlawful and the national tri-colour flag removed.

November 3. Order under Section 144 Cr. P C prohibiting meetings and processions which expired to-day has been extended by a fortnight

Bangalore. November 8 Shri K. T. Bhashyam, dictator of the Council of action, Mysore Congress Board was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000 or in default to further 3 months' rigorous imprisonment under Section 124-A I. P. C.

Bangalore. November 8. Shri Siddabugaiah, President of the Mysore Congress Board and two other Congressmen on whom a notice under Section 108 Cr. P C. was served were sentenced to undergo imprisonment for one year till the security is furnished.

The All India Congress Committee

Calcutta Session—29th. October to 31st. October 1937

Mr. Nehru's Survey of Political Developments

The All-India Congress Committee's meeting opened at Calcutta on the **29th October 1937** amidst the booming of guns The President, Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru*, and other leaders arrived in a procession There was a large attendance of members and visitors Provincial Premiers, other Ministers and Speakers of the Assemblies were among those seated on the dais along with the members of the Congress Working Committee

The following members of the Working Committee was on the dais Mrs Sarojini Naidu, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Mr Bhulabhai Desai, Mr Narendra Deo, Mr. Achyut Patwardhan, Mr Kripalani, Mr Jairamdas Daulatram and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The absentees were Mr. Rajendra Prasad (who was ill and absent from Calcutta) and Mr Jamnalal Bajaj (who was at Calcutta, but who could not attend the session as he had suddenly been taken ill).

Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru*, in his introductory speech, reviewed the events since the last meeting of the Committee at Delhi He said that when they met last at Delhi, they had decided to accept office on a certain condition namely, if an assurance was forthcoming from the Governors that they would not use their special powers of interference. This decision was followed by a controversy, which ultimately led to certain statements on the part of the British Government which led the Working Committee to deciding in favour of accepting offices in the six Provinces where the Congress commanded a majority The Working Committee was anxious to consult the A. I. C. C, but owing to the shortness of time and the importance of the issues involved, the Committee decided in favour of acceptance of office, being convinced that the A. I. C. C. would ratify the Committee's decision. He had no doubt that the A. I. C. C. would now ratify that decision Since the Congress accepted office in six Provinces, a seventh Province had been added.

Many things had happened since July last when office was accepted and he, who was till the last opposed to office acceptance, had to confess that the events arising from office acceptance has strengthened the freedom movement. They had produced an exhilarating effect on the masses whether they be the working class, peasants or

middle-class people. This was all for the good of the country. Congress Ministers had been able to do many things which had produced a really good psychological effect. Mr. Nehru asked the Committee to keep the main issue, namely, winning complete freedom for the country, even in the forefront and not to forget that big thing in doing other things, which by all means were beneficial to the country.

BENGAL SITUATION

Mr. Nehru welcomed all Ministers and referred to the absence of Rajaji and Dr. Khan Sahib. He, however, was not forgetful of the fact that while in the Congress Provinces, repression had ceased, politicals were released, restrictive orders repealed and bans lifted, in Bengal they still suffered under repression The President assured Bengal that the other Provinces where Congress ruled were not forgetful of this and they would do their utmost to help Bengal. Whatever they did, would have beneficial reactions in Bengal.

Congressmen had a right to criticise Ministers' actions but the criticism should be in a spirit of helping Ministers and not of a purely destructive nature Mr. Nehru referred to the Hindu-Muslim problem and the Muslim Mass Contact movement and deprecated the recent decisions of the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow. He hoped that in the Bijnor bye-election the Congress Muslim candidate would come out successful although he fought on a separate electorate.

"BANDE MATARAM" CONTROVERSY

The Congress President referred to the Working Committee's statement on the *Bande Mataram* controversy and said that this had been drafted after the most careful consultation. They had consulted as many leaders as they could, both in Bengal and outside. He was personally opposed to the last two stanzas and, therefore, urged the deletion of the same. The Congress always looked at this question from a national All-India viewpoint and not from a provincial point of view. Mr. Nehru hoped that this statement would end the controversy.

Referring to the office acceptance issue, Mr Jawaharlal Nehru opined that although he was personally opposed to it he felt, after the experience of the last three months, that office acceptance had benefited the country. The people in the rural areas seemed now to breathe a freer air and feel the advent of better days. "Nevertheless" Mr Nehru said, "you may feel that the pace of improvement is slow and the common goal is still far off. While sympathising with the Congress Ministers in the difficult task that confronts them I must sound a note of warning to them that they should always guard against losing sight of the main objective of the national striving in the pre-occupations of their present office The Congress Ministers should be prepared for criticism even from their erstwhile colleagues whenever they do something manifestly wrong but I would request Congressmen not to damp their spirit of service and enthusiasm for bettering the lot of the masses by unfair and vindictive comments."

Referring next to the Hindu-Muslim question, Mr Nehru said that the Muslim Leaguers were daily realising the growing strength of the Congress, which claimed the allegiance of more Muslims to-day than the League could do As for the attacks launched by Mr M A Jinnah, Mr Nehru said that they need not worry about such baseless insinuations

Mr. Nehru first spoke in Hindi and then covered the same ground in English.

RESOLUTIONS*

DR. TAGORE FELICITATED

After the President's introductory remarks, the minutes of the last meeting were adopted and the accounts were passed A condolence resolution, touching the death of Mr. Manilal Kothari, a former member of the A. I. C C, and the resolution regarding the closing of the Tilak Swaraj Fund, adopted by the Working Committee, were moved from the Chair and passed.

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and carried

"The All-India Congress Committee felicitates the nation on the happy recovery of the illustrious son of India, Poet Rabindranath Tagore, from his recent illness and hopes that he may be spared for many years for the service of India and humanity"

At 3-15 when the question of accounts was taken up, it was found that they had not been circulated to the members and the proceedings were held up for some time

*For the text of Resolutions See page 321.

One member, Dr. Sanyal, refused to accept the sheets of accounts distributed as 'scraps' and Mr. Jawaharlal objected to the usage of the word "scraps" in that connection. The President asked "Do you want them to be bound ?" and added they were complete.

Srimati *Kamaladevi Chattopadhaya* rose and drew the attention of the President to the fact that the accounts had not been distributed on her side of the House The President also objected to the distribution by an outsider of leaflets, etc, within the pandal.

At this stage, one visitor asked permission of the President for singing a suitable poem which he had ready.

The President asked : "Are you a member ?"

The person said that he was not participating in the discussion but was only asking for permission to enliven the gathering during the enforced interval. The President retorted, "If you are not a member, then you are a nuisance."

Office Acceptance Ratified

Just when the President was about to call on Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to move the resolution ratifying the Working Committee's resolution favouring acceptance of office, a member requested the permission of the Chair to move for the adjournment of the House to discuss a matter of urgent public importance, namely, certain actions of Congress Governments. The President said that this matter could be discussed in the ordinary course when private resolutions would be taken up.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel then moved the resolution. He said that the resolution required no speech. Mr. Narendra Deo seconded it

Mr. *Narbada Prasad Singh*, on a point of order, said that the Working Committee had reversed a decision of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi and now to ask the House to ratify that decision was not fair to it.

Mr. *N. Dutt Majumdar* (Bengal) opposed the manner in which the Working Committee had revised the A. I. C. C. decision at Delhi without consulting that body and averred that this was a dangerous precedent to set up He maintained that the decision taken by the Working Committee was of a momentous nature and, as such, the A I C. C ought to have been consulted before such a decision was taken. He warned the House against allowing such precedents being set up.

Sardar Patel, in the course of his reply, said the entire country and the entire press of the country had approved of the action taken by the Working Committee and nobody had protested against the manner in which it was taken The Committee had been entrusted with a heavy responsibility and it had taken the correct decision at the most psychological and proper moment and, if it had failed to do this, it would have deserved the censure of the entire nation. The Sardar hoped that the House would pass the resolution unanimously.

Although many amendments had been given notice of the President explained that there could be no amendments to this resolution as the Working Committee had merely asked the House to ratify the action taken by the Committee four months ago What the amendments aimed at was a criticism of the action of the Ministers after they had accepted office. This did not come within the scope of the ratification resolution, which merely demanded ratification of the action taken by the Working Committee. He, therefore, suggested that they should discuss these amendments along with private resolutions when they would get sufficient chance or opportunity.

Dr. *Pattavi Sitaramiah* desired an explanation of the working of the resolution, particularly the expression "Where the Congress commanded a majority," and the later portion of the resolution where it stated "Resolved that Congressmen be permitted to accept office wherever they were invited to do so."

Sardar Patel said that the resolution was framed at a time when the elections under the new Act had not taken place and hence the wording accepted at that time and now incorporated in the present resolution (?)

Some one wanted to move an amendment, saying that the Working Committee should not in future take important steps without having them passed by the A. I. C. C.

Mr. *Nehru* replied that the members of the A. I. C. C. has got power to convene a meeting of that body and condemn the Working Committee's action.

The resolution was then put to vote and carried without any opposition. The resolution, as approved, was as follows :—

"By resolution of 18th March last, passed by the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi, it was resolved that permission be given for Congressmen to accept office in

Provinces where the Congress commanded a majority in the Legislature if the leader of the Congress Party was satisfied and could state publicly that the Government would not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of Ministers with regard to their constitutional activities. Since the said resolution, statements and declarations were made on this issue on behalf of the British Government. After examining these declarations and the situation created as a result of the circumstances and events which occurred after the A. I. C. C. resolution of march last the Working Committee was of the opinion that it would not be easy for the Governors to use their special powers. Having considered the views of Congress members of the Legislatures and Congressmen generally, the Working Committee at Wardha in July came to the conclusion and resolved that Congressmen be permitted to accept office where they were invited to do so. Had the circumstances permitted the Working Committee was anxious to obtain the sanction of the A. I. C C in the matter but the Committee felt that delay in taking a decision at the stage would have been injurious to the country's interests and that the matter demanded a prompt and immediate decision It is therefore resolved that the action of the Working Committee in taking the said decision be ratified."

CONGRESS AND FEDERATION

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad moved the Working Committee's resolution opposing Federation. He said that there were two parts of the Government of India Act of 1935, namely, Provincial Autonomy and Federation. The Congress was deadly opposed to both, but in the interests of the Country, it thought that in order to end the unwanted Constitution, it was necessary to capture the citadel of power and therefore it had accepted responsibility for the Provincial Governments in seven Provinces where it commanded a majority in the Provincial Legislatures This, however, did not mean that Congress opposition to the Federation contemplated in the Government of India Act and its determination to combat it had dwindled down. The resolution he had just moved reiterated the determination of the Congress.

Mr *Bhulabhai Desai* seconded the resolution. Then several amendments were moved.

Mr *P. Gopalratnam* (Madras) said he was not opposed to Federation as such, but he opposed the Federal scheme envisaged in the Government of India Act. He suggested a verbal amendment, to incorporate the words "proposed Federation" instead of "Federation." It was accepted by the mover.

Mr *M. R. Masani*, while accepting the spirit of the resolution, advocated direct action, by which he meant a break-down of Provincial Governments in case Federation was imposed. He moved an amendment to this effect.

Mr *S Satyamurti* moved an amendment to the effect that Federation should be between the people of India and the people of Indian States and not between Indian Provinces and Indian States. Explaining, he said that he was not opposed to the idea of Federation itself, but he was against the proposed scheme. He criticised Mr. Masani for his amendment and ridiculed the idea of his direct action, as a result of which a breakdown of the Constitution would follow. He knew only one kind of direct action, but that would not result in a breakdown of the Constitution. He assured that the Governors could not dismiss the Ministers under the Government of India Act simply because they fought Federation. He made it clear that he contemplated neither resignation nor direct action. Mr. Satyamurti said that he would be a poor general who disclosed in advance his strategy and tactics. He had no doubt that if the resolution as moved was acted upon, by the seven Provincial Congress Governments opposed to Federation, the other four Governments would follow suit and, thus, the British Government would find it impossible to impose the unwanted scheme of Federation.

Mr. *Sri Prakasa* moved an amendment, suggesting that the Congress should take action in the Central Assembly to oppose all things connected with Federation, such as the establishment of a Federal Court, etc. He said that unless this was done, they would not be able to combat Federation effectively. He also supported Mr. Masani's amendment. He could not understand Mr. Satyamurti's plea that it would be wrong to place our cards in advance.

Mr. *N. G. Ranga* moved an amendment, demanding the deletion of the last sentence of the resolution. Mr. Ranga maintained that the sentence meant more than what it actually conveyed to the ordinary man. The retention of that sentence would mean that the Provincial Ministers would have done their part of the work by merely getting the resolution against Federation passed by their Legislatures. The resolution

conveniently omitted to mention what would be the action that would follow the attempt to impose Federation despite the unanimous vote of all the Legislatures. This sentence in effect took the wind out of the sails to direct action. If this sentence was retained it would mean the ultimate acceptance of the Federal scheme just as the rejection of the unwanted constitution had ended in the acceptance of Ministerships Mr. Ranga wanted the All India Congress Committee to lay down clearly what action to be taken effectively to combat the Federal scheme. He was not even in favour of Federation but would have the unitary form of Government for the whole of India, including Indian States where Princedom should be abolished. He suggested, as effective ways of combating Federation, the resignation of Congress Ministers, the boycott of elections to the Federal Assembly, the refusal of co-operation by Congress Ministers with the Central authority for instance, in the collection of income tax etc. If this was done it would be impossible to impose the Federal scheme.

Mr. *Jagannathan*, by an amendment, wanted the Congress to combat Federation by actively helping the people of the Indian States in their struggle against their rulers.

Mr. *Binod Roy*, by another amendment, sought the deletion of the sentence and urged refusal on the part of the Congress to participate in the Federal elections.

Mr. *Sidhwa*, by yet another amendment, suggested the starting of an All-India agitation against Federation and the fixing of an All-India Anti-Federation Day when meetings should be held throughout the country, resolutions passed and a vigorous agitation kept up He suggested that it should be done on the same lines as the Anti-Constitution Day on April 1 when the Constitution was inaugurated.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* replied to the criticisms made by the movers of the amendments in the order in which they were moved. As regards Mr. *Satyamurti's* amendment, Mr Desai said that he was against committing the Congress to the Federal form of Government. The Congress might favour a unitary form of Government if that was suitable. Federation was a dangerous experiment. Therefore, the resolution merely emphasised the Congress opposition to the Federal scheme.

As regards. Mr. *Masani's* suggestion of direct action, thereby creating deadlocks Mr. Desai maintained that it would be wrong tactics to disclose in advance what action the Congress proposed to take in the event of failure on their part to prevent the imposition of Federation He did not want to pledge the House at this stage to any particular form of action.

Dealing with Mr. *Sri Prakasa's* amendment Mr. Desai assured him that he as the Leader of the Opposition in the Central Assembly would see to it that his party did not co-operate in any action which the British Government proposed to take for the purpose of bringing into existence the Federal scheme.

Replying to Mr. *Ranga*, Mr. *Desai* said that he had misread the last sentence, which in no way contemplated the omission of other ways of combating Federation. Mr Desai did not take Mr. *Jagannathan's* proposal as a practical or a serious one. With regard to Mr. *Roy's* suggestion, Mr. Desai said that despite the refusal of the Congress Party in the Provincial Legislatures to participate in the Federal elections, it could be possible to get the required quorum to be elected to the Federal Assembly from the Mahomedan, Christian, European and other constituencies as the election was based on proportional representation Mr. Roy's suggestion, therefore, was of no value.

Mr. *Desai* averred that without the co-operation of the Congress it would be impossible for the British Government to bring into existence the Federal scheme. He, therefore, asked the movers of the amendments not to press them and assured the House that the Working Committee would take all the necessary steps to combat Federation.

Mr *Bhulabhai Desai* emphasised that the resolution as drafted reserved all possible means of combating the Federation while the amendments suggested only specific ways and, thereby, limited the scope. He stated that the success of the Congress Governments did not so much depend on the particular measures they adopted but on the growth of power which was being evolved in the land. He said "If the Congress Provinces declare their opposition to the Federation, it may well happen that even the strength of the British Government and their desire to impose the Federation on us may suffer a shock and restraint".

Mr. *Satymurthi* then announced the withdrawal of his amendment.

Mr. *Jai Prakash Narain*, supporting Mr. Masani's amendment, said that from

the way the Congress Governments were conducting themselves, it appeared that the country was going to be further away from combating the Federal scheme. The mere passing of a resolution of the nature moved was not enough if they really wanted to prevent Federation. They should resort to direct action if Federation was imposed.

The hon. Mr. *Rafi Ahmed Kidwai* (U. P. Minister), supporting Mr. Masani's amendment, said that they should intimate to the British Government that the Congress would take direct action if Federation was imposed against the will of the people.

Closure was then moved and Mr. *Abul Kalam Azad* replied to the debate Replying to the criticism that the resolution made no reference to direct action, he said that the Congress had made its opposition absolutely clear and there were several ways of implementing this declaration He did not see any reason why direct action should not be one of these if that was found suitable in the existing circumstances. Mere non-reference to direct action in the resolution did not mean that the Working Committee was opposed to the very idea of direct action The Working Committee meant fully to implement the idea expressed in the resolution, namely, opposition to Federation.

Mr Ranga, Mr. Sidhwa and Mr. K. B. Roy then announced the withdrawal of their amendments

The President first put Mr. Jagannathan's amendment to vote and it was lost, only one voting for it. Mr *Sri Prakasa's* amendment, urging the Central Assembly to pass resolution opposing any action from the Assembly to implement Federation, was rejected by 83 to 71 votes Mr. *Masani's* amendment proposing direct action was rejected by 92 to 68 votes

The original resolution, as moved by Mr *Abul Kalam Azad*, was then passed amidst applause, only two voting against. The resolution, as adopted, runs as follows —

"In view of the announcements made on behalf of the British Government that steps will be taken to inaugurate the proposed Federation, the All-India Congress Committee reiterates its emphatic condemnation of and complete opposition to the scheme and its decision to combat it in every possible way open to it. The attempt to inaugurate the scheme despite the clearly expressed will of the nation will be a challenge to the people of India. The Committee therefore, calls on Provincial Governments and Ministries to prevent the imposition of this Federation which will do grave injury to India and tighten the hands which hold her in subjection to the Imperialist domination and reaction The Committee is of opinion that the Provincial Governments should move their Legislatures to give formal expression to this opposition to the proposed Federation and request the British Government not to impose it on their Provinces"

The President announced that there was a heavy agenda before the Committee and therefore, the Committee would meet at 12 noon to-morrow.

Second Day—Calcutta—30th. October 1937

ADJOURNMENT MOTION LOST

In the All-India Congress Committee to-day, after the official resolutions had been disposed of, the President announced the result of the balloting of private resolutions Before taking them up for consideration he wanted to know the sense of the House about Mr. *R K. Sidhwa's* adjournment motion.

The *President* said there were difficulties in discussing the actions of Congress Ministers in general and the Madras Ministry in particular, because in the latter case the matter was subjudice and Mr. Rajagopalachariar himself was not present The Working Committee were engaged in considering the matter and laying down a definite policy and therefore the Committee should be allowed to continue the work and an early meeting of the A. I C C. should be called to consider this question specially He also doubted if it was wise for the A. I. C C. to discuss such important and delicate matters in the presence of the public and the Press.

Mr. *Sidhwa* maintained that it was necessary to give priority to his amendment and take public notice of the actions of the Government and a clear policy must be laid down. If this was not done now the prestige of the Congress would be lowered. He therefore urged permission to discuss his adjournment motion.

Mr. *Satyamurti* submitted that Mr. Sidhwa's adjournment motion was superfluous in view of the President's assurance that the Working Committee was actively

pursuing the matter and as soon as the Committee completed the enquiry he would call a special meeting of the A. I. C. C. a month hence from this date. He knew it was open to the House to discuss any matter but he would like to have a lead and directions from the Working Committee, particularly because important issues were involved which required very careful consideration. He wanted more light and more facts. Discussion without further light and facts would do no good but would do positive harm.

The President thereupon took votes as to whether Mr. Sidhwa's adjournment motion should be allowed and the House rejected it by a large majority.

The suggestion that the House take up the *Bande Mataram* resolution in preference to others was also voted by the House by 80 votes to 20

Mr. Nehru then called upon Mr. Linga Raju (Andhra) to move his private resolution.

Ban on Political Books

Mr. Raju moved the following resolution :

"The A. I. C. C. calls upon all Congress Provincial Governments to lift the ban on all political books without delay and consideration."

The mover thought the Working Committee would have brought such a resolution. As it did not he had to move his resolution. He enumerated the publications still under ban in Madras. He urged the House to accept it. The resolution was duly seconded. On the President's suggestion the mover agreed to the deletion of the last five words.

Civil Liberties

Mr. *Masani* next moved his resolution on civil liberties which reads : "The A. I. C. C. while welcoming the steps taken by the Congress Cabinet to effect a reduction in the number of political prisoners and detenus, though there are several political prisoners in the provinces where Congress Cabinets exist, recommend that steps should be taken to repeal the repressive laws. The A. I. C. C asks for the complete implementing of the Congress Manifesto by the immediate release of all political prisoners and to take immediate steps to repeal all repressive laws. The Committee notes with apprehension that action has been taken by several Congress Cabinets under Section 124-A I. P. C."

Mr. Masani said it was his conviction that Congress Ministries would identify themselves with imperialism. "We must guard against this This is the purpose of the resolution. We were warned against such a possibility before office acceptance was decided on." Certainly we cannot be part and parcel of the machinery for the repression used by a British Government. Within a few months of the assumption of office we find our fears have become true and unless immediate action is taken we would see Congress workers being arrested by Congress Ministries."

Mr. Masani said Congress representatives should seek to work for the restoration of civil liberties and try to remove the poverty of the peasants and release the politicals. Something on these lines had been done. Many political prisoners had been released and bans lifted. Still there were some prisoners in all the Congress provinces. Those were covered by Congress election manifesto It was suggested that they should give time. This was a wrong mentality. In any other country the leader would sign the order of release. This was what should be done. Instead, Congress Ministers were going through the files It was their own timidity which encouraged the Governors. Turning to legislation Mr. Masani said they had done less. The whole armoury of repression enacted between 1930 and 1932 remained. There was nothing to prevent future Governments from using these powers. The power of detention without trial still existed Why should they leave this legacy to the future Governments who may misuse it ? "This very power might be used against us," said Mr. Masani. "When we have left these how can we ask Mr. Huq or Mr. Sikandar Hyat Khan to remove these ? They would point at the Congress Government's own records." Mr. Masani objected to Congress Ministers launching prosecutions for sedition.

The *President* at this stage, asked Mr. Masani to discuss only the general policy and not go into details or particular instances.

Mr. *Masani* said it had been suggested that there was no difference now between the Government and the Congress, in the Congress Provinces. He submitted that this was a wrong statement. There should not be two Governments, one Indian and

one British. For the matter of that there was no difference between the Bengal Government and the Madras Government, nor between the Punjab Government and the Bombay Government. The expression "Government established by law in British India" could only mean the British Government If anyone remained in jail under the Congress Government, it would affect other non-Congress Provinces. "It is better we insist on the release of these prisoners and the repeal of all repressive laws and resign on this issue rather than continue in office. If the Governors object, we should end the experiment of office."

Mr. *Annapurnah* (Andhra), seconding, said that coming as he did from Madras he proposed to confine his remarks to Madras. Mr. Rajagopalachari had stated in the Madras Assembly that the C. I. D. would cease to function as it did in the past namely, reporting political speeches, but soon in Madras, the C I. D began to pursue the present workers. The C I. D. also searched houses and seized certain books. Much of the things happened under the benign rule of the Congress in Madras What was the use of releasing political prisoners if fresh ones were to be sent in ? Was it right for the Congress Government in Madras to violate the Congress election manifesto, he asked, but he regretted to have to submit that the Madras Government had treated the Congress election manifesto as a scrap of paper He referred to the ban on the Kottapatam Summer School of Economics and said this still remained despite the request of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee to lift the same. If they wanted to release all politicals and the lifting of the bans by non-Congress Governments, they should get the Congress Governments to release all politicals and lift all bans

The *President* said the charges made were worthy of enquiry but Mr. Rajagopalachari was not present to reply to these and therefore it was not quite proper to get into these details. He was really unable to suggest how to proceed with the discussion. He asked the speakers to confine themselves to principle and policy It would be absurd for anyone connected with the Congress to take action for seditionists all along and would continue to be so (hear, hear), but then they had to draw the line of demarcation on the question of violence. While they could say that no Congressman had any business to prosecute anyone on a charge of sedition, they could not say the same when the question of violence was involved, although, even in this, Congress Ministers should try to win the opposite party, rather than isolate him and try to charge him Yet there were many instances where action may be necessary but this was a matter of judgment. They should, as far as possible, try to have a non-violent approach in all matters They had high ideals and they wanted to live up to them Inevitably difficulties would arise but they had to use proper judgment. The Working Committee and the A I C. C. should, in such instances, pull up the Ministers concerned. It was not proper to deal with such matters in such a public meeting.

Mr. *N. V. Gadgil* moved an amendment to the effect that, instead of discussing the matter in the open house the Working Committee should be entrusted to take the necessary action in that behalf. He said the present position had no parallel in the world. They were determined to break the Constitution but yet they had to work it. It was wrong to discuss these questions without knowing all the details Hitherto they had not been able to create machinery to co-ordinate and collate the action of the various ministries Speaking for Bombay he could say without fear of contradiction that no single political prisoner was left in jail. He had no doubt the Bombay Government would implement one hundred per cent the election pledges. They had already lifted the bans on all organisations All moneys forfeited had been returned. As regards Madras the speaker asked the House to have confidence in Mr. Rajagopalachari, the man who had suffered with them and fought with them—who was one of them. "You do not know the man if you believe he will not carry out the election pledges," said Mr. Gadgil.

The Governments had their own difficulties and they should give them time. He therefore suggested that they should leave the matter in the hands of the Working Committee and not discuss these things in such an open house.

Mr. *U. Sanyal*, supporting Mr. Masani, said that Section 124-A, I. P. C., has very little to do with violence and non-violence. They were continuing the same policy that the British Government followed. Ministers were now hindering their movement rather than helping it. In the United Provinces there were still ninety prisoners. It was no use saying the Governor frustrated their attempts. Let them admit they could do nothing. They should launch an agitation so that the Ministers' hand might

be strengthened and they might release the prisoners. The Ministers were there to strengthen the anti-imperialist fight.

Mr. *R. K. Sidhwa* wanted the deletion of Section 144 from Mr. Masani's resolution. The Congress Governments had done much in the short time at their disposal. He was glad this much had been done. He criticised Mr. Rajagopalachari's speech about the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive as also his speech about the C. I D.

Mr. Sidhwa said they could not play with Section 144, which might be required in cases of riots. The Working Committee should define the policy regarding violence.

Madras Ministry Defended

Mr. *Kaleswara Rao*, Parliamentary Secretary to the Madras Premier, defended the Madras Ministry. While he agreed to the principle of the resolution, he wished to defend his own Government. There had been misrepresentations. Mr Annapurniah had charged the Madras Premier with the violation of the election manifesto. This, he affirmed, was a travesty of facts Mr Rajagopalachari was a great leader who was trying to establish the right type of national government (interruptions). Government had already returned press securities, removed all bans, released all political prisoners without exception including the Moplah rebellion prisoners, and repealed the Moplah Outrages Act He said the prisoners of the S I. R. strike and other bomb case prisoners had been released. The Criminal Tribes Act had been repealed. This was a great achievement It was only prejudice that vitiated the attitude of some members of the House against the Madras Premier. In view of what he had stated above, calling the Madras Government reactionary was preposterous. He did not wish to say anything in regard to the two cases which were *sub judice* The charge of the non-listing of the ban on the Summer School was wrongly issued because it was a ban only for 1937, issued by the previous Government They could not get back the summer of 1937 A similar school in the summer of 1938 could be established and there was no ban. It was wrong to accuse the Madras Government of reactionarism.

Dr. *Pattabhi Sitharamayya* moved an amendment similar to the one moved by Mr. Gadgil He agreed that the Ministers suffered under one difficulty, namely, they were being criticised by those who opposed office acceptance. What could the poor Ministers do against the Governors? All people were angry because this had not been done. They were new Ministers and had their difficulties with the Governors, but did those who opposed office acceptance tell you about this? The question that they had raised was the inadequacy of the work done by their Ministers, but he asked, was this the place where they should wash their dirty linen? He would, therefore, suggest this matter should be referred to the Working Committee, which could, by negotiation and other means, achieve the object they had in view.

Dr. *Suresh Chandra Banerjee* supported Mr. Massani's resolution and urged the Congress Ministers to carry out election pledges by bold action.

Mrs. *Kamaladevi Chattapadhaya*, supporting the resolution, regretted the limitation of the scope of the discussion. She wondered why the absence of Mr Rajagopalachari should prevent the House from being in possession of full particulars. Why did not the Working Committee possess itself of all the necessary facts? The House had complete faith in the Working Committee, but that did not mean it could not criticise the Committee This criticism, however, should not be construed as a vote of censure. It was not fair to ask the A. I. C. C. to relegate this important question to a corner. If the matter had been allowed to go on it would undermine the trust in the Ministry and therefore it was right that they should discuss the matter at the open House. Closure was then applied.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, opposing Mr. Massani's resolution and supporting Mr. Gadgil's amendment, said he did not wish to speak, but Mrs. Kamaladevi made a personal reference to him. Therefore he had to reply. He had made an exhaustive enquiry from Mr. Rajagopalachari, but the case being *sub judice* he was unable to place the correspondence before the House. How could they accuse Mr. Rajagopalachari, who had released Mr. Meherally who had been convicted when the previous Government was in power? Had it been possible the Working Committee would have placed all the matters before the House as the ultimate responsibility rested on the House. On having accepted office it was their responsibility to support the Ministry. So long as they were not in possession of full facts they could not appor-

tion the blame. He denied Mr. Massani's allegation that 90 prisoners were still in jail in U. P. (Here the Congress President, intervening, said as a U. P. man, he could say with authority Mr. Massani's statement was incorrect). Mr Rajagopalachari would have come before the House had he not been ill. Mr Rajagopalachari had been fighting for civil liberties which the mover of the resolution was anxious to restore. He assured the House that as soon as the Working Committee was in possession of full facts it would place them before the House.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Premier of U. P., said he fully appreciated the desire of the members of the House to survey the events of the last three months and appraise the Congress Ministers' work and apportion blame or credit. The Ministers would be there only so long as they possessed their confidence. The House had every right to scrutinise everything the Ministers had done and tell them frankly where they had been wrong. As human beings the Ministers were bound to err, but he assured the House it would be their constant endeavour to fulfil the trust entrusted to them. After all, what was in the power of the Ministers ? They derived all power from them Once their confidence in the Ministers was gone the Ministers would be nowhere. It was their duty to see, while the Ministers were adequately punished for their fault, they were also properly strengthened in their work. Mr. Pant asserted that there were no violent prisoners in his province. All had been released He was not narrating the achievements of his Ministry for what were they, compared with their objective of Independence ? (Applause). They had released the Kakori prisoners

A voice. "Not all".

Mr. Pant "I admit two have not been released, but one of them will be released, probably before many of you reach your places (Applause). You do not want us to release prisoners only to bring them back. We want freedom of speech, action and association, but for that there must be a complete non-violent atmosphere. If you can produce the atmosphere not a single prisoner will be detained in jail, not only in my province but even in non-Congress provinces While we have tried to do some things I admit we have failed to do many things But I promise you, we shall ever try to carry out our pledges" (Applause).

Mr Massani, replying to the debate, emphasised that his resolution was by no means meant as a vote of censure on the Congress Ministries and no member of the A. I. C. C. could take exception to the same.

The President then put Mr Gadgil's amendment suggesting a reference of the whole matter to the Working Committee for enquiry and necessary action, which was adopted amidst applause by 99 votes to 58. The House then adjourned.

COTTON SLUMP COMMITTEE

Earlier in the day official resolutions were taken up. The resolution on the cotton slump, which, it was originally intended, should be moved from the chair, created unexpected controversy and opposition and, therefore, the President called on Mr Bhulabhai Desai to move it formally. Mr Ranga seconded it.

Dr. *Sanyal* (Bengal) opposed it on the ground of principle. He said that the Working Committee had not hitherto cared for agriculturists and asked why it was that it had suddenly developed concern for the cotton-growers Agricultural prices had gone down all over India. Why, then, was only cotton singled out ? He accused the Working Committee of partiality to Gujarat and Bombay, but the President pulled him up. If the resolution was passed, Dr. Sanyal continued, consumers of cotton goods would be hit hard and Bengal mills would be affected.

Dr. *Pattabhi Sitaramayya* moved an amendment, wanting the deletion of the last paragraph. He maintained that India was not in a state of over-production like America where cotton crops, coffee, etc, were burned to maintain crop prices. While the appointment of an expert committee had been suggested to investigate the whole case, he asked why Provincial Ministers were being asked to investigate the possibility of a re-distribution of the cotton-growing areas. The Ministers knew nothing about this and, therefore, it was a preposterous suggestion to ask them to investigate this.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* accepted Dr. Pattabhi's suggestion for the deletion of the last paragraph.

Mr. *Ranga*, replying, maintained that the resolution was absolutely essential and not a minute too early in view of the crisis that was arising. While he would have liked better phraseology and different personnel for the committee he would wholeheartedly support the Working Committee's resolution, and he urged the House to do the same. The resolution, as amended, was passed.

War in China

Mr. *Sarat Bose* next moved a resolution on Japanese aggression in China. He said that the whole of India had been moved by the events in China and the entire country had shown instinctive appreciation of the position in China. He desired to give expression to the great indignation which had swept India from end to end against Japan. This was not mere formal registration of a protest, but the Congress meant every word of what it stated in the resolution. The struggle in China was against Japanese imperialism. Therefore it was only part of the world struggle against Imperialism. China's struggle therefore was India's struggle, just as India's struggle was that of China's He condemned air bombing and said this was an outrage on civilisation He had no doubt China would ultimately succeed against Japanese aggression, and this success would be a a great success against imperialism.

Japan was a most powerful military nation and therefore China would require all possible help and sympathy. That is the reason why the Congress had suggested boycott of Japanese goods. It had been said that Japan would retaliate. The speaker had no such fear as he was convinced that Japan would have to depend on India for many things. Moreover, the action proposed was not State action and therefore there could not be State retaliation. They had, of course, no control over State action in India If they had, they would not have allowed the sending of Indian troops to China. He wondered how any member of the Indian Legislature could have supported this (cries of 'shame, shame').

In conclusion he commended the resolution to the house.

Mr *Sri Prakasa* moved an amendment demanding the deletion of the last sentence and addition of the following "The Congress earnestly appeals to the Government and people of Japan to refrain from any further aggression in China" Explaning, he said that India's position was not such as would warrant any interference with the affairs of other countries. He refered to India's boycott of Italian goods during the Abyssinian War and said this attempt proved a failure. Of course he was at one with the previous speaker regarding the suggestion that India should fight imperialism and support any country which fought imperialism. He would suggest that India should send ambulance help to China, but he could not afford to think of having unpleasant relations which were bound to rise out of the proposed boycott of Japanese goods.

Prof Ranga moved a similar amendment and said the boycott of Japanese goods would mean great sacrifice on the part of the Indian kisan workers. He supported the resolution in so far as it condemned Japanese aggression in China but he maintained that the economic boycott of a powerful country like Japan would be of no use He asked the House how they would implement their decision If they persisted in it, there would be retaliation from Japan. When India imposed a 75 per cent duty on Japanese goods some years ago, Japan boycotted Indian cotton and preferred American cotton and the result was that Indian peasants were hit hard. Similarly, the proposed boycott would mean retaliation from Japan. Boycott would also mean a bumper trade to Indian mills If, however, boycott was to be insisted upon, Indian mills should be made to purchase all Indian cotton and thus make their own quota of sacrifice.

Mr. Bankim Mookerjee said that if India boycotted Japanese goods she would purchase her cotton elsewhere, but that would not mean retaliation. If they organised their boycott properly Indian industries would improve. He urged the house to support the resolution unanimously.

Lala Dunichand of Ambala supported Mr. Sri Prakasa's amendment and said it would be a mistake to side-track Indian energies in such a direction instead of concentrating on her goal of independence.

Mr. *P. Biswas* further supported the amendment.

The President allowed Mr. Satyamurti to explain the position of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly regarding the dispatch of Indian troops in China.

Mr. *Satyamurthi* said the attitude of his leader and himself regarding their statement was not to express any opinion on the despatch of troops, which the Government had already decided upon, but to make it perfectly clear that they did not approve of Indian troops being used in China in any way in the fight between China and Japan "We would never be a party to the use of Indian troops in the Sino-Japanese fight. We approved sending of Indian troops to China solely for the purpose of protecting Indian nationals in China, which is the primary duty of every self-governing country. We are as strongly against the use of Indian troops for imperial purposes as any other member of the House."

Mr. *Sarat Bose*, replying to Mr Satyamurthi, drew attention to the statement he (the speaker) had issued immediately after reading the Assembly leaders' statement. This was a complete reply

Replying to criticisms raised by movers of amendments, he said that China had emerged from many ordeals and was not in need of any one's help, but it was their duty to support her Mere lip sympathy, as suggested by Mr. Sri Prakasa, would not be sufficient. What was needed was practical help The Congress to-day had no power to take State action, but the people could take moral action It was quite possible to make economic boycott effective Undoubtedly this involved risks, but were they going to abandon their policy simply because of risks? Japan could not get raw materials elsewhere, and if she attempted this she would only strangle her own economic life in her attempt to injure India It was the duty of a nation, which felt one with another, to be up and ready to make any sacrifice required.

Mr *Ranga* withdrew his amendment Mr *Sree Prakasa's* amendment was defeated when voted upon, and the original resolution as moved by Mr. Sarat Bose was passed.

Third Day—Calcutta—31st. October 1937

RESOLUTIONS

On resumption to day, the All-India Congress Committee took up consideration of further private resolutions

The House adopted without discussion Mr. *Kamla Shankar Pandya's* resolution, calling on the Congress Provincial Assemblies to pass resolutions, asking their Governments not to confer titles and decorations on people and also calling on Congress Ministries to intimate to H M the King that they do not propose to recommend any names for titles

The House agreed to refer Mr *A K Pillai's* resolution, condemning the Government of India Act, re-affirming the previous resolutions of the Congress to combat it and urging the Congress Executive to lay down a uniform policy for all Provincial Ministries, to the Working Committee for action.

The A. I. C C next adopted a resolution, moved by Dr. *Pattabhi Sitaramayya*, urging the re-distribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis He urged the Madras and Bombay Governments to take up the question immediately

Srimati Kamaladevi moved a resolution protesting against the repressive policy of the Mysore Government and sending greetings to the people of Mysore in their struggle. It had been suggested (she said) that Congress was interfering with the affairs of Mysore State, on the contrary, the Mysore Government were interfering with the normal day to day activities of the Congress Restrictive orders had been served on several Congress workers, meetings and processions banned and meetings broken up. She herself had been perpetually pursued by the police and persecuted in the most insulting and vulgar manner although she had no intention of doing any work in Mysore and was only passing through Mysore Mysore Congress workers had exercised considerable restraint and bowed to this kind of insulting treatment, but the Mysore Government interpreted this as a sign of weakness on their part and harassed them more and more In effect, what the Mysore Government were objecting to was not the entry of this man or that man but the building up of a Congress organisation which owed no allegiance to the Mysore Ruler The Dewan himself was responsible for such a state of affairs. He had thrown out a challenge to the Congress, which should be taken up and the proper reply given.

Mr. *Gadgil*, seconding the resolution, said that the interference came from the Dewan. He maintained that it was right that the All-India Congress Committee should discuss the resolution After describing the Congress attitude towards Indian States, Mr. Gadgil said that Shrimati Kamaladevi's resolution was quite consistent with that policy. Therefore, he urged the Congress to render all possible help to

the Mysore people If they failed to do this, the rulers of Indian States would be encouraged to believe that the greatest possible organisation in the country, the National Congress, could not interfere whatever they did against the Congress organisations. Professor *Indra* also supported the resolution

Mr. *K F Nariman* endorsed every statement made by Srimathi Kamaladevi and said that the Mysore Dewan was one of the cleverest diplomats who followed Mr. Macdonald and Sir Samuel Hoare. No civilised administration in India or outside could tolerate such abominable repressive measures. The Government appeared to keep printed orders ready to be served on those who passed through the State. He commended the resolution for the acceptance of the House

Dr *Pattabhi Sitaramiah* suggested that the entire matter be referred to the Working Committee but the House did not accept his suggestion.

The House accepted Shrimati Kamaladevi's resolution amidst applause

The *President* announced that it had been decided that the All-India Congress Committee should meet again in about two months' time, either in the last week of December or the first week of January The date and place will be announced later

The President also indicated that there might be a slight change regarding the dates of the Haripura Congress session

The 'Bande Mataram' was sung and this brought the three days' session of the All-India Congress Committee to a conclusion

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The Congress and the Masses

Pt. Jawaharlal's Call for Co-operation

Since my return from Burma and Malaya I have received many letters from Congress Committees and Congressmen enquiring about the duty of Congressmen towards labour and peasant organisations. Should these organisations be encouraged or not? And if so, what form should they take, what relation, if any, should they bear to the Congress? These problems have arisen in many provinces and they require our serious consideration Sometimes these problems are largely personal, sometimes they are mainly provincial, but behind them always there is the larger issue. In dealing with the local aspects of the problem, we must inevitably consider these peculiarities and even personalities But we must be clear about the principles and the real issues before we lose ourselves in the forest of local detail

How has this problem arisen? Not surely just because of a few persons acting in a particular way, but because of the dynamics of the very struggle in which we are engaged. It is a sign of our growth and the rising consciousness of the masses For that growth the National Congress is mainly responsible and to it therefore must go the credit in a large measure for the new mass consciousness The Congress has worked for it and if success comes to it, Congressmen must not fight shy of this Therefore this new development is to be welcomed even though it might bring some occasional complications with it.

These complications are to some extent inherent in the situation The Congress is predominantly a political organisation representing the urge of all classes of Indians towards national freedom A labour or peasant organisation is essentially a group or class organisation primarily interested in the welfare and advancement of that group or class. The Congress thinks and acts mainly on the political plane, the workers' organisation on the functional and economic plane Yet the differences are not so great as one would imagine and the development of our struggle and of political consciousness bring the two close to each other and they overlap to a considerable extent. The Congress because of its close touch with the masses, because indeed it is by far the biggest mass organisation in the country, inevitably begins to think and act in terms of the economic grievances and disabilities of the masses, that is the workers, peasants and others The labour and peasant organisations are forced to the conclusion that economic disabilities cannot be removed to any large extent unless political freedom is achieved and comes to the people as a whole.

Thus the two overlap and the joint anti-imperialist front grows up. In any country under alien domination the political aspect always overshadows other aspects. This in itself would make the Congress the dominant organisation in the country, but this predominance has been further intensified by the part that the Congress has played in recent years in our struggle for freedom The Congress is thus to-day far and away the most powerful and the most widespread organisation in India, it has tremendous mass appeal and mass support; even the workers and peasants look up to it and are influenced by it far more than by their own class organisations Other organisations are not even bad seconds The Congress has obviously not achieved this mass influence and support by its political programme only It has done so by its magnificent record of service and sacrifice, and by its direct approach to the masses and its increasing economic orientation, which is understood by those masses more than the purely political objective It is interesting to compare the organisational and basic strength of the Congress in various parts of India This strength varies directly with this economic orientation and mass contacts

Thus from the point of view of our freedom struggle, both in its political and economic aspects, it is essential that the Congress should be strengthened Everything that weakens it, weakens that struggle, and weakens even the workers' and peasants' movements, for neither of these is strong enough to make much headway without congress support. It is the realisation of this fact that has brought about the demand all over the country, and from all kinds of quarters, for a joint anti-imperialist front under Congress auspices Indeed the Congress itself is increasingly considering this joint front

But in spite of all this the Congress remains, and has to remain, a national organisation and it cannot always represent the functional or class interests of the workers and peasants. It cannot function as a trade union or kisan sabha. In actual practice, where its contacts with the peasantry are considerable, it almost functions as a kishan sabha The general tendency is for the Congress to develop into a predominantly peasant organisation and this process is likely to continue, but the leadership is bound to remain with the middle classes, chiefly the lower middle classes, so long as the Congress remains the National Congress and does not undergo a change into something entirely different

But these are speculations about the future and it is the present that concerns us. The outstanding facts of the present are (1) the Congress must be strengthened because it is the only organisation which can lead us effectively to our goal, and (2) the rising consciousness of and ferment among the masses If these two facts are correlated then we have a powerful movement which grows in strength and leads us to success This is the basic reason for and the raison d'tre of the emphasis that is being laid on mass contacts And be it remembered that this applies to all Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian masses. The cleavages of religious faith do not affect this programme at all. We talk loosely sometimes of Muslim mass contacts, but this is not a communal movement dealing with Muslims only Our programme is identical in this respect for Muslim and Hindu or others only in order to draw the attention of our workers to work among the Muslim masses have we talked of Muslim mass contacts

Contacts with the masses can be of two kinds, direct contacts by means of Congress members and village committees among the workers and peasants, and contacts with the workers' and peasants' organisations. The first, of course, is essential and needs no argument Without it the second does not come into the picture at all, for the second can only be a corollary to the first If the Congress has not got direct and widespread and deep contacts with the masses, it is bound to be influenced far more by the middle classes and will thus move away to some extent from the mass outlook which it has been its consistent aim to develop It must, therefore, be the aim of every Congressman, and more specially those who have the interests of labour and the peasantry at heart, to develop these direct contacts by enrolling Congress members from the working classes and establishing village committees.

The second kind of contact, that is some kind of organisational relation of the Congress with working class organisations, involving functional representation, has been discussed for some time past and is still being discussed It involves a basic change in the Congress constitution and I do not know when, if ever, it will be given effect to Personally, I am in favour of the principle being admitted and given effect to gradually, as the U. P Provincial Congress Committee has recommended.

This will not make much difference to begin with, as the workers' and peasants' union which are properly organised and capable of taking advantage of Congress affiliation are very limited in number, and then the conditions for affiliation would be laid down by the Congress. But the question does not arise now as the Congress constitution does not permit such affiliation or any kind of functional representation. It is a debatable question and we need not consider it further here. But this I should like to emphasise again That those who are in favour of this change cannot bring it about from outside pressure, they can only do so by having a large enough Congress membership of workers and peasants who want such a change. If the outside pressure is at any time great enough to compel the Congress to bow to it against its own will, that will mean that the outside organisations are more powerful than the Congress, and if so why affiliate? But this is a highly unlikely contingency.

While it is true that this question is beyond our purview at present, we see something vaguely similar to it developing all over the country This is the increasing co-operation in actual work between local Congress committees and working class organisations. Sometimes even joint informal committees have been formed. Often enough the leading spirits of those local organisations are prominent Congressmen and so there is no difficulty in having this co-operation But there is something more in it than this common link, there is the demand for this co-operation and a realisation that it is highly necessary.

Having laid so much stress on the importance of bringing in workers and peasants directly into the Congress, let us now consider the desirability of having separate working class organisations. There can be no doubt whatever that both industrial workers and peasants have, or ought to have, the inherent right to organise themselves. That is in the nature of a fundamental right which the Congress has repeatedly recognised There is no room for argument about it The Congress has gone a step further and encouraged, in history at least, the formation of such unions.

The case of industrial workers is clearer than that of the peasantry. It seems to me that anyone interested in such labour must come to the conclusion that it is the bounden duty of the workers to organise themselves in trade unions, and for others to help them to do so The trade union movement is the inevitable counterpart of modern industry; it must grow as industry grows The Congress with all its mass contacts cannot function as a trade union, and the numerous workers' problems and conflicts that arise can only be dealt with by a trade union From the point of view of our larger freedom movement also the organisation of workers in trade unions is essential for such organised workers develop strength and momentum and a high degree of political consciousness Therefore Congressmen should help also, in so far as they can, in the day-to-day struggles of the workers. There should be co-operation between the local Congress Committees and the trade union. The trade union is of course in no way within the Congress organisation, nor is it subject to official Congress control But it must recognise that in political matters the lead of the Congress has to be followed and any other course will prove injurious to the freedom struggle and even to the workers' movement. In economic matters and those relating to workers' grievances, the union can have whatever programme it chooses, even though this may be in advance of the Congress programme. Congressmen, in their individual capacities, can and should be members or friends of the union and as such will of course give it their advice But a Congress Committee as such should not try to control a trade union. Recently a case came to my notice when the Congress Committee tried to interfere with the elections to the executive committee of a labour union This seems to me highly undesirable. It is unbecoming for a Congress Committee to do so and unfair to the Union It is bound to lead to conflict or to the conversion of the Union into something which is not essentially a labour union. Congressmen, of course, who have served the cause of labour, have every right to take part in the affairs of the Union.

Transport workers stand exactly in the same footing as other industrial workers and their organisation in special unions is highly necessary. It is also desirable to organise separately and functionally those workers in cities who carry on particular professions and whose economic interests are allied such as tonga walas, the la-walas, ekkawalas, mallas (fishermen and boatmen), stone-breakers, petty clerks, press workers, sweepers, and the like All these should of course be brought directly into the Congress fold as primary members, but they have special problems of their own, and a functional organisation gives them strength and self-reliance. It is easier for

them later on to take part in Congress work This of course presumes that Congressmen are in intimate touch with their special organisations and give them every help in time of need.

Mixed labour unions and mazdur sabhas in a city consisting of workers from various trades and businesses are usually not successful. There is no functional unity amongst them, no common urge to co-operation or action, and if a political unity is desired, the Congress is there to give it

The important problem of the peasantry remains, and this after all is the most important of our problems In the term peasantry I include the peasant proprietors as well as the tenants, the petty zamindars of the Punjab and elsewhere, the kisans of the U. P and Behar, and the Krishaks of Bengal and Orissa The same method of treatment will not apply to all these, there will be variations. But for the moment I am dealing with the Congress approach to their special organisations.

The Congress has fully recognised the right of the peasantry to organise themselves, and in theory the considerations I have advanced in favour of trade unions apply to them also. But there is a difference It is relatively easy to organise factory workers and the like, they are a closely-knit group, working shoulder to shoulder and obviously suffering from common disabilities It is far more difficult to organise the peasantry, loosely scattered and thinking almost in terms of the individual and not of the group. We have experienced all these difficulties in the course of our Congress work, and thus we find that while Congress influence over the peasantry is very great, our organisational strength among them is much less Tens of millions look up to the Congress and owe allegiance to it, but the actual membership is counted in hundreds of thousands only.

Where Congress Committees are working effectively in village areas, an effective kisan organisation in the same area would largely overlap There would be duplication of effort and waste of energy The Congress itself is usually considered by the peasantry as their own organisation, and that is as it should be Thus we find that in such areas separate kisan organisations have not grown up, although the kisan movement, as a part of the Congress and more or less within its fold, is strong. Where however Congress Committees are not functioning effectively in the villages, the gap is bound to be filled sooner or later by peasant organisations The important fact to be borne in mind is that there is deep ferment in the peasantry all over India and a powerful, though partly unconscious, desire on their part to do something to get rid of their many burdens, which have become quite unbearable Fundamentally this is due to the economic condition, but also there is the fact that the political movement, under the leadership of the Congress, has raised mass consciousness and made them resent many things which they used to bear silently like dumb beasts. They have also had a glimmering of the effectiveness of organisation and united mass action So they are expectant and if the Congress call does not reach their ears, some other will, and they will respond to it. But the call that will find echo in their hearts must deal with their own sufferings and the way to get rid of them.

Because of this we find to-day all manner of strange people, who have never had anything to do with the peasantry before, talking in terms of economic programmes and trying in their uncouth way to woo the peasantry Even political reactionaries of the deepest dye discuss unctuously agrarian programmes. Nothing will or can come of this, for far-reaching agrarian reform will never come out of political reaction But this attitude of theirs shows us the way the wind blows.

The wind is blowing to the villages and to the mud huts where dwell our poverty-stricken peasantry, and it is likely to become a hurricane if relief does not come to them soon. All our political problems and discussions are but the background for the outstanding and overwhelming problem of India—the land problem.

The Congress has realised this in a large measure, and in spite of its political preoccupations it has laid down the agrarian programme This programme, though it does not go to the root of the problem, is substantial and far-reaching and undoubtedly would bring relief to the peasantry So far as I know, agrarian programmes drawn up by peasant organisations do not differ greatly from this But the drawing up of a theoretical programme is not enough It must be given the fullest publicity among the peasant masses and the organisation must reach the village. Further we must draw up definite schemes and proposals on the basis of this programme. These proposals will vary in different parts of India as conditions differ. It is the business of Provincial or Congress Committees and Congress Assembly parties to draw up these proposals. It is true that we may not be in a position to give effect to this

full programme under present conditions. But we must be ready with it, to the smallest detail, so that when the time comes we can go ahead confidently and with speed

I have pointed out that present conditions in India and the very dynamics of the situation are leading to the organisation of the peasantry The example of other countries points to the same conclusion. Therefore it seems to me inevitable that peasant organisations will grow up Where the Congress is itself a largely peasant organisations, separate kisan sabhas and the like will not function effectively as organisations, though they may offer occasional platforms for the ventilation of kisan grievances. Where Congress contacts with village folk are weak, the kisan organisation will develop more. In any event the growth of peasant organisations, weak or strong, will take place. What should be our attitude to them ?

We cannot say that there should be no peasant organisations. That would be contrary to the declared Congress policy; it would be wrong in principle and it would come into conflict with that living movement and ferment that we see all around us. Nor can we say that a kisan sabha should be just a wing of the Congress, each member of the Sabha being a primary member of the Congress That would be an absurdity, for under those conditions it is hardly necessary to have a kisan sabha It seems to me also out of the question to place peasant organisations in the same category as the All-India Spinners Association or the Village Industries Association Such restrictions will not stop the growth of separate peasant organisations, they will only result in putting them outside the pale of the Congress and make them look upon it as a partly hostile body

It is important that there should be no thought of rivalry between the two for this will be injurious to both, more specially to the peasant organisation which is bound to be much weaker. If large numbers of peasants are direct members of the Congress and leading Congressmen are interested in the peasants' grievances, there will be no rivalry and in effect, though not organisationally, the peasant organisation will be a kind of wing of the Congress

There are of course difficulties in such vague contacts and possibilities of friction. These difficulties are inherent in the situation and we have to face them The more real our politics are, the more they deal with the problems of life and the many faces of a vast and complex and dynamic movement, the more we have to face fresh problems and adjust ourselves to changing situations For life itself is complex and ever changing. Any advice I may give to-day on this or any other subject may not hold good sometime later for conditions may change

And then principles may be good but it is not always easy to apply them in practice. Thus we find to-day that sometimes the Kisan Sabha platform is used in opposition to the Congress. Sometimes political or communal reactionaries try to do so, more often, some Congressmen who do not approve of the local Congress Committee or its office-bearers find the Kisan Sabha platform a convenient place from which to attack them. A rival Congress group thus may exploit another organisation to gain power in the Congress itself Thus the Kissan Sabha sometimes becomes a temporary home for the recalcitrants of the Congress, or even those against whom disciplinary action has been taken by Congress Committees. I have had reports of kisan Conferences being organised within a couple of miles of a District Political Conference, on the same day and at the same time This was intentionally done to injure the Congress conference and attract some people away from it I have further had reports of processions organised to interfere with Congress Conferences, of slogans offensive to the Congress being shouted there, of flag conflicts being deliberately engineered

This kind of thing is highly objectionable and all Congressmen must oppose this folly and this exploitation of the Kisan movement in the interests of particular groups and individuals. It does not injure the Congress ultimately, except in so far as it produces confusion in the minds of the unsophisticated and simple-minded peasantry It injures far more those who indulge in such practices I have previously written about the Flag and I want to repeat that any attempt to dishonour the National Flag by whomsoever committed cannot be tolerated We have no grievance against the Red Flag For my part I like it and honour it as the symbol of the workers' struggle and sacrifices But it is grossly unfair to that Flag to treat it as a kind of rival of the National Flag.

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The National Liberal Federation

19th. Session—Calcutta—29th. to 31st. December 1937

The Presidential Address

The nineteenth session of the National Liberal Federation of India met at Calcutta on the **29th December 1937.** Representative Liberals from all over India were present. In the course of his Presidential address, *Sir Chimanlal H Setalvad* said —

Since our last session at Lucknow, events have moved very rapidly The general elections for the Provincial Legislative Assemblies under the new Constitution were held and the Congress candidates in seven out of eleven provinces won a sufficient majority of seats in the legislatures in those provinces to be in a position to form ministries I claim that the Liberal Party won a signal victory—not at the polls—but in the acceptance of liberal principles and constitutional methods by the Congress. The Working Committee of the Congress decided in favour of office acceptance which the Liberal Federation, while condemning the new Constitution and protesting against its ugly features, had recommended at its last session The comment on that decision of the Working Committee by a leading, Congressman who is now, I believe, a Minister, was that "it is simply a resolution of the Lucknow session of the Liberal Federation rewritten in Congress language" For some time the Congress majorities hesitated to shoulder the responsibility which naturally fell upon them as the result of the polls After fussing over for three months over a demand for an assurance from Governors which was both unnecessary and constitutionally untenable, the Congress Ministries came into existence and have been functioning ever since. The prospective wreckers have become ardent workers They have now come to realise what the Liberals had said that in spite of all the limitations and undesirable features of Provincial Autonomy, there is considerable scope for doing good to people One Premier is reported to have said "Whatever may be the defects in the present Government of India Act, it has enabled us to wield power for the good of the masses"

The Congress Ministries have begun to feel the obligations of responsibility and have learnt how far removed from the realities of practical administration were the slogans they had shouted and the glib promises they had made to the electorates during the elections In some provinces, the ministries had to resort to Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and the Criminal Law Amendment Act which they had time and again proclaimed should be abrogated Lathi charges and firing had to be resorted to. Congressmen had to be warned not to associate themselves with Kisan Sabhas and Kisans had to be told that if they did not pay rent under existing laws their lands would be confiscated. In one province they had to prosecute a Congressman under Section 124-A The Premier of the province in which that prosecution took place is reported to have said that if people from other provinces come here to do mischief by inciting people to violence, he could not keep quiet but must snatch a revolver and do something to curb such things Another Minister said that the Congress Ministry would not countenance any subversive activity to bring about political change. I am not for a moment finding fault with them for the action these ministries had to take On the contrary, I commend their courage and good sense in doing so

For taking such measures the Congress Ministries are attacked by the leftwingers of the Congress as making use of laws which they when out of office had vehemently condemned, and are accused of resorting to violence while pledged to the creed of non-violence. They also accuse the ministries of infringing the civil liberties of the people If there is an outbreak of communal violence or strikers use coercion or intimidation in preventing those who want to work from doing so, is the Government, because it is a Congress Government, to allow public peace to be jeopardised and industry to be ruined and look on impotently while chaos and anarchy spread ? Is it part of the civil liberties of strikers to be allowed to intimidate and use violence to others who want to work ?

Several Ministers have said "Even a Congress Government has to govern." I wonder why they are so apologetic about it, why the use of the word 'even'? Is the implication that a Congress Government is ordinarily not expected to govern and maintain peace and order? I venture to think that it is the first duty of any Government, be it Congress or any other, to take all steps necessary to maintain law and order and protect the law-abiding population from violence of others, however unpalatable the fulfilment of such duty might be to some of their following One can, however, well understand the mind of their protesting following They are naturally puzzled to find that Congress leaders who, when out of office, were making all sorts of extravagant demands on behalf of the peasantry and labour, who themselves had resorted to Civil Disobedience and breaking of laws, who had encouraged a non-payment of rent campaign and gone to jail for doing so, who had connived at coercion and intimidation against those who were against such activities, should, when in office, discourage, curb and punish the same subversive tendencies and acts. They are still more puzzled when they find the Ministers returning lands that were forfeited for non-payment of rent as part of the Civil Disobedience movement and at the same time warning Kisans that their lands would be forfeited if they do not pay rent.

These difficulties that are harassing Congress Ministries are largely of their own creation for, once you create in the people a spirit of disobedience of laws and authority, that spirit will break forth against your own Government. To preach restraint and patience at this stage does not avail much Pandit Jawaharlal, the idol of Young India, preached restraint to the Allahabad students who had gone on strike, but the students discarded his advice and approved of the strike and the Pandit left the meeting in disgust.;

A wrong constitutional principle appears to have been laid down by the present President of the Congress. He asserts that the Ministries are not directly responsible to the electorate but their responsibility is to the Congress and only indirectly through the Congress to the electorate. If this proposition is accepted, there is grave danger of Fascism developing in the Congress organization. Not only would the Ministers but all members of the Congress will lose their independence of judgment This inculcation of the hard mentality among even the intelligentsia of the country is regrettable But to my mind the greatest danger not only to the Congress but the whole country lies in the growing progress of communism under the name and guise of Socialism. Speaking for myself, and I venture also for our party, if by Socialism is meant equal opportunities for all, an equitable sharing of profits between industry and labour, improved conditions of living and in some cases even nationalisation of some industries, I am all for such Socialism. But the conception of Socialism is quite different in the minds of those who are advocating it. What they want is really Communism of Soviet Russia, all abolition of classes and private property and the rule of the proletariats and not parliamentary democracy The Congress President has only avowed this to be his ideal for India and when such a declaration created considerable agitation he, I believe, said that the question of the inauguration of such Socialism was far away and that the present objective was the attainment of freedom for India The implication, however, must not be ignored that when freedom is attained he and those who think with him will use that freedom for the purpose of introducing a regime of the Soviet Russia type.

At this Session you will have to deal with the all important question of the impending Federation. That Federation is the only way of bringing together the whole of India cannot be denied The Liberal Party has accepted the principle of Federation but has been rightly critical of the detailed constitution in which that idea has been embodied. All political parties have strongly put forward their objections to the present scheme but with no effect. Even the modest proposals embodied in the joint memorandum of the British Indian Delegates comprising of members of all communities and parties met with no response. The proposed Federation is indeed a novel one as it is to be a Federation of British Indian Provinces with parliamentary government and autocratic Indian States. But this, owing to existing circumstances, cannot be avoided. To wait till the administrations of Indian States are brought into line with that of British Indian Provinces will mean indefinite waiting for United India. The bringing together of the States and British India will itself much accelerate the process of introduction of representative Government in the States.

Long drawn negotiations are going on with the States about the terms on which they are to come into the Federation British India hopes that more and more concessions would not be made for the purpose It is unfair to British Indian people that they are not kept informed of the progress and various phases of these negotiations so that Government may have before them the British Indian view in the matter.

The most vital defect in the Federal Constitution is that it has no elements of growth within itself There is no provision about transferring the subjects at present reserved and the time, manner and conditions in which such transfer can be made. There is even no provision for undertaking a revision of the situation after a fixed period as was the case in the Act of 1919 The Chief Justice of India, speaking at the inauguration of the Federal Court, spoke of the Federal Constitution as a "living and breathing organism which contains within itself, as all life must, the seeds of future growth and development" and that the cannons of interpretation which the Federal Court may adopt will not "hamper the free evolution of constitutional usages and conventions in which the political genius of a people can find its most fruitful and effective expression" It is forgotten that a Federal Constitution is of necessity the creation of Statute and unless the statute is amended the nature of the Government cannot be altered The vital element of growth and development from within has very limited scope in a Federal Constitution.

It is true no Constitution can be kept in a straight jacket. In its functioning it must bring into existence certain practices but they can hardly touch the fundamentals. In the case of India, apart from the rigidity of a Federal Constitution, there is a further complication arising from embodying in one structure two different kinds of units No amendment is possible except by the will of Parliament and Parliament have pledged themselves in the statute that no amendment in the fundamental structure shall be made without the consent of the States The Federal Constitution derives its power not from within (the Indian people) but from outside (the Parliament) The seeds of growth towards full responsibility are absent There is also not much room for growth of constitutional conventions. In the Dominions, responsible government was established through the growth of conventions, facilities by the alteration from time to time of the Instrument of Instruction which remained a Prerogative Document The representatives of the Crown in the Dominions gained gradually to occupy the position of purely constitutional heads by directions given to them through Instructions without the intervention of Parliament. As regards India, Instruments of Instruction have to obtain Parliamentary sanction and no alteration therein can be made without the approval of Parliament. Statutory provisions regarding reserved departments, non-votable nature of considerable part of the budget powers of the Governor-General to act in his discretion or individual judgment must prevent in a large measure the growth of conventions Growth of some conventions is inevitable, but their power to achieve responsible government is much more restricted as compared with the position in the Dominions. However much, the Federal Court, as observed by the Chief Justice, may strive to interpret and declare the law so as to give free play within the limits of the law to those political forces and currents which alone can give vitality to a constitution, the Federal Court cannot alter the nature of the structure and the nature and extent of the distribution of powers under the statute.

All these shortcomings of the Federal Constitution are staring us in the face, but the vital and practical question is what should the various political parties in the country do when the Federation will come into operation as it must in a short time. I venture to think that it would not be a wise step to try to boycott it. The only sensible way is for all progressive groups to align themselves together and extract the best out of it for the benefit of the country and at the same time incessantly work for its being replaced by a more genuinely responsible democratic Federal Government.

In order, however, to achieve the above object, the most immediate and important question is the attainment of unity between the various communities in this country, particularly the Hindu and Moslem communities But unfortunately, the differences are increasing instead of diminishing. It was at Lucknow in 1916 that a complete understanding and agreement was arrived at between the Congress and the Muslim League. It is an irony of fate that it was at Lucknow again in 1937 that a complete breach took place between those two bodies and the Muslim League has declared open war against the Congress. I was surprised to see it reported

that my friend Mr. Jinnah has said that the Hindus want to do away with separate electorates in order to crush the Moslems All the many years that I have known Mr. Jinnah as a personal friend and a political leader of large vision and deep patriotism, he has always been in favour of joint electorates and I am unable to understand this sudden change in his views on the matter. In fact, in provinces where Moslems are in a perpetual minority in the legislatures, joint electorates are really a genuine protection to them, for the Hindu candidates for the legislatures will have to seek the suffrages of the Moslem voters and they could not afford to ignore their wishes and demands. Hindus, Moslems and all other communities are subject to the same laws, same taxation, same abilities and disabilities. All that the minorities should be assured of is full freedom for their religion, culture, language and ample facilities for their education and uplift and that they should not be subjected to any discrimination or disability on the ground of religion. I am afraid the Congress has given great provocation by trying to ignore the Muslim League and to go over the heads of the Moslem leaders to the Moslem masses Such an attempt can only lead to further disruption among the Moslems and render more difficult an honourable understanding between the two communities. In provinces where the Congress are in a majority in the legislatures they have not given a fair deal to the Moslems in choosing the Moslem members of the Cabinet. The very essence and test of inclusion of a Moslem member in the Cabinet as representative of that community is that such person should command the confidence of the majority of the Moslem members in the legislature. It is not carrying out the spirit of the provision for representation of minorities in the Cabinet to take a moslem member who is ready on the eve of the formation of the Cabinet and with the prospect of being included in it, to sign the Congress creed although he may not possess the confidence of the majority of the Moslem members of the legislature It should be considered enough if the most suitable person commanding the confidence of his Moslem colleagues in the legislature, is prepared with the concurrence of his associates to agree to the programme of the Congress Cabinet If the majority of the Moslem legislators do not agree to his adopting the Cabinet's programme, then certainly the Prime Minister is at liberty to choose any Moslem he likes.

It is a curious phenomenon that it is in provinces with non-Congress ministries that active attempts are being made to achieve national solidarity by removing the communal virus It is in the Punjab that the ministry initiated the Communal Peace Conference. It is in Sind that Moslems and Hindus fraternised and felicitated each other on the Diwali and Ramzan Id. It is in the Punjab again that a move is afoot to organize a non-communal National festival and the Government are lending their support to celebrate the first day of Vasant as a day of national rejoicing in which Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs are to participate.

Instead of long-range shots at each other the Congress leaders and Moslem leaders should sit together and hammer out an agreed solution.

It is astounding how on the eve of the advent of Federation the Government of India are still flouting public opinion. The irresponsible manner in which the Government of India act in matters affecting the vital interests of India and the studied disregard they show to Indian opinion is illustrated by their action with regard to the Indo-British Trade Negotiation and the International Sugar Conference I will take the latter first. Ever since the proposal for International Sugar Conference was talked about in February-March of this year, the Indian Sugar Mills Association told the Government of India that the Association should be consulted about the selection of Indian representative to the Conference. But without any consultation either with the Association, the legislature or the public the Government of India nominated a representative to the Conference and it was later announced that India had agreed at the Conference to prohibit export of Indian Sugar to other countries except Burma. That the Government of India should have permitted itself to treat an important national industry like sugar so cavalierly is incomprehensible. The Central Legislative Assembly not only refused to ratify this agreement but adopted an amendment asking Government to adopt all possible measures for stimulating export trade in sugar. It was pleaded by Government that if India did not subscribe to this agreement the markets of the world would be thrown into confusion. Canada has not joined this Agreement and yet no disaster has overtaken the world markets

Take the question of the Indo-British Trade Agreement The Ottawa Agreement was denounced by the Central Assembly in April 1936 and ever since then a new Agreement between India and England is under negotiation,

In this long interim period the terms of Ottawa Agreement are still being followed. At Ottawa the negotiations were concluded in about four weeks while in this case more than a year has elapsed and the public are not told what is going on behind the scenes In the meantime various extraneous developments are weakening the bargaining power of India and increasing that of Britain The trend of international trade, projected Anglo-American trade treaty, the domestic position of England and America and similar factors have tendencies in that direction It is essential, therefore, in the interest of India that there should be no further delay in bringing the negotiations to a very early termination

The Liberal Party has always been willing to co-operate with the Congress or any other group or party so long as the particular objective in view is one which is consistent with their principles and which commends itself to them as being in the best interests of the country It is the Congress who spurns the co-operation of any other party But there are fundamental differences between the points of view of the Liberal Party and the Congress. True, for the moment the Congress has abjured Civil Disobedience and direction and are working the Constitution in the Provinces with sense of responsibility after all their tall talk of wrecking it. But, it was only the other day that a prominent Congress leader declared that if the Federation was forced upon the country they would resort to mass Civil Disobedience and direct action to stop it The Socialist element in the Congress may at any time gain ascendancy At the last A I. C C meeting the Socialist motion for direct action secured as many as 63 votes against 92.

Then the Congress policy and mentality is much too idealistic and removed from what is practical Take their creed of complete independence involving the severance of the British connection. Every Indian cannot but feel the humiliation of being governed by a foreign country thousands of miles away But in the present state of India's defence can it afford to go out of the British Commonwealth of Nations ? If India were to-day to lose the protection of the British Naval and Air Forces, she would immediately fall a prey to some Imperialistic Nation of the West or the East. Our immediate goal, therefore, of Dominion Status under the Statute of Westminster is more sensible and practical. Mahatma Gandhi himself said in his letter to Mr. Polak that he would be satisfied with such Dominion Status and he had said so at the Round Table Conference in 1931. A Congress Minister the other day said that he wanted for India a first class Citizenship in a first class Commonwealth. That is exactly what the Liberal Party demands and yet we are maligned because we do not demand complete independence

Mahatma Gandhi said the other day that "If in spite of honest effort by Congressmen forces of disorder cannot be brought under control without the assistance of the police and the military, in my opinion acceptance by the Congress of the burden of office loses all force and meaning and sooner the ministries are withdrawn, the better" Can any practical administration of any country be carried on on these principles ? When are you going to attain the Utopia when every person in a country would be such a votary of the cult of non-violence that the Government will not have to use the Police and Military for combating the violence of turbulent people ?

Our party has always grasped realities and worked for what we conceived to be in the interests of the people irrespective of popular applause or disfavour We need not to be discouraged by the fact that our party cannot claim the large numbers in our fold as some other party is able to do But there are thousands upon thousands of intelligent citizens who, though they do not label themselves as Liberals, approve of and follow our principles As I have pointed out already, the Congress after years of suffering and self-sacrifice in the pursuit of its policy of direct action have come to believe in parliamentary action and have thereby paid homage to Liberal principles. We should pursue steadfastly our policy and work for the uplifting of our motherland, co-operating with all who are engaged according to their lights in the pursuit

Second Day—Calcutta—31st. December 1937

Proceedings & Resolutions

CONDOLENCE

When the Federation resumed its sitting this morning, the following resolution, moved from the Chair, was adopted .

"(a) The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country in the death of Sir Jagadish Bose, whose great achievement in the field of science won for him world-wide recognition and whose devoted work was a beacon light to his countrymen to proceed onward in the field of scientific research.

"(b) The Federation places on record its sense of the great loss the Party and the country have sustained by the death of Raja Sir Rampal Singh (Lucknow), Mr. Gouri Shankar Prasad (Benares), and the Rev. Br. Nag (Calcutta). The Federation conveys the sympathy of its members to the bereaved families

"(c) The Federation records its sense of loss the country has sustained by the early death of Sir Sorabji Pochkhanwala of the Central Bank of India, a great financial expert, who rendered valuable service in furtherance of Indian banking enterprise.

RESOLUTION ON REFORMS

Mr. *V. S. Srinivasa Sastri* moved the following resolution next.

"(a) The Federation reiterates its considered opinion that the constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935, is extremely unsatisfactory and altogether unacceptable. It is not merely utterly inadequate but is retrograde in many respects and includes features obnoxious to Indian nationalist opinion.

"(b) None the less the Federation repeats that it has to be utilised to the best advantage of the people, for the amelioration of their social and economic conditions, and for accelerating the pace of Dominion Status

"(c) The Federation views with satisfaction that Cabinets responsible to popularly-elected representatives of the people have taken over the administration in the various Provinces, including those in which the Congress Party commands a majority in the Legislature, and hopes that those Cabinets will so work the Constitution as to secure the confidence of all classes, creeds and interests, and specially minorities, so as to facilitate the early removal of the various Safeguards and the Special Responsibilities of the Governors and other restraints that exist in the present Government of India Act, thereby leading to full and complete transfer of power to the people's representatives in the Provinces.

"(d) The Federation urges that no concession should be made to the princes in the course of the negotiations now being carried on with them with regard to the establishment of the Federation which are calculated to increase still more the powers of the Princes at the expense of the Federal Government"

Moving the resolution, Mr Sastri pointed out that he had the privilege of moving the main resolution on the subject at three successive meetings of their Federation. In the first place he was glad to find that the resolution mentioned Dominion Status in prominence He made a commentary on the subject and in this connection referred to an episode in the history of the enactment of the Act to which sufficient attention had not been paid Mr Sastri reminded them that one of the chief grounds upon which they complained against the action of Parliament was the omission of all references to Dominion Status in the papers that preceded the Bill and also in the Bill They attached the greatest possible importance to the promised status which marked a chief distinction between them and the Indian National Congress and now, curiously enough, the great section of their Mahomedan fellow citizens They went so far as to accuse the British people of something like a breach of faith, with the result that they thought it necessary to conciliate them in a certain fashion and the expedience they devised was rather strange. They proposed the repeal of the whole of the 1919 India Act retaining, however, the preamble, for the preamble, it was, that promised to them progressive stages of responsible government, and with the sanction of the Labour Government at the time was made the declaration wherein Lord Irwin commented upon this preamble and incorporated it to mean Dominion Status as the end of the process of development, so that there was the text and commentary, the commentary being more valuable to them than the text itself. The expression Dominion Status and its meaning were not acceptable to the Tory Government at the time. They resolved, therefore, to meet their wishes in their own way. They said: "We will give these people the preamble. We will repeal the whole Act but retain the preamble" At that time lawyers both in England and India were found to maintain that the preamble without the Act had no significance whatever. The Crown lawyers decided to keep the preamble. That preamble, said Mr. Sastri, referred only to British India—"progressive self-government in

British India." The commentary, therefore, referred only to British India—Dominion Status for British India.

This episode, said Mr. Sastri, took place while they were passing the Bill through Parliament. That bill contained full provisions for the attainment of a Federation of India So this preamble referred to British India alone at a time when they were planning a Federation between British and Indian India That preamble must be made applicable under the new conditions when a Federation had been enacted and yet the people of India were told they must be satisfied with the retention of the preamble The commentary gone, nothing was said about Dominion Status or self-government. What the preamble was going to do to them they did not know. This Act enacted a Federation. The question had been asked whether the ideal of Dominion Status still held and if there was some reason to fear things were not as secure in that respect as they were sometime ago, specially in Federal India when the princes came in They had stipulated that their connection with the Crown and dependence on the Crown and protection by the British forces of the Crown in India must all be maintained intact, time limit being fixed How could India, whether Federal or British, have Dominion Status so long as the great part of the country remained integrally connected with Britain, dependent on the Crown for its privileges, for the maintenance of all those privileges and for its protection as well The question had also been raised whether Dominion Status could still be spoken of as a probability or even as a possibility in connection with their future progress Mr. Sastri said he was not so very diffident as to answer that question in the negative He still thought they were entitled to hold Dominion Status as the goal of this Constitution.

Nevertheless, Mr. Sastri added, they had got to consider what the position of the princes really was. They firstly agreed to the ideal of Dominion Status If they read the first speech of the princes at the Round Table Conference, they found they all expressed adherence to this ideal—acceptance of Dominion Status as the goal of the Federated India Gradually they remained occult and receded from the position and for years Mr Sastri said that they had not been hearing from them any hope as to Dominion Status and the view about Dominion Status had practically been killed by the indifference of the princes of India

Mr Sastri referred to the occasion of the Jubilee in the presence of His Majesty's representative,—the Viceroy of India,—when the Maharaja of Bikaner, who played most prominent part in the Round Table Conference in the first two years, emphatically declared he still held to the ideal of Dominion Status for India Mr. Sastri thought he might take it as typical of the attitude of the princes and reassured them it was the status of a Dominion which might be kept by them as their final objective in regulating their progress They however definitely and consistently held that defective and in many parts obstructive as any part of the Act might be, so long as they worked patriotically and with the interests of India steadily in front of them they were bound to increase in strength and in solidarity and in the end that should be the preparation for Dominion Status

Continuing, Mr. Sastri said the people's progress could not be prevented by the provisions of the Act. Their strength would enable them to start a movement aimed at obtaining Dominion Status and when that strength was considered sufficient, neither this Act nor any Act of this nature could really hinder their own march towards progress. In this faith, Mr Sastri referred to the statement of General Smutts of South Africa while speaking to his countrymen when they were considering an Act there to enact the provision of Westminster It seemed to him there was much reasoning in that statement

It was not, he said, in the provisions of this constitution that they placed their faith but it was rather in the strength they should acquire by the operations of this constitution Referring to Clause (d) of the resolution regarding the negotiations that were being carried on with the princes, Mr. Sastri said they understood that at this last stage the princes were still making some difficulties or other and the Government of India were engaged in a very difficult task in persuading them. He hoped the Government of India would succeed, but whatever critics might say they and the speaker and the Indian Liberal Federation were definitely of opinion that the enactment of the Federation of British and Indian India was a distinct advance towards the attainment of Dominion Status. What the princes were asking they did not know. The princes had already had so much conceded to them that some of them were already afraid that the Federation when it came about, would be no

binding force between the two Indias. He was afraid the princes might win a small percentage of their demand and the Federation, weak as it was, when it actually took shape might be still weaker Nevertheless, Mr Sastri said they went in for the Federation deliberately and with their eyes open They said the Federation was a distinct step in advance towards the consolidation of their country and he was one of those who hoped, whatever the princes and their attitude might be to-day, it would change quickly for the better under the stimulus of their influence Though their representatives in the Federal Legislature might be only nominated for the first few years, he hoped in course of time they would be elected men and when the process of election reached its completion their (the States') representatives would take their politics from them (British Indians) and would ally (?) themselves with them in the struggle for Dominion Status and that they should not find the princes such a handicap on India's progress as at present they were sometimes inclined to think. They trusted to the forces of time, they trusted to the silent influence of their own people, the princes and their representatives, and they trusted further that as the strong hand of Great Britain was withdrawn wholly from direct contact of the forces of this country, they would more steadily advance to the status of a Dominion and they trusted that as this process went on the identity between British India and Indian India would declare itself fully and completely and they would regard the princes as their allies and not opponents in the attainment of their goal.

Proceeding, Mr. Sastri said they were expressing a wish that the Congress Governments established in seven provinces and other Governments which were not Congress would still be turning the Act to their benefit They expressed the hope that those Governments would have their eyes fixed steadily forward and would strive to get rid of the safeguards, plentifully provided in the Act. He was sorry to think the relations between Hindus and Moslems had, in recent days, been assuming a worse form They now found the Muslim League running full tilt at the Hindu Maha Sabha and at the Indian National Congress and openly avowing sentiments of hostility towards these bodies The so-called Communal Award emanated from the late Prime Minister, Mr Ramsay Macdonald, but he believed it was really the product of the India Office It had caused most acute distress in several provinces but they all hoped the Provincial Governments would be so operated that even the different religious groups among the people would slowly understand the identity of their interest and in course of time drop their separated distance and help towards the attainment of national solidarity so that Provincial Autonomy, however much it might disfigure the statute book, might, in actual practice, be a better thing by reason of the safeguards and reserve powers. He hoped the Congress Governments would at least use all their endeavours in the direction of unifying the people and setting their gaze steadily towards the practical repeal of these disfiguring safeguards Referring to the work of Congress Governments in the last few months Mr. Sastri thought they had done well and in their endeavours to carry out their election promises they were entitled to co-operation and support. He was a member of the Madras Legislature and in that capacity he was a discriminating supporter of Congress policy and methods

Seconding Mr. Sastri's resolution, Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* (Bombay) referred to the spread of the Communistic ideas in India and said this was a menace against which everybody including the Congress Governments must be on their guard Personally, he believed that in an ancient country like India, with its age long culture and traditions, such ideas would (not) really capture the imagination of the people, but at the same time he feared the spread of such ideas would retard India's progress towards Dominion Status and create more strife in the country than there was to-day It would also give trouble to the Congress Government and might bring disaster to them

Sir Cowasji went on to say that, sooner or later, owing to the growing power of the Left Wing, there was bound to be a split in Congress ranks and when such a situation arose, he felt confident the Right Wing of the Congress would accept for their guidance the principles which the Liberal Party advocated. He said, in conclusion, that the name Liberal might not live but the principles which Liberalism professed would live for long He hoped the vast majority of Indians would accept those principles wherein the country's safety lay

The resolution was supported by Mr *J N Basu* (Bengal). He said while agitation was directed to gain for India complete Responsible Government, they were dis-

appointed with the Government of India Act inasmuch as Dominion Status could nowhere be found in it The people of this country would not be satisfied unless full responsibility was conferred

The resolution was further supported by Pandit *P. N. Sapru* (U P), Mr *A. S. N. Murthy* (Orissa) and carried.

Reforms in States

As regards reform of the Indian States, the Federation passed a resolution reaffirming its complete sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate aspirations of the people of the Indian States for civic and political liberties and deeply regretted that no provision was made in the new Government of India Act for the election of representatives of States in the coming Federal Legislature or for the recognition of the people's fundamental rights of citizenship The Federation, however, hopes the rulers of Indian States would allow their representatives to the Federal Legislature to be returned by election. It strongly urged once again that rulers of the States should, without further delay, concede to their subjects the rights of security of persons, property, liberty of speech and press, freedom of association and an independent judiciary as well as representative government, as a prelude to responsible government

The above resolution was moved by Rai Bahadur Pandit *Sukhdeo Behari Misra* (U P.), and seconded by Mr. *M. D. Shahane* (C P.)

Indianisation of Army

On the motion of Mr *M D. Altekar* (Bombay), seconded by Mr B. B Roy, (Bengal), the Federation condemned the unresponsiveness of the Government to the repeated demand for nationalisation of the army in India by rapid increase in the facilities for training Indians as officers, and urged that recruitment to the army be thrown open to all provinces and all communities and wider expansion of the University Training Corps It strongly objected to the non-inclusion of Indians in the Auxiliary Force and urged that steps should be taken in accordance with the recommendations of the Shea Committee to bring about introduction of military drill and establishment of Cadet Corps in schools.

Indians Overseas

On the motion of Pandit *H N Kunzru* (Allahabad), seconded by Mr. S. P. Basu (Calcutta), the Federation supported the Indians in Zanzibar in their stand for the vindication of their rights and called upon the people and the Government of India to put an embargo on Zanzibar cloves, condemned the refusal of the Ceylon Government to grant franchise excepting to a very small number of Indians in rural areas under the Ceylon Village Ordinance, urged the Government of India to take steps to safeguard the interests of Indians overseas, appreciated Mr V S Srinivasa Sastri's report on Indian labour in Malaya and considered necessary that Agents of the Government of India should be appointed in East Africa, Fiji, British Guiana, Trinidad and Burma.

Moving the resolution on Indians overseas, Pandit *H N. Kunzru* (Allahabad), said repeated representations of the Government of India to the Ceylon Government on the subject went unheeded The action taken by the Government of India was to prohibit emigration of labourers to Ceylon pending the removal of discrimination in legislation. When the Jackson Report was published, advantage might be taken of it to arrive at a settlement of the outstanding questions which would do away with the need for taking retaliatory action against Ceylon.

Speaking on the question of promoting the interest of Indians in Fiji, he said the recommendations of the Labour Dispute Commission regarding wage labourers, if accepted, would go a long way in improving the conditions of Indian labour In regard to Indians in Zamindar, the speaker was sure if the Government of India had representatives in East Africa, the situation in Zanzibar would not have deteriorated.

The resolution was carried.

The Federation passed a resolution urging the Provincial Governments and the people to make organised attempts to discourage the use of intoxicating and injurious drinks and drugs.

Indian Medical Service

The Federation, by another resolution, condemned the present policy of the Government as regards the Indian Medical Service and considered that the only proper

solution to the question was the organisation of the Indian Medical Service as an exclusively military service which should not be used in civil administration, the constitution from the ranks of private medical practitioners of a reserve of medical men for employment in times of military emergency, the recruitment to the military service thus constituted being by open competition in India alone, and placing of the civil medical services in the provincial Governments both as regards recruitment and employment.

Other Resolutions

On the proposal of the Chair, seconded by Mr. *Vishnunath* (U P), the Federation passed a resolution expressing regret and surprise at the conflicting statements by Congress Ministers on the long overdue separation of judicial from executive functions and urged that this reform should be carried into effect without delay in every province.

Wardha Scheme Criticised

Pending the examination of details of the scheme propounded at the Wardha Educational Conference, the Federation viewed with alarm the decisions reached by the Conference and particularly considered the proposal to make elementary education practically self-supporting, to be entirely unpractical and calculated to subordinate the acquisition of culture to considerations of earning by children by their craft and if, persisted in, the Federation believed it would put back the progress of the country. The Federation strongly disapproved of the proposal to change universities into merely examining bodies and opined the progress of India was bound up with the development of universities as effective agencies of higher education and research

Moving the resolution Dr *Paranjpye* said they could not but look on the scheme of education propounded at the Wardha Conference with alarm. The framers of the scheme wanted to turn upside down the whole system of education in their own way, He recalled how during the Non-co operation days, a national system of education was introduced but a powerful microscope was required to find the remains of experiments to-day. They all agreed that education did not spread rapidly as it should. There might be many improvements needed. At the same time they agreed that the path of reform was not to be made by the entire reconstruction of their educational structure To make little children from six to fourteen pay for their education by means of manual work was too fantastic The resolution was seconded by Mr. *M. Daltekar.*

The Federation expressed satisfaction at the release of a large number of detenus in the different provinces and complimented the Governments of the provinces concerned for acceding to the people's demand ;and Mahatma Gandhi for the powerful support he gave to that demand and urged upon the Governments concerned to release early all those who were still under detention without trial. The Federation further complimented the India Government for repatriating a large number of prisoners from the Andamans and urged the Government to abandon the Andamans as a penal settlement.

Another resolution ran as follows . The Federation convinced as it is that the best interests of India will be promoted by constitutional system of Government is strongly opposed to Communistic as well as totalitarian ideas as being detrimental to the well being and advancement of the people.

"The Federation exhorted both the people and the Governments to put forth every endeavour to eradicate the evil of untouchability from the social and religious systems of the country at the earliest possible moment.

The President, in his concluding speech, recalled that he learnt his political lessons at the feet of Sir *Surendranath Banerjee* and other leaders of hallowed memory. They of the Federation were the real inheritors of the National Congress. They were carrying out the real spirit in which the Congress was founded. In their time in the Congress there were no parties and all worked together That spirit of catholicity pervaded the activities of the Federation "Carry the banner of Liberalism in the manner we have done," he concluded, "however discouraging the circumstances may be."

The All India Christian Conference

The Welcome Address

The All-India Conference of Indian Christians met on the **27th December 1937** at St. Paul's College, Calcutta, Kanwarani *Lady Maharaj Singh* presided. Delegates from different parts of India, including a number of ladies, attended the Conference.

Important resolutions regarding problems affecting the Indian Christian Community, such as, adult education, total prohibition etc. were adopted.

At the outset Dr *B. P Hivale*, the retiring president, said that they were at the cross roads now. If they wisely planned their community's future and enlisted the sympathies of the masses, they should be able to render service to their Master and their motherland. It was only by serving India that they should serve the best interests of their community

Mr. *S. C. Mukherjee*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates said—"We are passing now through a momentous period The year 1937 will be regarded as a landmark in the history of India After half a century of national struggle and political effort, a great change has come over the constitutional history of India. The pendulum is moving slowly but steadily from a bureaucratic form of Government to Responsible Government It must be conceded that, notwithstanding its many vital defects and shortcomings, the Government of India Act, 1935 marks the beginning of a new era in the constitutional history of the country.

We, Indian Christians, are a minority Community. Our views on politics are free from a narrow communal bias. We have demonstrated to the whole of India that politically we regard ourselves as Indians first, as citizens of the Empire, and we do not base our claims on communal grounds.

We are deadly against the provision of special electorates. We have fought against it tooth and nail but, in spite of all our opposition it has been forced down our throat by the British Parliament, entirely against our will As a community, we have registered our whole-hearted protest against it. We stand for joint electorates with reservation of seats. We are at one with the Congress in their fight against special electorates. We consider that Mr. Jinnah is rendering a lasting disservice to India in fighting for special electorates

We, as a community, favour the conception of Swaraj as our goal, round which all our hopes, dreams and ideals are centred We are one with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in deprecating the association of religious fanaticism with the political programme of the country Every citizen of the Empire, be the Hindu, Mussalman, Christian, Buddhist or Jain, should feel that he has a part to play in, and a contribution to make to, the upbuilding of a great nation. The future of this country depends on the vitality of this impulse and on the sincerity with which we answer this call to national service

The Communal Award is the blackest spot in the Government of India Act, 1935. It is unworthy of the British Parliament to have made provision for such an Award in the Constitution, thus throwing an apple of discord between the two major communities of India. In its present form this Award is wholly unacceptable and should be dismissed as an anachronism.

The Congress programme, now being closely followed by the non-Congress Provinces as well, has not only our approval but also our admiration. Two items, in particular, in their programme—the grant of relief to the poor tillers of the soil and the introduction of partial prohibition—have captured the imagination of the masses and won the approval of all right-thinking men in India In the matter of prohibition, every Ministry—Congress or non-Congress—will receive the whole-hearted support of the entire Indian Christian community. The problem of the resultant loss of revenue must be solved by drastic economies in the administration and by the introduction of increased taxation of the richer section of the population.

The question of the release of the detenus and the repatriation of the Andamans prisoners has recently been a source of deep concern all over the country. In this connection Sir John Anderson has earned the lasting gratitude of the country by his statesmanlike approach to the problem. Then, the mighty influence of

Mahatma Gandhi—that great wizard of the East—who came to Bengal and wielded his magic wand and lo ! a great miracle was wrought. We only hope and pray that if the remaining prisoners give a solemn assurance that they will once for all give up the cult of violence the Government of Bengal will rise to the occasion, take courage in both hands and release these prisoners.

It is our sincere wish that anarchy and terrorism, which until recently brooded like the dark shadow of an Evil Spirit over the whole of Bengal, may be a thing of the past and never recur again to smudge the fair name of this Province. The Government of Bengal have however a serious responsibility in the matter. It is incumbent on the Government that some financial provision is made for these released prisoners to enable them to make a new start in life. The Government have been spending large sums for holding these young men in detention or in jail A small fraction of this expenditure will set them up in life.

Coming to the other problems that confront the country at the moment, we are reminded of the present-day conflict between the landlord and the tenant, and between Capital and Labour. Much of this conflict is the direct and perhaps inevitable, result of the general mass awakening brought about by the growth of political consciousness. We must exercise a great deal of caution and balance while approaching this complex question.

An agitation is on the foot at the moment the general trend of which is to do away with the landlord altogether. This, in our opinion, is a perverted way of looking at the problem of giving relief to the ryot whose appalling poverty and crushing indebtedness nobody denies. The landlord, it is forgotten, occupies an essential position in the social-economic structure. What is needed is not an entire destruction of the landlord system but a re-orientation of the policy behind the existing tenancy legislation which in itself is of a most complex character and is the outcome of a long process of social and economic evolution and legislative enactments The tenant, the landlord and Government are all indispensable units in the social structure. You cannot dislodge any one without the whole structure coming down with a crash.

Then the question of the relation between Capital and Labour and the perennial conflict between the two. Here also we find an exaggerated emphasis given to labour and their unjustified glorification as the sole problem have been observed, and its solution made so difficult, by the importation of unnecessary political considerations. Considerable mischief has been wrought by the self-seeking political agitators who are out to serve their own political ends. The result is found in the lightning strikes which have become so common lately and have not only led to serious dislocation of normal business activity but have also brought endless misery to the workers themselves. The solution of all this lies in the formation of well-organised trade union and revision of labour legislation, where necessary, for the rights and interests of labour. The Capitalist must develop, to a much greater extent than he has done so far, a larger sympathy and imagination in his dealings with, and attitude to, wage-earners. It is only in this way that he can prevent the latter from falling an easy prey to the unhealthy influence of political mischief-makers, and thus give the lie to their own reputation as mere blood-suckers and also eliminate the possibility of abrupt business dislocation by strikes.

Before passing on to our own domestic problems as a community, I am constrained to refer to the great tragedy which is being enacted in the Far East. We, in this Conference, ought to express our deep sympathy not only with the Christians in China but with the entire Chinese population in their life-and-death, and heroic struggle with Japan. We view not only with grave concern but with intense disapproval the brutal atrocities that are being perpetrated by Japan not only on their military opponents but also on the non-combatant civil population, including the wholesale slaughter of innocent women and children. All this is the outcome of an unholy Imperialistic design on the part of Japan which we consider, is casting a foul blot on the fair name of the civilisation of the East, and we must raise our voice, along with others in India, against this oppression of the weak by the strong

Barring Madras which has in the past been enjoying representation in the Provincial Legislature through a communal electorate, it is for the first time that the other provinces, except the C. P., have sent up their representatives through special Indian Christian electorates. We expect these representatives to be in the closest possible touch with the Indian Christian community in each province and to work in close co-operation with the Provincial Associations. If we are not to lag behind, if we are to keep pace with the ever-

moving political forces of the day, each Provincial Association should shake off all lethargy, wake up and become a live and wide-awake body. Thus and thus alone can each Provincial unit become a real dynamic force and make its mark in the life of the province.

One great practical difficulty has arisen. Barring Madras, we have only two representatives in each province and they are practically lost in the crowd of 200 or 250 members. Unless therefore they join some big political party, they can hardly expect to make their presence felt or their voice heard. It is for the Provincial Associations to decide as to which party they should join.

This Community's major problem is more economic than political. The mere reiteration of our poverty can serve no purpose unless we set about seriously thinking out for ourselves ways and means for our own economic uplift. Remember that more than 90 per cent. of Indian Christians live in the villages and barring a small percentage are landless day labourers. The time has arrived when a mere passive reliance on the Missions must give place to an active and energetic and concerted action on our own part with a view not only to arresting our economic degeneration but also to bringing about a definite improvement in our position.

Intimately bound up with our economic position is the question of the type of education we are giving our children. Here we are faced with the urgent need of investigating our entire educational policy Unhappily the whole question has hitherto been left to the Missions and our voice in the determination of the Community's educational policy has been negligible I mean no reflections on anybody or on any organisation—I am merely stating facts as we find them. Our literacy is going down year by year.

This brings us to the question of the uplift of the masses engaged in agricultural pursuits and to the equally important question of industrial development. In order to ascertain what progress the Indian Christians of Bengal have made industrially, the Managing Committee of the Indian Christian Association in Bengal have organised this year an Industrial Exhibition in this very compound. It is the first venture of its kind and it is a modest one. I invite every delegate to pay a visit to this Exhibition Suggestions will be received with gratitude

I should be failing in my duty if I did not mention in this connection the three large endowments founded by my friend Dr. Harendra Coomar Mukherji amounting to Rs. 3 lacs for the industrial, agricultural, vocational and business training of Protestant Christians of Bengal

The Presidential Address

Kanwarani Lady Maharaj Singh, in her presidential address, said that having gone through several reports of proceedings of the conference since she had been asked to preside, she had realised what a high standard the community's leaders had set and she was grateful to them for the stand they had taken up in politics Personally, she had felt quite a long time that this was the only way out of their difficulties, both in this country and any other parts of the world. God had made the world to be ruled according to His will which was enunciated in the Sermon on the Mount. Most politicians would say that that kind of politics were unpracticable—that they were dynamic and destructive, but the world would find that it was the spirit of those politics that could eventually bring healing to the world.

She congratulated the Congress Ministries on behalf of the community on the spirit in which they were carrying out their programmes for the real benefit of the masses and the country as a whole. She was glad to know that the community were not guilty of asking for any special privileges Service to the country must be placed before the interests of the community.

Concluding she said that the mass movement was the biggest challenge with which the community was faced. Their needs were education, employment and above all a knowledge of the Gospel. She suggested the organisation of training centres like the one started at the Thoburn College, Lucknow, which had for its motion the abolition of illiteracy within a radious around it to be started in the other provinces, for imparting education both to Christians and non-Christians.

The All India Women's Conference

12th Session—Nagpur 28th. to 31st, December 1937.

The Presidential Address

The twelfth session of the All India Women's Conference commenced at Nagpur on the **28th December 1937** Over 400 delegates from all over India attended. *Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*, in the course of he presidential address, stated :—

"The struggle for freedom to-day occupies the centre of the Indian stage. It is only natural that this should be so, for how can India come in to her own unless she is free.

"All progress and reform are indissolubly linked together. Therefore while remaining strictly non-party, not attached to any political party, women should lend moral and active support to activities of benefit to the country and should have the right of expressing their opinion on the burning questions of the day. The main reason for their failure to make contact with the women of India for whom they had pledged to work, was that they lived in towns while the real India was in the villages. This state of affairs must undergo a radical change Every branch of the Association must strive to establish contact with the women of the poorer classes, to study their wants and to educate the children of the villages"

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur pleaded for support of the indigenous industries and especially Khadi. Proceeding, the Rajkumari referred to the formation of popular Governments in seven Provinces, which were doing their utmost to implement the ideals for which they had pressed all along. Prohibition was definitely woman's work, for the curse of drink lay more heavily on women that on the drink addicts She hoped that their branches would get into touch with the Ministers in charge and offer full co-operation and help in this matter and urged women to take the lead in temperance propaganda

As regards legislation for the removal of the legal disabilities of women, the Rajkumari had no doubt that the popular Governments in the seven Provinces would consider the concrete proposals of the Conference. Touching on the educational reforms which were now receiving the attention of the Governments, the President said that they should assimilate the new ideas being put forward and help all they could in order to educate women on suitable lines. If their Conference was to be a living organisation, if it was to embrace all India in reality it could not afford to confine itself in narrow walls. She pleaded for a change of outlook and appealed to the delegates to insist that the constitutions of the Conference should be so changed as to allow them to express their opinions and take part in any activity for the good of the country keeping themselves within constitutional lines

The President finally stressed the need for adopting non-violence as their creed for the attainment of their ideals.

Hon'ble Dr. Khare's Speech

After the Presidential Address, the Premier, the hon Dr. *N. B. Khare*, addressed the large gathering of women. He said he was glad to hear an interesting account of their activities and that they had begun to think over problems affecting both men and women. While he agreed that women should meet to discuss matters and problems peculiar to them, Dr. Khare desired to utter a warning against the tendency towards aggressive feminism.

Proceeding, Dr. Khare declared that the Congress had already removed all barriers in the way of women in its Karachi resolution and did not recognise the sex bar. Dr. Khare added that he was in entire agreement with what their president *Rajkumari Amrit Kaur* had stated that women would soon have to face problems arising out of the political situation in India. He assured them that the Congress Government would always bear in mind their points of view.

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, speaking next, said that it was to Nagpur in 1920 that the Congress had changed its creed and constitution. He urged them to effect a change in the constitution of their organisation in this very City and to take a more active part in the freedom movement Mr. Bajaj stressed the need for making Hindi the

vehicle to give expression to their activities and said that *Mahatma Gandhi* though anxious to be present in their midst to-day, could not do so owing to his weak health.

Sir M. V. Joshi's Advice

Sir *M. V. Joshi* suggested that a representative woman's organisation like theirs should now formulate a concrete policy on the two vital problems affecting them, namely education in the different stage, especially what changes they considered essential in the present system, and the problem of birth control

Sir Hari Singh Gour urged the Conference to draw up a five-year plan for their advancement and for the removal of their social and legal disabilities.

British Women's Greetings

Mrs. *Grace Lankaster*, after conveying messages and greetings to Indian women from British Women's Association, said that in England those women who were in the Peace Movement were finding it difficult to get on and now they were looking to their (Indian) principle of non-violence to guide them and for the sympathy and support of Indian women.

Mr. Pandit's Appeal

Addressing the delegates, the hon. Mrs. *Vijaya Laxmi Pandit* said that although she had been a member of the Conference since its inception, she had not been able to take part in the deliberations, since her life during the last few years had been spent mainly in the political field and the Conference had always endeavoured to keep away from politics As the only woman Minister in this country, a heavy burden had been placed upon her.

"When this work was allotted to me, my heart was full of doubt and fear, but I accepted the office realising that it was not me the individual, who was being thus honoured but that I had been chosen to represent the women of my country and that in appointing me to the position so far closed to women, the Indian National Congress, of which I am a humble follower, has demonstrated to the world the equality of man and woman in the new India which is in the making to-day"

Mrs *Pandit* suggested that the scope of the Conference should be widened She also referred to the terrible shadow of war which, she said, must not be allowed to grow. Mrs. Pandit added : "All through the ages the East, especially India, has given the message of peace and hope to a world grown weary with strife and hatred. Let us remember that it is still the proud privilege of the women of India to uphold all those traditions which have made her great in the past. Let us work for equality and freedom for our sex by all means Let us not forget the more important issue of equality and freedom for humanity and by joining our forces to those who work towards this, let us help to make the world beautiful to live in Only then shall we justify such a Conference as ours and be true to our great inheritage and past glory"

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in thanking the various distinguished visitors, said: "As the Constitution widens, the watch-word of this Organisation will be the spirit of unity so that largest measure of agreement of our ideals will be the basis on which the more progressive and the less progressive will unite in common service to that Common motherland that must be free."

Resolutions

The next day the Conference adopted a resolution, moved by the hon. Mrs. *Vijaya Laxmi Pandit*, urging the introduction of free and compulsory education without further delay by providing properly trained teachers, a majority of whom should be women.

In moving the resolution, Mrs. Pandit said that the Conference had been voicing the demand for a number of years, but lack of funds had come in the way of the realisation of the ideal. Primary education was the right of every child and it was the duty of the Government to provide it just as it was its duty to provide for health. So long as primary education was not introduced, they could not hope for any real progress. Now that the various Governments were considering the proposal seriously, she wanted all her sisters to agitate for the demand.

Mrs. *Billimoria*, in seconding the resolution, pointed out that India was a poor country as compared to the countries where the people were able to look after the education of their children. It was, therefore, incumbent, on the Government to find the requisite money.

Mrs. Ahmed of Jubbalpore, Miss Bhabamathi Amma of Travancore and Miss Thapper of Punjab, also supported the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

The four-day session of the Conference concluded on the **31st. December** after adopting a number of resolutions on social and educational subjects. A feature of to-day's session of the Conference was its discussion for nearly 3 and a half hours of the important question affecting a change in the constitution of the Conference permitting women to take up political activities without entering into party politics. It was decided to retain the present policy which lays down that the Conference shall not engage in any party politics but shall unite on such points as affect women and children, confining itself to the promotion of education in India of both sexes and all questions affecting the welfare of women.

The Conference accepted by 85 to 62 votes the amendment moved by Mrs. *Hamid Ali* which stated that while not entering into any party politics the Conference shall stand for progressive welfare of the Indian Nation and its main endeavour will be the promotion of the moral, social economic and educational advancement of women.

The President, *Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*, however, pointed out that no change could take place without a 45th majority agreeing to the change. So the constitution remains unaltered.

Another amendment was moved by *Miss Gokhale* (Member, Women's Fellowship of Service, Bombay), which fell through, suggesting the inclusion of the words "political advancement" in the constitution Those who supported the first amendment and opposed the latter one stressed that such a course would mar the unity and solidarity of the Conference which at present was representative of women of various shades of opinion. Another objection was that it would be unwise to convert the Conference into a political organisation."

The Punjab Political Conference

22nd. Session—Garhdiwala—9th. to 11th. October 1937

The Welcome Address

The 22nd. Session of the Punjab Provincial Political Conference commenced at Garhdiwala on the **9th October 1937** under the presidency of *Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar.*

An indictment of the Punjab Government was made by *Sardar Hari Singh,* in his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee. He said : "May I remind him (the Premier) that the policy of repression launched by his Government is the very anti-thesis of democracy as understood and practised in England and other civilised countries ?" He continued . The repressive policy of the Punjab Government was a sure index of nervousness, weakness and decay, camouflaged by a show of firmness. It was betraying the Constitution which *Sir Sikandar* was so eager to work "It seems that the rising tide of nationalism in the seven provinces governed by the Congress has caused dismay to the Punjab Unionists, who are daily losing ground from under their feet due to the inevitable repercussions of Congress Governments. Paralysed by fear of the coming debacle, they are hurling accusations of sedition at their prospective successors."

Referring to the Sikandar Unity Conference, *Sirdar Hari Singh* said that Congressmen could have nothing to do with this Conference until and unless all repressive laws were repealed ; all political prisoners were released ; the policy of repression and persecution was given up and the Unionists gave their support to joint electorates.

"The immediate and urgent task", the Sirdar continued, "to which we Punjabis should address ourselves wholeheartedly is how to bring our Province into line with the progressive provinces where the Congress holds away. The problem before us

is to consolidate the national forces, unify the anti-Imperialist elements, intensify and accelerate the mass contact work and galvanise the Congress organisation into new life. We must be fully prepared to invade the citadel of reaction and conquer it. Once economic consciousness grips the masses, the occupation of communalists and capitalist exploiters will be gone.

"The world situation is fought with dangerous potentialities and ominous war clouds darken the horizon and may soon over-cast the whole sky. It is the considered view of all impartial observers that war cannot be prevented but it may only be postponed The fact of the matter is that the present capitalist structure of society has failed to solve the problems that face humanity and is breaking under the stress of new forces and problems The reconstruction of world economy on socialist lines alone can usher in a warless era. We must on this occasion raise a voice of protest against the imperialist powers who menace the peace of the world and appeal to the workers of the world to refuse to be nose-led by dictators and imperialists into the shambles. Indian workers and peasants will have nothing to do with the coming war.

The Presidential Address

In the course of his presidential address, *Sardar Sardul Singh Caveersher* said :—

"I have no desire to act the prophet but it is certain that the political discontent in the country will not go unless Indians come into their own. No earthly power can prevent Indian patriots from winning freedom. Thanks to the ceaseless efforts of Mahatma Gandhi, non-violence has sunk deep into the Indian mind and it is bound to win through I, therefore, most earnestly suggest to this Conference and through it to the Indian National Congress that it should concentrate all its energies to the recruitment of a non-violent army of half a million civil resisters who would be prepared to offer themselves for a peaceful fight with the British Government for four years, if it does not yield to the Indian demand for a constitution framed by the Indian people and for the good of their own country"

Tracing the history of the Indian struggle, Sardar Sardul Singh said that whatever little chance there was of India and England presenting a united front for the building up of a better world, it had now almost gone for ever. He opined that a conflict was certain to come sooner or later and the nation should be prepared for it.

PT. NEHRU'S ADDRESS

Pt. *Jawaharlal Nehru*, President of the Indian National Congress, on his arrival here, was accorded a rousing reception. Deafening cheers greeted the President as he entered the Conference pandal There was a huge rush of visitors and volunteers struggled hard to maintain discipline Mr. Nehru, noticing a scramble, ordered the volunteers to let the crowd adjust itself This had a salutary effect. Addressing an assemblege of more than one and half lakh of people, Pt. Nehru said :—

"I have read a statement of the Punjab Premier, asking me to persuade Punjab Congressmen to desist from making violent speeches The advice given by him seems to be extraordinary, judging from his present attitude and actions in arresting Congress workers and proscribing books and papers." "However," he continued, "by observing non-violence in word and deed, the Congress has made rapid strides and developed into a living force."

Proceeding, Mr *Nehru* accused the Punjab people of lethargy such as they had exhibited during the general elections. "Remove the differences and submit to the majority decision, establish a network of Congress Committees and fight every election", he went on. "Take a broom and clear your adversaries from your Province"

No change, he said, had occurred by accepting offices in the seven Congress Provinces excepting the removal of the dread of officials from the people's mind. The problems of hunger and poverty were still confronting them and these could not be solved so long as power was not wrested from the British Government, who were holding the key position still.

Advising people to join the Congress, Mr, Nehru said that the struggle would continue so long as their objective of complete independence was not achieved. He expressed wonder that the Punjab Unionist Government had a hand in the Amritsar Khalsa College affairs.

Resolutions

The Conference passed a number of resolutions congratulating Mahatma Gandhi on his 69th birthday and the Congress Provinces on their praiseworthy reforms, protesting

against the Zanzibar Clove legislation and appealing to the Punjab traders to boycott Zanzibar Cloves, condemning the Punjab Government's policy of arresting politicals, demanding permission for Dr. Hardyal, Raja Mahendra Pratap and the other exiles to return to India, congratulating the repatriated Andamans prisoners on their renouncing their faith in terrorism and urging their immediate release, etc.

Master *Mota Singh*, a socialist, in moving the last resolution, condemned the Madras Ministry's action in arresting Mr. *Batliwala*, whereupon there were a number of protests from the delegates.

The U. P. Political Conference

The Presidential Address

Amidst scenes of wild enthusiasm the open session of the U. P. Provincial Conference commenced at Lucknow on the **30th. December 1937.** The pandal, accommodating one lakh of people, was packed to its utmost capacity. Loud-speakers were installed. A dozen gates were erected for the occasion.

Thakur Malkhan Singh, President of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates. Later, Mr. *Mohanlal Saxena* read his presidential address. In the course of his speech, the President said :—

"Our struggle has reached a critical stage. True, Purna Swaraj, the summit of our efforts, is not yet in sight. But we have certainly reachedthe last and difficult stage of our journey, requiring greater circumspection and care in our movement, when a single false step, nay, an untimely note of sound may cause a catastrophe, causing a greater setback than Chouri Chaura, and undo the efforts and achievements of these years."

"With the assumption of office Congress organisations and Congressmen have been faced with certain new questions. What is to be the attitude of individual Congressmen and Congress Committee towards Congress Ministries as well as towards Government officials? Should the Congress Ministries be publicly criticised by Congressmen? If so, within what limits? In order to arrive at the right answers to these questions, we have to remember that it is the Congress which is in office and not individual Congressmen. Particular individuals are there because of us and our strength. They are there with a set purpose and are working directly under the control of the Congress Executive. They have to work on set lines as laid down in the Congress election manifesto. And lastly, they have been our trusted colleagues and are still as much under the discipline of the Congress as any one of us Under the circumstances, open hostility on the part of Congress men towards Congress Ministries is out of the question as we cannot be hostile to our ownselves. Nor is there any room for a separate pro-Ministry party; for so long as the Congress wants to have its Ministries, the whole Congress cannot but be pro-Ministry. Nobody has ever said that Ministries should be immune from criticism by Congressmen. The difference is as to what should be the channel for it.

"To my mind the best course would for the Congress Committees to hold meetings periodically for reviewing the work of the Ministries and submitting their views to the proper quarters. Recently there have been instances where even responsible Congressmen have publicly criticised and denounced Congress Ministries without even bringing their views to the notice of the Minister concerned or competent authorities in the Congress. I, for one, regard such a course as highly objectionable because without serving any useful purpose, it provides a handle to our opponents and critics.

As to our attitude towards Government officials the circular which has recently been issued by the P. C. C. has rightly said that so long as the Congress Ministries are there we should work as allies in a common cause. We have to fight corruption and bribery in the Public Services. We have to change their whole outlook towards the people. We have to make them realise that they are not hakims, but servants of the people. Full co-operation between the Congress workers and local officials can alone hasten the desired end. While, on the one hand, a new spirit of service and sense of public duty has got to be inculcated in the Services, the people, on the other

have also equally to be educated about their duties and responsibilities as citizens. If jobbery and nepotism have to be put down, the people have to realise that they have not to bother the Ministers and others with letters of recommendation, seeking special favours for their friends and relations, and thereby make their difficult job still more difficult.

"With the installation of the Congress Ministries, the hopes of the people have naturally been raised very much. Besides the Ministers, every Congress office is pestered with thousands of applications and letters dealing with subjects ranging from domestic quarrels to international affairs, and their writers expect personal attention from the Congress Committees and Ministers This is not a very desirable state of affairs and has to be set right soon as it entails so much waste of our time and energy, diverts the attention of the people from the big issues to trivial affairs and is bound to have serious reactions on the people as we do not have the necessary agency to deal with them satisfactorily While we are very careful about the money of others as well as our own, we have so much regard for time which is certainly more valuable than money.

"Coming to agrarian problems, which are looming large to-day, I must congratulate the Congress Ministry on the prompt measures it has taken to bring the much-needed relief to the peasantry. The stay of proceedings, orders and subsequent legislation by which all proceedings for realisation of arrears of rent up to Kharif 1314 fasli will be stayed, the appointment of a committee to go into the whole question of rent and revenue and another to suggest ways and means to reduce agricultural indebtedness are some of the measures which deserve special mention Our Provincial Congress Committee has been taking special interest in the agrarian problems. The report of the Agrarian Enquiry Committee appointed by it last year has been published.

"In the Congress itself, while there is a growing minority which favours its (the zamindari system's) immediate abolition, a large majority is opposed to it The majority view is that, under the existing conditions, it would not be conducive to the best interests of the tenantry. The value of the zamindar's property is falling daily and the amount of compensation to be paid to the zamindars to-day may be much larger than what may readily be acceptable to the zamindars a few years hence. Moreover, it does not believe with others that the millennium would be ushered in with the abolition of the zamindari system, for even in areas where there are no zamindars, the material and moral condition of the peasant is no better, and then there is the question of unemployment in the rural areas, which would not abate, nor would the lot of the very large number of landless labourers improve in the least with the abolition of zamindaris.

"The Congress is as much concerned in ameliorating their (the small zamindars') lot as that of the tenants, but the latter being comparatively much worse off, naturally come in for immediate attention, but this does not mean that the former are not in its mind and even in this short period, the Congress Ministers have adopted measures in order to help them

"Before I leave this question, I think it my duty to deal with the Kisan Sabha movement which has been causing not a little embarassment to Congress Ministries and Congress Committees besides creating unnecessary trouble and confusion in Congress ranks. Personally, I am opposed to the formation of the Kisan Sabha for three reasons ; Firstly, there can be no organisation of Kisans, on a class basis, for they are not a class basis in the real sense of the term and can never be a homogeneous social group. A Kisan is both a proprietor and a worker. Then the organisation of one class against another is bound to lead to conflict which may be exploited by the foreign bureaucracy in furtherance of its 'divide and rule' policy in India and to that extent our fight for complete national independence is bound to be weakened. To illustrate my point, I would cite the instance of the organisation of field labourers in Bihar to counteract the Kisan Sabha movement there. Secondly, the setting up of Kisan Sabhas is bound to undermine the influence and lower the prestige of the Congress. In order to justify the formation and existence of Kisan Sabhas, charges and insinuations are being made against the Congress. Thirdly, the Congress itself is predominantly a Kisan organisation In these provinces, out of nearly ten lakhs members nearly eight lakhs must be Kisans. In view of the great interest which the Congress has been taking in the welfare of the tenants, where is the justification or the need for separate Kisan Sabhas ?

"Let more Kisans be enrolled as members of the Congress and special departments started in the Congress Committees to attend to the needs of Kisans, instead of permitting our workers joining mushroom Kisan Sabhas and working with others who may not even believe in the Congress ideology. While dealing with the agrarian problem, I shall be failing in my duty, if I did not appeal to the tenants from this platform, to pay up their dues for Rabi 1344 and Kharif 1345 fasli. I must also warn them against the consequences of non-payment. They may be ejected and consequently deprived of the occupancy and other rights which are shortly going to be conferred and for which they have aspired so long. They should remember that those who advise non-payment cannot be their friends.

"It is a pity that within almost a week of the assumption of office by Congress, there was a serious labour trouble in Cawnpore While the Congress Ministry has done its best to help labour out of its present predicament by appointing a labour enquiry committee under the presidentship of Mr. Rajendra Prasad, very much against the wishes of the employers, the work of the committee has been considerably hampered and delayed by lightning strikes and other troubles due to the activities of certain irresponsible workers. They should know that by their activities, while they have not benefited the cause of the worker, they have unnecessarily embarassed the Congress Ministry which ultimately was forced to take action under Section 144. Cr. P. C, to bring the situation under control. I still hope better sense will prevail amongst the workers at Cawnpore and they will do nothing in future that may hamper the work of the Labour Enquiry Committee."

The All India Kisan Movement 1937

(Specially Contrinuted)

The Congress Convention held at Delhi marked another stage in the development of the Kisan Movement. The imprimateur of the Congress President was irrevocably placed on the Kisan Sabha's demands for Morotorium for Agrarian Indebtedness and living conditions for Agrarian Labour. The All India Kisan Committee deplored the decision of the Congress to accept ministries but proceeded to place a practicable programme of work which, if undertaken by Congress Ministries, could render some effective relief to the peasantry. The President, Prof. N. G Ranga has sent out a detailed circular suggesting to all Provincial Kisan Sabhas to formulate their detailed legislative and administrative proposals to be presented to the Responsible Ministries.

Between April and July

During this interregnum, the Interim Ministries in the six Congress Majority Provinces hastened to try to steal the wind behind the Congress sails and the thunder of the Kisan Sabha by formulating and announcing for them rather ambitious schemes of rural relief and reconstruction. The programme of the Bombay Government, formed by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta was the most striking. But in actual practice, they achieved very little. The Bombay Ministry did not succeed in coping with the famine which broke out in the Maharastra and Guzerat and the Joint Secretary of the A. I. K. C, Mr. Indulal Yagnik had to inveigh it for its failure. The Madras Government alone had achieved a great thing, in that its Interim Ministry had agreed to loose Rs. 75 lakhs of land revenue by cancelling all enhancements of land revenue, imposed since 1929, stopping the pending enhancements and waiving the claim of the State for Resettlement Enhancements—thus accepting the demands of the Kisan Sabha.

Coming to the other fullfledged Ministries, the Bengal Budget gave evidences of the Ministry's concern for rural Bengal. The Ministry persisted in its efforts to pass the Tenancy Bill but it has not yet become law. Hence Kisan Sabhas' growing discontent at the Ministry's lukewarm concern for the peasants. A serious situation has arisen in the Burdwan and Twenty-four Parganas. Since the canal rates were too high, the agitation of our peasants against them was forcibly suppressed by gagging their leaders, banning their conference and imprisoning their workers.

In Assam also, the Ministry has at best succeeded in granting some remissions of land revenue like the Sindh Government, under the pressure of the Kisan movement.

Advent of Congress Ministries

The A. I. K. C. met at Niyamatpur in Gaya District just as the Congress Ministries were being formed i e. the second week of July and it has placed before the country as the Kisan's immediate demands, the liquidation of indebtednesses, the reduction of rents and revenue, the abolition of grazing fees, the abolition of the Criminal Tribes Act and the Protection of agrarian labour.

What the Congress Ministries have achieved since then has met partially the kisan sabhas' demands but indicated how the kisan's demands could be met fully by every Government if only there was the will to do it. For instance, the Madras Ministry has cancelled most of the arrears of interest, thus accepting the Kisan's principle of cancellation. The Bihar Ministry proposed to save a minimum holding from the clutches of the Sahukars thus admitting the Kisan's claim for complete immunity from all claims against his minimum holding. The Bombay and Madras Governments had declared Partial Moratorium for agricultural indebtedness proving that the Kisan was practical-minded also when he has demanded Moratorium since 1931. The U. P. Government established a state of moratorium for all agrarian debts, thus protecting the Kisan from the landlord and Sahukars.

The Madras and U. P. Governments have appointed Committees to formulate proposals for the improvement of the Status of tenants. The Bihar and Orissa Ministries have gone forward and passed their Tenancy Laws, the one conferring on peasants permanancy of tenure and the other reducing rents by more than 30 per cent respectively

The Bombay Government has abolished the grazing fees, while the Sindh Government have remitted 50 per cent of them and that of Madras also proposes a 50 per cent reduction. The Bombay Ministry proposes to abolish the criminal Tribes Act whereas the sub-committee of the Congress Assembly Party of Madras also favoured the same procedure.

The C P, U. P. and Orissa Ministries have either abolished or liberalised the coercive processes that had been used in collecting land revenue

The Sindh, Bombay, N. W. F. P., Assam, C P, Orissa, Madras had all ordered some remission of land revenue owing to the economic depression. The Punjab Government has appointed a Committee to suggest a programme for replacing its present land revenue system by that of income tax on agricultural incomes. The Bihar Ministry has introduced a bill to impose income tax on agricultural incomes.

The U. P. Government has appointed a special officer to put down corruption in the services, so has the N. W. F. P. Ministry appointed a committee to study this problem.

Morotorium Day in Bombay and Madras

The Bombay Presidency has observed the 15th of October and Madras the first of November as the Morotorium Day to bring to the notice of the public and Government the great need for declaring a state of Morotorium for all agricultural debts. The effectiveness of these two very successful campaigns can be seen from the fact that Mr. Lathe, the Finance Minister of Bombay who had ridiculed the very idea of Morotorium was obliged to swallow his prejudice and later on agree to one year's morotorium. But to the great disappointment of the Kisan Sabha, the Madras Ministry withdrew its Morotorium Bill and introduced its Debts Relief Bill which had established only an interim morotorium and had since been passed by the Legislature. Inspite of its bitter disappointment at this and at the very narrow scope of the bill, the Kisan Sabha has loyally stood by the Ministry and supported it in the face of the concerted opposition of the Sahukars and the unhelpful attitude of the Ministry.

Bihar Kisan Crisis

The real struggle of this period has centred round Bihar. There the Ministry had got the wind up because of the threat of Zamindars to go on Satyagraha and wanted to come to terms with them, so as to obviate the years of delay that would otherwise be caused by them through the Legislative Council in which they command a majority and the Governor. But the Kisan Sabha strongly opposed this move, on the

ground that the Congress ought to proceed with its proposals and dare the zamindars, depending on the loyalty of the Kisans. The Congress Ministry thought otherwise and concluded a pact with zamindars, watering down its legislative proposals and completely alienating the Kisan Sabha. This has led to an acute struggle between the Kisan Sabha and the Congress, the end of which is not yet visible.

Non-Violence—Their Sheet-Anchor

Not being able to justify their tactics before the masses, the local Congress leaders unearthed the bogey of Kisan Sabha's propaganda in favour of Kisan's Danda (lathi) against Zamindars, hooliganism and violence. The Kisan Sabha was charged with having inculcated the idea of violence and created an atmosphere of violence. The fact, of course, was that the Kisan Comrades had been obliged to exhort and advise our Kisans during the last three years to be prepared to show their Dandas to the agents of zamindars, whenever all peaceful methods and persuasion failed to prevent the hooliganism of zamindars or their agents against their homesteads, the privacy of their homes, the honour of their women folk and the life of their children. What with the great expectation of peasants that the advent of Congress Raj would end rents-payments and their bitter disappointment at the unholy agreement between the Congress Ministry and zamindars and the special presure put by zamindars to collect all their arrears of rent for fear a moiotorium might be declared, peasants have had to talk of their "Danda" if their properties were to be alienated and their families driven away from their homesteads. The local congress leaders took full advantage of all this atmosphere so largely created by the Ministry and blamed the Kisan Sabha for it all and persuaded even Rajendra Prasad to rise against the Kisan Sabha in the name of congress creed of non-violence. Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, the General Secretary of the All India Kisan Committee and the Generalissimo of the Bihar Kisans, rationally defended the Kisan Sabha, justified the Kisan's right to use his "Danda" in self-defence and dared the local congress committee which banned him. The Working Committee of the P C C. passed a resolution, warning all congressmen who were in the Kisan Sabha not to have anything to do with the (socalled) objectionable methods of the Kisan Sabha. At this stage, Sj Jayaprakash Narain came out with his strong defence of the Kisan Sabha and warned the local congress that it should not create another 1908 Surat debacle. Prof. Ranga, the President of the Sabha, has appealed for an impartial and careful examination of the congress creed of non-violence in its use for peasants in their day to day life and raising the whole controversy from the plane of organisational conflict to that of a genuine search for a way out in the interests of the masses.

The Bihar Kisans rallied round marvellously to the leadership of the Kisan Sabha. Even when the annual conference was held in one of the Districts from which the Kisan Sabha activities were banned by the local congress committee, more than a lakh peasants flocked to the conference and demonstrated their faith in the leadership of the Sabaa.

Struggle in Guzerat

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the renowed leader of Bardoli Satyagraha Campaign and the Guzerat, took a strong prejudice to the Kisan Sabha for he had always felt that only the congress should be the political and economic organisation for all peasants. He had somehow forgotten that even he had to carry on the 1928 Bardoli Satyagraha campaign under non-congress auspices, just as genuinely had our Kisan comrades felt the need for the independent Kisan Sabha, the small but enthusiastic band of them have worked under the brilliant leadership of Kamalashankar and advice of Indulal Yagnik, had gone forward with their organisational work in Panchmahal, Surat and other Districts. When Swamiji visited Guzerat in February 1938, the peasantry responded in all their thousands so enthusistically to the call of the Kisan Sabha that, despite the studied silence of the Press, the Sirdar felt the impact of the Kisan movement and promptly offered to take up the challenge of the Kisan Sabha. So he banned the Kisan ralley and kisan conference at Vithalnagar. Inspite of that, two thousand peasants bravely marched past the National Flag with their own National and Red Flags and ten thousand of them had gathered in their meeting which, of course, had to be carried on without a light for most of the time, on that great city of million lights. Thus the Kisan Sabha has come to stay in Guzerat also.

C. P. Advances

During the last six months the various linguistic areas of the Central Provinces have come to organise their own net work of Kisan Sabhas Indulal Yagnik had toured them very extensively. Several successful Kisan Marches to the numerous Kisan conferences were held.

Punjab—The Modern Couldran of Revolution

Thanks to the energetic and ceaseless work of Master Kabul Singh, M. L. A., Baba Singh and others. the whole of the Doeba tract is bubbling with real revolutionary spirit and the Kisans are awake to their responsibilities. Though owing to the schisms in the ranks of socialists, the Provincial Committee could not be active, comrade Beni, Sohan Singh Josh, Mubarak Sagar, Munshi Ahman Din have succeeded in enrolling 50,000 members of the Kisan Sabha.

Sindh Wins Laurels

The Sindh peasant has progressed in his organisation so well that his Marches had become the bugbear to the Ministry. Contrary to all practices of democratic Governments, the Sindh Ministry has banned the processions and marches of Kisans even to local officials to communicate their demands to them. Inspite of all this repression, the Ministry has been obliged to order remission of land revenue, reduce grazing fees and offer many other small concessions

Peasant Marches

Peasants' Marches have come to be a tremendous and popular weapon, which our peasants have come to use quite freely and the Ministries to dread A congress leader of C. P. warned peasants that their Marches were unnecessary. Yet there was a very successful march to the C P Chief Minister. The Sindh Ministry is not able to stop them. In some of our Marches, as many as 10,000 peasants have taken part, those of Patna, Lucknow, Rajahmundry, Cumbum, Bombay are of special significance. In all, easily five lakhs of peasants have taken part in them this year. Every Province has witnessed these peasant Marches, emanating from many an unknown village or villages and gathering strength on the way and converging in its thousands of peasants upon the local Ministry or commissioner.

The Great Andhra March

The Andhra peasants' March has been going on since July last and expects to reach Madras by March, after having touched 1000 villages, covered 2500 miles and come into direct contact with half a million peasants.

One lakh peasants in 75 Marches

During this January 17th-26th, as many as 75 peasant Marches have taken place to the local officers and one lakh of peasants have taken part in them in Madras Presidency.

Kisan Schools

During the last six months, the Central Andhra peasants' Institute of Nidubrole, the Doeba Kisan School of Jullunder, the Rayalaseema Kisan School of Giddalur have held their sessions and trained in all 75 peasants for carrying on Kisan propaganda in villages.

Kisan Membership

By the 28th February 1938, the membership campaign of the Sabha comes to a close for this year. So far it is learnt that five lakhs of members are enrolled by all the Kisan Sabhas. This is evidence to the great and growing organisational strength of this movement.

Haripura Congress Concession

At Haripura, those like Sirdar Vallabhai Patel, Bhulabhai Desai who were genuinely of the opinion that Kisan Sabha as an independent entity is harmful to the interests of the nation and the protagonists of the Kisan Sabha like Prof. Ranga, Swami Sahajanand, Dutta Mazumdar, Jai Prakash Narain, Bankim Mukherjee, B.P.L. Bedi had gathered for their trial of strength. In the end, the innate statesmanship of the congress had asserted itself and the resolution, favouring and re-

cognising the independent existence of Kisan Sabhas, asserting that congress itself is rapidly becoming a Kisan organisation, pleading that Kisan Cum Congress comrades ought to try to bring kisans into the fold of the Congress as the sole national political organisation and warning that it cannot countenance any Kisan-Cum-Congress worker doing anything which may be calculated to go against the policy or programme of the congress. This attitude of the Congress cuts both ways. It recognises the right of peasants to organise themselves into their own sabhas. It also pleads that it will also serve his needs. It authorises provincial congress committees to take disciplinary action against our Kisan comrades who may go against its policy or programme. On the whole, Haripur is marking time and Kisan Comrades are put on their mettle to prove their real strength.

Repressive Policy of Bengal and Punjab

The Bengal Government arrested Dutta Majumdar and Ananta Mukherjee at Comilla when they went there in January 1938 to make arrangements for the third All India Kisan Congress which is to meet in April Prof. Ranga was served in February by the Punjab Government with an order banning him from his entry into the Punjab for an year.

Press and Kisan Movement

New papers have come to be started for strengthening the Kisan movement. In addition to the Kisan Bulletin from Bombay, the 'Monday Morning', an English weekly has come to be published by B. P. L. Bedi from Lahore. In Hindi, two weeklies, the Kisan and the Sangharshan were started in Allahabad and Lucknow respectively. There are some weeklies, notably one in Meerut and another in Jhansi which are helping our movement. Among the daily press, there has been a certain amount of hesitation to publish kisan news ever since the advent of congress Ministries. On the other hand, the Anglo-Indian press, particularly the 'Times of India' has been goading the congress Ministries to take action against Kisan Sabhas.

New Friends of the Movement

Since last April, the servants of India society has also come to take some interest in the Kisan movement. Its members, Perulekar, M. L. A, has played a prominent part in the Bombay Assembly in espousing the Kisan cause , M. V. Sivaswami has joined the South Indian Federation of Peasants and workers. Dr Ambedkar and his party in Bombay, a section of the Congress Assembly Party of the Punjab and Bengal and a section of the congress in Sindh are taking fresh interest in the cause of the Kisan. We have to wait for sometime longer before we can say how many of these new forces will continue to display lasting and genuine interest in the uplift of the Kisan.

The Legislatures and Kisan

On the whole it is true to say that there is no kisan Party in any of our legislatures Peasants' Groups on the lines of that in the central Assembly have been started since last September in Bengal, C. P., Madras and Punjab but they are more or less informal. Some Kisan M L As of Bengal have framed a few private members Bills. Mr. Perulekar of Bombay, Messrs. K. Narayanrao, B. V. Narayan Reddi of Madras, Master Kabul Singh of Punjab, some M. L. A.'s of Bihar have displayed rather an aggressive Kisan attitude in the Assembly debates. There is however little progress in this direction inspite of the A. I. K. C. resolution asking for the formation of peasant Groups.

Kisans Rally at Calcatta

The Kisan Rally consisting 45,000 people and displaying as it did the real strength of the Kisan movement was a great event in the progress of the Kisan Sabha. Subash Bose, our Rashtrapati made his first public utterance at the gathering and welcomed the growth of Kisan organisation.

Meetings of A. I. K. C.

There were three meetings of the A. I. K. C. since April 1937, one at Niyamatpur in July, the second at Calcutta in October and the third at Haripur in February.

Three notable things were achieved by these meetings. One is to declare the need for a "No-Debt Campaign" in view of the failure of provincial Ministers to establish morotorium The second is to demand the immediate abolition of the Zamindari System. The third is to recognise the Red Flag as the Peasant's flag. In many places such as Meerut there were conflicts between Kisan and Congress workers over these flags at all Kisan meetings.

Kisan Publications

The All India Kisan Publications Committee which has its office at 23, Stringer Street Madras, has so far published two books "The Modern Indian Peasant" and "The Kisan Speaks" each a rupee, which expound the theory of the Kisan movement. Very soon, their companion volume "The Peasants Fact Book" is expected to be published."

The All-India Library Conference

Third Session—Delhi—22nd. to 24th. December 1937.

The opening ceremony of the third session which must be regarded as the most successful session held so far, of the Indian library association, took place on the **22nd. December** in the Delhi University Hall in the presence of a large and a distinguished gathering of high government and University officials, librarians and prominent citizens including a large number of ladies. *Rai Bahadur Ram Kishore* the Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University, and Chairman of the Reception committee read an interesting address of welcome to the delegates touching upon the history of old Delhi, the function and purpose of the ancient and Mediaeval libraries, and the significant aspects of the modern library movement.

Next, *Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai*, Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Education Health and Lands, read his opening address.

The opening ceremony concluded with the presidential address of *Dr. Wali Mohammed*, the Head of Physics Department and Honorary Librarian of Lucknow University, who spoke at length from his personal knowledge of libraries and their administration, and discussed many pertinent problems which have been before the Indian library Association for a long time.

The Welcome Address

The following is the text of Welcome address —

I consider it a great privilege to welcome you on behalf of the Reception Committee of the third session of the All-India Library Conference to our ancient city of Delhi Delhi is usually remembered as the scene of great political events which have profoundly influenced the course of India's history, but it is often not realised that this great city has also witnessed the clash and fusion of cultures through the centuries Delhi has been not only the capital of empires, but also the centre of a Hindusthani culture, with its cosmopolitan outlook and the subtle delicacy and refinement of its tone, a culture to which the two great communities of India have contributed their share. As a centre of culture Delhi could naturally boast of good private libraries which owed their existence to the passion of the cultured people of the upper classes for knowledge and mediæval book-lore. Amongst the ruins of Delhi we can still locate the sites of famous libraries, viz, the library of the great warrior-scholar Humayun and the library of the illustrious philosopher-prince Dara Shikoh. There was also a well-stocked library in the Delhi Fort which is said to have been secretly transferred after the mutiny to Jagraon in the District of Ludhiana, the home of Arastujah Munshi Rajab Ali, Secretary to Lord Lawrence of Punjab fame. Even now there are many private collections of rare Arabic and Persian manuscripts dealing with literature, history and other branhces of knowledge. For instance, I would refer to the private collection of the late Khan Bahadur Pirzada Muzaffer Ahmad, which contains most Persian works on literature, history and poetry. I may also mention the private collection of Dr. Nazir Ahmed, which

includes classical Persian works on literature and history, and the private collection of Khan Bahadur Zafar Hasan which contains historical Persian works and a copy of the Quran which preserves the penmanship of Yaqut-i-Mutasimi of Abbaside fame. Some notable Kayastha families of Delhi at one time possessed collections of Persian manuscripts including Persian translations of the Mahabharata and of one or two Vedas and of the Bhagvat Gita. Most of these collections have unfortunately disappeared. There is still, however, a good private collection belonging to the family of late Rai Bahadur Paras Dass, a gentleman well-known for his culture and catholic taste, and it contains printed works and manuscripts in Hindi, Urdu and Persian dealing with various subjects A similar collection, particularly rich in manuscripts on Sufism is owned by Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sahib Another collection of manuscripts rich in Persian and Urdu literature once owned by the late Lala Sri Ram, M. A. Rais of Delhi and author of the monumental anthology of Urdu poets. The Khum Khana i-Javed, is today a source of pride and dignity to the Benares Hindu University to which seat of learning its generous owner bequeathed it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have always been tempted to regard a library as a secret place in which to breathe a rarified intellectual atmosphere surcharged with the wisdom of the ages. The earliest libraries of the world were probably temples. In the middle ages, the monastic libraries and libraries attached to churches and cathedrals in Europe sheltered scholars who kept the sacred torch of knowledge burning in an age of barbarism. In India also, where learning and culture were never divorced from religion, temples and monasteries and mosques always served as the Noah's Ark in which the precious heritage of knowledge and culture was carefully deposited while the tide of political upheaval ravaged the land The libraries attached to places of worship assumed as great a sanctity as the shrine or the seat of religious worship itself. They attracted scholars, encouraged intellectual intercourse amongst them, and were the essential means for the development of a common culture and an intellectual tradition. The effacing hand of time and the vandalism of men have combined to wipe out most of these repositories of our ancient culture, but most of all it is the changed outlook and the altered circumstances of modern times that are responsible for the disappearance of such libraries. Our places of worship may no longer be seats of learning as in olden times, but perhaps it will be unfair to suggest that the authorities, whether religious or secular, who own and control our shrines and command sufficient resources, should establish and endow good public libraries attached to places of worship and thus help the cause of education and culture in a poor country.

When I dilate on mediæval libraries and describe them as seats of learning and repositories of our cultural heritage, I am fully aware that the modern problems of libraries and their significance and utility are much more complex than our forefathers could imagine. Knowledge and culture are no longer the monopoly of the few nor is it considered necessary or fair that they should be so We live in an age of mass awakening characterised by a determination to abolish illiteracy and to allow everybody to share the blessings of sweetness and light which have been so long the monopoly of a privileged class living in cultured ease. In these changed circumstances, libraries should naturally function as the necessary instruments of mass awakening and general diffusion of culture. This is the basic idea which serves as the motive force of the library movement in every advanced country and has determined the planning and organisation of libraries in most democratic countries. In India we are on the threshold of constructive democracy and nothing perhaps is more important today than to initiate a library movement on a national scale as a part of a national campaign against illiteracy, ignorance and superstition But I need hardly say that our efforts should be wellplanned and well organised to avoid duplication of effort and dissipation of our limited energy and resources. I hope that this Conference will concentrate on this and allied problems and evolve a constructive plan which will be of lasting benefit to the country.

I wonder if it is presumptuous on my part to draw your attention as a layman to a few significant aspects of the library movement in some of the advanced countries of the west. It has seemed to me that a library movement, which is ancillary to the general programme of mass education, must depend, to a considerable extent, on charitable endowment. In England the library movement in the 19th century made considerable progress largely through the generous financial encouragement of Andrew Carnegie, who from 1817 onwards began to present library building to towns in England as well as to Scotland and the United States. I think that in India we have

also to capture the imagination of the generous rich and persuade them to play the role of Andrew Carnegie. As regards planning it would be worth while for us to consider the report of the Departmental Committee on Public Libraries published in England in 1929 which has outlined "A co-ordinated national system of public libraries, consisting of the urban libraries and the country libraries, with their village and small town branches, all these working together in regional schemes of co-operation, and beyond them the central library for students acting as a reserve for out-of the way books and as the centre for mutual loans between a large circle of special libraries and the public libraries" Moreover we should organise on American lines a Library Commission in each province the functions of which will be library extension including aid in improving existing libraries, starting new libraries where needed, promoting co-operation between libraries, providing library service where local service is impracticable etc., and there may be a co-ordinating body like an All India League of Library Commissions Again we must see how far it is practicable to introduce the system of travelling libraries and the system of 'package libraries" which have been highly successful in America Another urgent line of development is the provision of library facilities for children. In America sometimes a separated room is provided for children in the public libraries, and in such libraries as cater for children the juvenile circulation amounts to 30 to 50 p. c of the total It is interesting to note that as much as one quarter to one-third of the total book fund is considered a reasonable proportion which may be devoted to children's needs. We must see how far our public libraries in the cities are in a position to provide such a children's service

I should not expatiate at great length on matters that are going to receive the attention of experts from all parts of the land congregated in this hall this afternoon. To them I extend, on behalf of Delhi, Old and New, a most hearty welcome They have an arduous session before them and I fervently hope that their deliberations will bear fruit and make this Conference a landmark in the history of the library movement in India. The presence of Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai who has inspite of the numerous demands on his time, kindly consented to open the Conference, is a augury for its success. A message from a person of his wide outlook, erudition and culture will no doubt be an inspiration to us all and direct the activities of this Conference and of the All-India Library Association along channels of ever-increasing usefulness.

The Opening Address

The following is the text of the opening address delivered by *Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai* :—

The language convention comes readily to a man's lips on occasions like this. However, the conventional phrase is not necessarily insincere. That, I assure you, is true of my expression of thanks for the honour of being asked to open your proceedings But I confess that the reason for your choice of me is not evident, at least, to me. I only hope that the selection has not been influenced by the inaugural role that I have played at one or two conferences in recent years , the reputation of a professional usher in words is not one that I particulary merit or covet.

Possibly the inclusion of the leading 'Libraries' in the subjects dealt with in the Department of Education, Health and Lands has misled you into the belief that I am competent to speak about them. If, so, disillusion will swiftly come to you. The real expert amongst us may, on occasion, vicariously adorn his fiats. But if you will prefer amateurs to experts, you must not grumble at the consequences.

Let me say at once that of the technique of Library organisation and management which are, I believe, the main concern of your Association, I am completely ignorant. I have a few books of my own ; such of them as have so far escaped the attentions of Delhi's unbiquitous and imperishable hordes of white-ants, are arrayed imposingly, for six months every year, on shelves in such rooms of the house as have space for these somewhat bulky articles of domestic furniture. Beyond creating in kindly or credulous visitors and guests a false impression of deep and diverse reading on my part, they serve no useful purpose. Let me add, in paranthesis, that I pass no judgment on the fine ethical point whether what is false can be useful I shall only plead in self-defence that the deceiptful play is the handiwork of my children.

But though I may have read little in the past and read less now, I have always been interested in Libraries. The sight of books, in mass, whether huddled together in the confusion of a scholar's study or impressively marshalled on lofty shelves, as

in well-cared libraries, public or private, fills me with lively pleasure. It serves as an inspiration, fleeting it is true, and therefore fruitless, but keen and joyful while it lasts, to explore the rich and limitless kingdom of the mind.

Now I am sure that the experience is not peculiar to me. There must be thousands like me and many amongst even the unlettered in whom the desire for this kind of satisfaction slumbers for lack of stimulus Curiosity is not only the foundation of knowledge. It is, in varying degrees no doubt, one of the universal human cravings. The psychologist will probably tell you that there are different kinds of curiosity ; ultimately all curiosity is mental and I think it will not be too much to claim that the great majority of us seek an answer to their questionings in what others have thought and observed and recorded. Civilised man tends more and more to seek knowledge in books. Hence the need for Libraries.

But it is not only for the satisfaction of Man's intellectual and spiritual curiosity that libraries are useful Our democratic world would regard the fulfilment of such a purpose alone as undemocratic ; the aristocracy of the mind is no more popular than the aristocacy of wealth or of birth Happily, the librarian can ask for support for his movement on its strictly utilitarian merit : libraries are such a useful aid to every kind of reformer, political, social, economic. Whether one seeks to educate an electorate in the use of the vote to decide some important public issue, or to promote some measure of social change, or to increase the industrial or agricultural output of some unit of the community, the appeal of the printed word is coming to be recognised, even in countries where literacy is backward, as being, perhaps, the most powerful, because its effects endure longest. The French saying that what is written remains, while what is spoken flies, expresses an indubitable truth That is why neither the newspaper nor that remarkable invention, the radio, can threaten the permanence of the library as an instrument of education The other two, in spite of their wilder range, are likely to prove ephemeral in effect. Indeed, even newspapers find a permanent home only in reference libraries !

Your Association, I gather from reports of past sessions, has done much, during its short existence, to disseminate information about the scientific organisation of libraries, to collect and publish knowledge of the resources of important libraries in India, to press their claims to expansion and to train librarians These are useful activities and deserve wide support. But I have a feeling that your main aim will not prosper until there is a keener and more general appreciation in the country of the practical utility of libraries That is the justification of my immediately preceding remarks. Both Governments and people have to be taught that libraries are not merely workshops of the professional scholar, haunts of recreation for the cultured, a somewhat contemptible means of ostentation for the nouveaux riches or dusty and unused additions to civic amenities. They may be all these and yet they are more ; they are potential homes of light for the multitude, both young and old.

Carlyle's well-known epigram that the true University is the Library is true of the modern world, but is not particularly so of India. Even if our seats of learning were multiplied a hundredfold, the vast majority of our people could not make use of them. Not all of them have the aptitude for higher education and few can afford the cost in money and time. The hard struggle of life draws now and will always continue to draw millions to work, before they have mastered even the rudiments of literacy. But though lessons may cease, minds do not cease growing, nor man's need for applied knowledge. That is the whole justification for mass education and libraries will probably be its most effective instrument. It is true that to the illiterate libraries can be of no more value than the glory of the visible world to the blind. But it is the hope of every one of us that evil of illiteracy will be strenuously and persistently attacked until it disappears. Those engaged in the battle have therefore, to look ahead and to realise that the end of illiteracy will mark the beginning of a universal demand for libraries ; not institutions like the Bodleian at Oxford or the great congressional Library at Washington in the U. S. A. —these are mainly meant for the advanced student and the specialist—but small collections of simple books, suited to the intelligence and interests of the industrial worker in the town and the peasant in the countryside. It is because mass education and libraries of the modest and popular type that I have described are so intimately linked that I venture to suggest that provincial departments of Education should pay special attention to their organisation and development. In this respect, your Association can little more than proclaim the need or assist in the formulation of plans. The execution of those plans is the function of public authority which alone has the resources and

the power to carry them out. But you would be doing a national service if you could, by pertinacity of effort make this vital connection between libraries and popular education part of the common currency of educational thought Once the link becomes patent, the demand for a systematic diffusion of libraries throughout the land will grow until it becomes irresistible.

And now, gentlemen, this discursive, and inconsequent. catharsis must come to an end. Your time, if not mine, is valuable and must not be wasted. I wish full success to your public spirited endeavour. I am not unconscious that, although you are inspired by a high purpose, many look upon you as well-meaning visionaries or worse still, seekers after rifles Let not the pity or contempt of these superior persons depress you, the start of many great movements had been hampered by indifference or ridicule The lonely sower of seed in a valley on a windy day is often an object of amusement to gay and glittering cavalcades that pass along the highway. Where would the cavalcade be, if the sower's labour did not yield the harvest that sustains life and makes gaiety possible ? Work in the spirit of the lonely sower.

The Presidential Address

The following is the full text of the Presidential Address of *Dr. Wali Mohammad* —

During the short period of its existence, the Indian Library Association has established two traditions the first is of having as its president a person who has had a close personal knowledge of libraries and their administration, and the second of asking a person with special personal distinction in public life or in any field of learning to open the sessions of the Conference and thus secure important pronouncements on topics of wide and general interests. On previous occasions most of the important subjects connected with the aims and objects of the Conference have been ably and clearly discussed For my choice of a subject, I have decided to speak of a few things to which I have given close thought and which might even invite criticism from certain quarters.

I think we all agree that the library movement is one of the most important of recent social developments and that the actual and potential value of libraries is an asset of primary importance to a civilised community. It may, perhaps, prove impossible to maintain in these times of flux and rapid changes any democratic institutions without adopting means for the enlightenment of the people and improving their social and cultural ideals

A library under modern conditions should be regarded as the brain-centre of every community ministering to the intellectual, spiritual, social, cultural and practical needs of man, woman and child

Libraries in olden days were merely depositories of national literature and archives, the use of which was restricted to the imperial household, the ecclesiastics, State officials or the learned. All store-houses of books, of records and of material were reserved for the use of the privileged few and the public rarely had any access to them. All this has changed and the aims, functions and purposes of libraries have been redefined. It is now universally accepted that the objects of a library are not only to assemble and preserve books and related materials as special collections but, through stimulation and guidance, to promote the free use of books and . thus provide an indispensable agency in the education and reconstruction of a country

The ideal of book-preservation has given place to the ideal of service and the aim of every library is to make the maximum number of suitable books available cheaply, efficiently and quickly to the maximum number of readers and thus guide the development of all sections of the community But the strong tradition of book-collecting for purposes of preservation and admiration as objects of art and rare collections still lingers in many quarters and the outlook both of the authorities maintaining the libraries and of those who administer them is to treat libraries in the same way as they would treat a museum containing fossils or antiquities It may be more profitable to wander into a cemetry and read some epitaphs there than to look at books behind closed doors or glance at them through glass panes.

One institution for the whole of India and perhaps one library in each province should, apart from book circulation, aim at book-collecting and book-preservation and should possess as many books as possible on all branches of knowledge and thus serve all workers in the country or the provinces.

While large funds and special grants would be required for acquiring publications in foreign languages, all provincial publications could be acquired without any

difficulty. The Indian Library Association has made definite suggestions about creating Copyright Libraries in each province. When it is realised that according to the Book Registration Act every publisher is required to deliver three copies of every published work to the Local Government it seems easy to arrange that one of them may be transferred to any one of the Provincial Libraries which may function as the Copyright Library of the Province and another copy to the Central Institution which should serve the whole of India.

It will be seen that the proposal can be put into practice if the Local and Central Governments undertake a very simple legislation with the sole object of creating national libraries.

Perhaps an example from Soviet Russia which resembles our country in its vastness, its mass illiteracy and its lack of funds might be interesting and even instructive. The Soviet Government, by a decree, has created a system by which each of the thirty-seven libraries in the Union receives a copy of every book, periodical, newspaper, map, chart and item of music published either in their respective Republic or in the other Republics of the Union, while four large libraries receive two copies of everything published. The library system has a definite place in the planning programme and the number of libraries to be built and the number of books to be added are just as much an integral part of it as the building of new factories and new power-houses

I believe the picture is now complete Each district coordinates the work of all the libraries situated in it and each province has its own Copyright Library which serves as a regional library embracing and cooperating with all the libraries situated in the province. Each of these regional libraries is connected in its turn with the central library which coordinates the work of locating books and facilitates inter-borrowing by means of union catalogues, indexes etc.

Perhaps you too, like me, visualise a National Central Library situated in this ancient and Imperial city supported by a large number of departmental and official libraries and helped by the young and promising University of Delhi, functioning as the centre for outlier and regional libraries situated in the town, in the provinces, and spread over the length and breadth of India, lending a helping hand to them all and supplying the needs of all who cannot get what they require in their own home libraries.

As new libraries are being established and the old ones are allowed to grow up, large sums are being spent on building up collections but their direction and control are completely ignored. Any person who is not wholly illiterate is regarded as suitable for the post of a librarian. Indeed many an appointing authority regards librarians as mere caretakers and consequently expect neither professional nor special qualifications from them. I know of a Public Library in a large town which carried on its work for nearly twenty years without any proper accession registers, without any catalogues, without any accounts books and without any stocktaking. This library was in receipt of an annual grant of over Rs 10,000

It is not realised that it is the librarian who really makes the library the living organism that it should be, and that in order to achieve this, his qualifications cannot be too high. His is a constantly expanding ideal and in order to be successful, he must keep pace with the developments in all branches of knowledge as well as in library technique. It is evident that both the standard of qualifications and the extent of experience essential in a person responsible for the administration of a library have to be very high. The Indian Library Association has as one of its objects the improvement of the status of the librarians and has taken steps to encourage the institution of training courses in various centres with the object of providing trained and qualified librarians.

At present such courses are being conducted by the Punjab and the Madras Universities and by the Imperial Library at Calcutta, while the Universities of Aligarh, Lucknow and Bombay are considering the institution of such training courses. It is interesting to note that the Sapru Committee on Unemployment suggested that classes in library training should be started for relieving unemployment among the educated classes.

Though all types of libraries were approached with a view to provide librarians already employed by them with facilities for receiving the necessary training and to encourage the employment of qualified librarians in future, the response, though satisfactory in some quarters, is somewhat discouraging from others and specially from government departmental libraries and the universities and their affiliated colleges.

Before library training classes are extended, it is worth while enquiring if there is room enough for such trained librarians, and whether the employers are prepared to give them preference over untrained persons. The situation with regard to unemployment would not be any easier by having an army of trained librarians for whom no employment can be found.

Then there is another matter which deserves your attention. There should be some well defined minimum qualification, some kind of uniformity in the training imparted, some equalisation of courses and their length and some equivalence of standards achieved by persons trained at various centres and the diplomas granted by them should have a definite value. For this purpose, the India Library Association should take the necessary initiative and co-ordinate the work of different training centres. In this connection it should be noted that courses extending over a few weeks or months cannot have much value. In Germany the qualifications necessary for a paid post in a library are two years voluntary work in a public library and one and half years' attendance at a library school where the library examination should be passed.

In these days when the extreme poverty of the country is specially emphasised and the imperative need for economy confronts every public body and every private institution and when the threats of a salary-cut are keeping many of us awake at nights, the need of utilising our resources to the best advantage and of avoiding all unnecessary waste is very great indeed.

Very few libraries can buy all the books which they are asked to Most of the libraries would naturally try to provide students' text-books, cheap books, popular books and books of reference like dictionaries and encyclopædias, but rare and valuable books, manuscripts, books on highly specialist subjects, out-of-print books, foreign books and back volumes of periodicals will be beyond their reach

Most of you who are connected with University Libraries know that when a grant is allocated for the purchase of books and periodicals, the larger proportion goes to the periodicals. New sciences are being created and highly specialised periodicals are being started on fresh subjects or on a particular branch of an old science The temptation to subscribe to all periodicals is very great and when this is partially satisfied, this is immediately followed by a demand for back volumes of the same periodicals which being out-of-print can be had only at exorbitant prices It is asserted that teaching and research work cannot be carried on owing to the lack of these periodicals or highly specialised works Not only Professors of our Universities but even the University Librarians in England have made a fetish of periodicals and have given rise to a fear which is shared by even the University Grant Committee of Great Britain And yet these very back volumes of works may be lying idle in a neighbouring library, and could be consulted just for the asking Just think what large sums would be required if all the important journals in one or two subjects alone, say Physics or Chemistry, together with their back volumes for at least fifteen or twenty years had to be purchased by five University libraries situated in one single province and when the whole burden falls upon one Local Government which is responsible for financing them all ! Are all the resources and the wonderful collections of such special institutions as Government of India Records Office (Delhi), the Imperial Institute of Agriculture (Delhi), the Imperial Forest Research Institute (Dehra Dun), the Indian Institute of Science (Bangalore), the Geological, Zoological and Botanical Surveys of India (Calcutta) and the Imperial Library (Calcutta), to be reserve for the use of a few Government officials and a few privileged persons and not made available to others ? We all like to have the collection of books and periodicals within our reach so that we may consult them by merely stretching out our arm But imagine what wonderful results could be achieved and what real economy can be effected by inter-borrowing and what unnecessary duplication and waste could be avoided by a little cooperation.

Library cooperation in one form or another is found in all civilised countries. In France books are lent from one University to another by virtue of a ministerial decree In Germany the libraries are administered on uniform lines and by means of a special catalogue of the seventeen largest libraries, it is possible to locate millions of volumes, so that books can be lent from one library to another without difficulty. During my student days at the Gottingen University, in Germany, I found that if a collection of nearly a million volumes did not contain the book of

my choice, the same could be procured from Berlin or Heidelberg or Vienna within a couple of days. In England the reader's choice is no longer limited to those books which happen to be on his own shelves. Through his local library he is now able to draw upon the national book-stock and there is hardly any book, however rare and expensive, which he cannot obtain if he will only take the trouble to ask for it. It is amazing to find that with the help of the National Central Library, the humblest reader can now draw upon more than 21 million books in libraries of all kinds throughout the land and no cost other than that of postage. If the National Central Library cannot obtain a wanted foreign book in the British Isles, it will, upon request, make enquiries from foreign libraries for it.

The Librarians' Conference at Lahore, the Inter-University Board and the Indian Library Association have all recommended this interborrowing of books, but little progress has been made in giving effect to the scheme so ably worked out by the Indian Library Association Is this due to the apathy of the individual librarians who still buy their collections and believe in the old idea of being distributors of books ? Or is it due to the apathy of the Managing Committees and Executive Councils who are unwilling to change their rules and regulations and believe in reserving their collections for their own members or subscribers and, though they give assent to those proposals in Conferences, disallow them when they are discussed by their own Committees ?

Some time ago, I was engaged in preparing a Directory of the Libraries in the United Provinces and what struck me most was the financial handicap, the insufficiency and even the absence of trained personnel and the complete absence of standardisation of library-practices. However important it may be to have a good collection of books, a good building, a good catalogue, a good arrangement on shelves, there is nothing so important as the use which is made by the persons for whom the Library is meant The whole technique of librarianship should be directed to the achievement of this final result

All of us would agree that a library should be properly housed, should not become a museum or a pawn-broker's shop or a bookstall. It should provide all the amenities for work and research, books should be carefully classified and properly catalogued and the arrangement on shelves should be convenient and scientific and service should be prompt and courteous. But the real test is the extent to which your service to the reader has supplied all he wants, for his information, scholarship, research, culture or mere recreation.

Are you really interested in reaching the great percentage of population which does not for one reason or another make use of the library ? Are you striving to make the service of even a small library fruitful over a wide area ?

Another feature of the present state of libraries which struk me was the appealing ignorance of the functions of the librarian among those responsible for the conduct and those in immediate charge of the libraries A Judge or an eminent lawyer may be an authority on matters legal but not on libraries. No one would dream of entrusting either the conduct or the decision of a law-suit to a librarian, yet it is quite common to find the conduct and control of the libraries entrusted to members of the Bench and the Bar.

Even the education departments of the Local and Central Governments lack technical and specialised knowledge and there is no one to act as their adviser. It will be interesting to find out what use the Central and the Local Governments have made of the Library Associations already in existence and if they have referred any problems to them or if they have even recognised them as agencies for supplying necessary information and advice

Should not all the departments interested in education, rural uplift and universal mass awakening have state advisers who could undertake the survey of library conditions and give advice regarding library buildings, book selections, cataloguing, book circulation, discarding of old and stale books, the balancing of departments and a score of other problems connected with library administration and particularly the location of libraries and their scope and the distribution of funds ?

A most useful form of library-publicity work would appear to be the holding of library-exhibitions and book-fairs either in connection with Conferences, Convocations, annual meetings or other suitable occasions Such an exhibition will focuss attention upon the libraries, popularise the library movement and bring home in a concrete form the benefits to be derived from books. It will make a direct appeal to the eye,

which is the most forceful way of securing interest. It will also bring into relief the local resources and local deficiencies and impress upon both the authorities and the public the needs of the locality and direct attention on the ways of supplying these needs. It may encourage private collectors to exhibit their collections or even to part with some of them for the benefit of the larger public Just imagine the effect on a person who can view and inspect at leisure monographs, gift books, juvenile books, illustrated books, reference books and books on subjects in which he or she is specially interested. The exhibition should cover not only books, periodicals, rare and valuable manuscripts etc. etc. but also aids to librarianship, such as library furniture, appliances and requisites.

As I have said above, the modern librarian believes that he should find a reader for every book on his shelves and provide a book for every reader in his community and that he should in all cases bring the book and its reader together. This is done by giving greater facilities in the lending of books for home use, free access to shelves, cheerful and pleasant surroundings, rooms for special collections, space for research facilities, adequate lighting and ventilation, cooperation with other libraries, longer hours of opening, more useful catalogues, the extension of branch library systems, the provision of travelling libraries, the coordination of work through lectures and exhibits, the immense assistance rendered by photography and the films and now by the radio, the attached museums and many other activities which characterise a modern library.

What is being done to teach the students and the public in the arts of reading and in methods of using a library ? No library can discharge its functions properly if its contents are not fully appreciated and properly utilised What steps are taken even in the University Libraries in familiarising readers with the library arts, the uses of catalogues, indexes and bibliographies, the meaning of classification and above all the functions and scopes of books of reference ? Is it not the time that the Universities realised the importance of library instruction and instituted a special course of lectures on the methods of using the library ?

Would I be inviting your criticism if not actual disapproval when I say that, with very few exceptions, in most of our libraries there is no contact between the reader and the library staff and the reader receives little or no help from the staff, and no authoritative advice on whatever phase of a subject he may be interested in. Readers are too diffident to make enquiries and the library staff either too ignorant, or too careless to answer them It has been often suggested that all important libraries should provide one or more Reference Assistants or readers' advisers who could render direct and systematic assistance to researchers and students, acquaint them with the resources of the library and familarise every reader with the use of reference books , in short answer all enquiries which require searching among books, periodical literature and official reports

In a country where more than 80 per cent of the population depends upon agriculture and where illiteracy is perhaps the greatest, no one can overlook the vital and immediate need of rural uplift and of mass education.

Various experiments launched out for providing primary education for the masses at enormous cost have clearly demonstrated that the money spent on elementary education will be largely wasted if steps are not taken to prevent the subsequent widespread lapse into illiteracy.

A primary education, lasting for a period of three or four years, is followed by absence of all suitable facilities for continuing this education with the help of books and other appliances and, as all further formal education is generally beyond their reach, all the money, labour and time spent, is practically wasted and with passage of time there is no difference between an illiterate person and one who has had no further opportunities than those obtained in the primary school. One sure way of preventing this relapse to illiteracy is the provision of rural and travelling libraries. It will not be a sound policy to spend crores on elementary education and to refuse a few lakhs for providing the only means by which primary education can continue and be of a lasting nature.

What position do vernacular books occupy in our libraries ? If you visit a German or a French library, you will find that English books are treated as foreign books just in the same way as in an English library a German or a French book would be treated as a foreign book. As English has been and is the medium of

instruction in our schools and colleges. our collection of books, our methods of classification and cataloguing etc., have been devised for handling books in the English language. It is a pity that our libraries possess very poor collections of books in the Indian languages, principally, due to the paucity of works in these languages. Various librarians adopt different methods of classifying and cataloguing Oriental works and, though an attempt has been made by the Indian Library Association to evolve a uniform and standardised method, very little has been achieved so far.

I cannot leave off the question of vernaculars without referring to a few points which appear to me to be of vital importance. First, our vernaculars are very poor both in standard works and works for the general reader. No mass education or adult education is possible without educating the community by means of its mother tongue and supplying all essential information and knowledge in its vernacular. Some of the so-called books in the vernacular languages are of no value and are not fit for any library. We should all encourage the publication of books of real value and merit. The second thing is that most books in the vernacular languages are printed on poor paper, in poorer type with uncut pages and without any cover or binding.

Books should be beautifully printed and artistically bound. They should reveal the contents from their attractive appearance and make a direct appeal to the prospective purchaser and the reader.

The general standard of book-production specially in vernaculars is very low indeed and, as you know, is it not always due to the fact that these books are intended to be sold at low prices to the people who cannot afford to pay higher prices. The late Sir Syed Ross Masood used to say that some years ago he searched high and low for a decent edition of Diwan-i-Ghalib to be presented to a European scholar and could not find any which he could present without feeling ashamed of the fact that the works of one of the greatest poets were so badly printed in bad type on very inferior paper and without any binding Happily this deficiency is now removed, but what about the works of other well-known authors ?

Is it too much to expect that the librarians could do something to raise the standard of book-printing and book-production in our vernaculars ?

And, lastly, there is a crying need of books on subjects of general interest by standard authors. Think of the scores of library-series in the English language and the remarkable books one can buy for half a crown, a shilling and now even for six pence ! The more good books are produced in our own vernaculars, the more will be done for the education of India.

Many among you are no doubt aware of the difficulty experienced owing to the absence of reliable and efficient booksellers. Very few bookseller carry any stocks or possess means of tracing and locating a book How often many of you have wanted to consult a catalogue of Indian publications and have been disappointed at finding none ? As regards prices you have simply got to rely upon the particular booksellers through whom books are ordered. Is it not time that booksellers and publishers were invited to our Conferences and made to co-operate with us by taking part in our deliberations ?

I have tried to show that if libraries are the brain-centres of a civilised society, then library service is the blood-stream to make it grow and prosper. It is as essential to have excellent and complete collections of books properly housed and properly arranged as it is to bring them within the reach of millions instead of the privileged few. For a good and efficient library-service, a good librarian is necessary and the librarian must be properly trained and occupied for his task. Reference-assistants and readers' advisers are as necessary for instructing the readers as state advisers for enlightening those in authority. While a few central libraries are essential, many others should avoid unnecessary duplication and waste, by means of mutual co-operation and by interborrowing. Some sort of effective publicity is also needed Efforts should be made to encourage better output of vernacular books and the standards of printing and book-production should be raised. More bibliographies and union catalogues, more provincial and regional library associations and more frequent conferences will bring better understanding and better inter-change of ideas.

The Indian Library Association has already done much to bring home the importance of Library movement, Library cooperation and Library training. It has helped

in the formation of provincial library associations and it has given the librarians of the whole country an excellent opportunity of meeting and discussing common problems and evolving useful schemes.

I am sure the Conference would like me to convey our cordial thanks to the Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University for his generous hospitality and to the members of the Reception Committee for the friendly welcome they have given us Our thanks are also due to the members of the Working Committee upon whom the heavy and difficult task of all local organisation has fallen. And last but not least is our deep appreciation of the excellent services rendered by the Honorary Secretary of the Indian Library Association, Khan Bahadur K M Asadullah Sahib of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, for the ability, zeal and enthusiasm with which he has carried on the work of the Indian Library Association.

Resolutions

The following is the text of the resolutions passed by the Conference :—

1. Resolved that this Conference places on record its deep sense of grief and sorrow at the irreparable loss that the library movement has sustained through the death of Dr. A. C Woolner, a great library worker, the Chairman of the I L A. and President of the Lucknow session of the Council of the All-India Library Conference 2 Resolved that this Conference places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Mr Newton Mohan Dutt, one of the pioneer workers of the Library Movement in Baroda ; and of Professor Ghoshal of Bhopal, a member of the Indian Library Association.

3 Resolved that this Conference once more requests the Central and Provincial Governments and the Universities to grant to the librarians working in libraries under their control full facilities for attending the library conferences organised by the Indian Library Association

4 Resolved that all the Universities be requested to urge upon the colleges affiliated to them to take necessary steps for the re-organisation of their college libraries on modern scientific methods, and employ only those persons who have received training in the science of librarianship , and where necessary, the Universities may render financial help to the said institutions in order to make a start in the way suggested

4. Resolved that the Central Government be requested to take effective steps to ensure that only trained librarians are appointed to the vacancies that may henceforth occur in departmental libraries and the libraries of the attached and subordinate offices.

6 Resolved that the Federal Public Service Commission and the Provincial Public Service Commissions be requested to recruit only trained librarians when requested to do so by any of the Departments of Governments , and if necessary, they may seek the help of the Indian Library Association or a Provincial Library Association in this matter.

7 Resolved that all Provincial Governments be requested to issue necessary instructions to all the District Boards in their respective Provinces to render financial help to such deserving libraries as may require it, so that these libraries do not lose their utility for paucity of funds

8. Resolved that the Provincial Governments be requested to include the establishment of libraries as an important factor of their rural uplift programme, and in order to give it practical shape, they should take steps to set up rural libraries for the maintenance and furtherance of the educational and cultural level achieved through schools, colleges and other educational institutions

9. Resolved that the Provincial Governments be requested to take early steps to establish copyright libraries for their respective Provinces, wherein all publications whether books, pamphlets, periodicals or official publication published in that province, be collected and preserved for the use of the public and research workers.

10. Resolved that the Indian Library Association be requested to set up a committee on which the existing library training centres be represented to examine the curriculum etc. of those centres with a view to achieving standardization and uniformity in library training.

11. Resolved that the Provincial Library Associations be requested to arrange for a comprehensive survey of all rural and urban libraries in their respective areas in all the aspects of library administration, including the staff.

The All India Muslim League

25th. Session—Lucknow—15th. to 18th. October 1937

The twenty-fifth session of the All-India Muslim League commenced at Lucknow on the **15th. October 1937** in a well-decorated pandal with seating accommodation for five thousand.

A large number of persons from all the provinces, Burma and Baluchistan were present including Mr. Fazlul Haq, Premier of Bengal accompanied by Mr. Khawaja Nasrullah, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, Nawab of Chhattari, Mr Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Begum Shahnawaz, Nawab Ahmadyarkhan Daulatana, Raja Ghazanfarali, Khan Bahadur S. M. Abdulla, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Mr Hasrat Mohani, Begum Mohammad Ali, Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy, Dr. Ziauddin, Mr. Hossain Imam and Nawab Mohamed Yusuf.

After recitation from the Quoran, the *Raja of Mahmudabad*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, read the address welcoming the delegates to the session.

After the address, the Raja of Mahmudabad invited Mr. Jinnah to take the presidential chair. Mr Jinnah was given a great ovation when he occupied the chair and rose to deliver the presidential address.

The Welcome Address

In the course of welcome address as Chairman of the Reception Committee, the *Raja of Mahmudabad* said :—

"We are here to decide many and difficult questions, questions which will not only affect our own community but the whole of India, in fact the world. I say the 'world' because the means of communications and transport have developed so rapidly that we cannot completely isolate ourselves from the rest of the people that inhabit the globe What happens in India to-day is of vital importance to Asia and other continents to-morrow. Events in China, Spain and Palestine have more than national importance. The solution of the problems in these countries will affect us all, specially the problem of Palestine where our brother Muslims are carrying on an unequal yet gallant struggle against overwhelming odds against money and machine-guns.

"The eyes of Islam are watching their first Kibla. Indian Muslims also are watching the developments in that country with grave concern. Any further inroads upon the rights of the Arabs of Palestine may start a conflagration which may lead to disastrous results, Not only the Mussalmans but all nations and people of all nations who believe in justice disapprove of the gross injustice done to the Arab race.

"A delicate political situation has been created in our own country. The majority community refuse to recognise even the existence of the Muslim community as such and it refuses to work in co-operation with our leaders for national advancement.

"We have been dubbed reactionaries, we have been maligned and personal attacks have been made against us. But I repeat that there is not one Mussalman who sits here to-day who does not want freedom of thought and action and who does not want to have a free country to live in. Tney that call us reactionaries must remember that they are talking to Mussalmans—Mussalmans whose religion teaches them liberty without which they cannot truly live. We want liberty for our country but we also want liberty for our community. It is an essential part of democracy that minorities should be adequately represented. No real democracy, nothing but a false show of democracy, is possible without it.

"We have before us a scheme for the reorganisation of our League. I cannot anticipate your decision upon that scheme. But I know that you are aware that since our last constitution was framed the political situation in the country has changed greatly. It is therefore essential for us to make the whole community conscious of its rights in politics and to unite the Muslims into one living organisation.

"It is for you to advocate measures of reform. We have already made our position clear in regard to federation. A programme must be chalked out for the removal of poverty and the betterment of the condition of the masses. Whatsoever pro-

gramme we agree upon must be workable. The practice of holding out high hopes and not fulfilling them is not one that commends itself to Muslims. We believe in deeds and not in words."

The Presidential Address

In the course of his Presidential address, Mr. *Mahomed Ali Jinnah* said :—

The Muslim League stands for full national democratic self-government for India. A great deal of capital is made as to phrases more for the consumption of the ignorant and illiterate masses. Various phrases are used such as *Purna Swaraj*, self-government, complete independence, responsible government, substance of independence and dominion status. There are some who talk of complete independence But it is no use having complete independence on your lips and the Government of India Act 1935 in your hands. Those who talk of complete independence the most, mean the least what it means. Was the Gandhi-Irwin pact in consonance with complete independence ? Were the assurances that were required before the offices would be accepted and the provincial constitutions could be worked consistent with *Purna Swaraj*, and was the resolution, after the assurances were refused, accepting offices and working the provincial constitution enacted by the British Parliament and forced upon the people of India by the imperialistic power in keeping with the policy and programme and the declarations of the Congress party ? Does wrecking mean working ?

The present leadership of the Congress, especially during the last ten years, has been responsible for alienating the Mussalmans of India more and more by pursuing a policy, which is exclusively Hindu, and since they have formed the Governments in six provinces where they are in majority they have by their words, deeds and programme shown more that the Mussalmans cannot expect any justice or fair play at their hands Wherever they are in a majority and wherever it suited them, they refused to co-operate with the Muslim League parties and demanded unconditional surrender and signing of their pledges.

The demand was insistent, abjure your party and foreswear your policy and programme and liquidate Muslim League , but where they found that they had not a majority like the North West Frontier Province, their sacred principle of collective responsibility disappeared, and promptly the Congress party was allowed in that province to coalesce with any other group That any individual Mussalman member who was willing to unconditionally surrender and sign their pledges was offered a job as a minister and was passed off as a Mussalman minister, although he did not command the confidence or the respect of an overwhelming majority of the Mussalman representatives in the legislatures These men are allowed to move about and pass off as Muslim ministers for the "loyal" services they have rendered to the Congress by surrendering and signing the pledge unconditionally and the degree of their reward is the extent of their perfidy. Hindi is to be the national language of all India and that *Bande Mataram* is to be the national song and is to be forced upon all. The *Congress flag* is to be obeyed and revered by all and sundry. On the very threshold of what little power and responsibility is given, the majority community have clearly shown their hand that Hindustan is for the Hindus ; only the Congress masquerades under the name of nationalism, whereas the Hindu Mahasabha does not mince words.

Here it will not be out of place to state that the responsibility of the British Government is no less in the disastrous consequences which may ensue. It has been clearly demonstrated that the Governor and the Governor-General, who have been given the powers and special responsibility to safeguard and protect the minorities under the constitution which was made so much of by Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India during the controversy of the assurances demanded by the Congress party, have failed to use them and have thereby been a party to the flagrant breach of the spirit of the constitution and the instrument of instructions in the matter of appointment of Muslim ministers On the contrary they have been a party to passing off men as Muslim ministers by appointing them as such, although they know full well that they do not command the confidence of the Muslim representatives or the public outside. If, in a matter like this, the Governors have shown their utter helplessness and disregard for their sacred obligations which were assumed by the British Government for the protection of minorities, could they or would they be able to afford protection in

hundred and one other matters which may not come up to the surface or known in the day to day working of the Legislature and the administrative machinery.

The Congress High Command speaks in different voices. One opinion is that there is no such thing as Hindu-Moslem question, and there is no such thing as Minorities' question in the country. The other high opinion is that if a few crumbs are thrown to the Mussalmans in their present disorganised and helpless state, you can manage them.

The Congressite Mussalmans are making great mistake when they preach unconditional surrender. Only one thing can save the Mussalmans and energise them to regain their lost ground. Do not be disturbed by the slogans and the taunts such as are used against the Mussalmans, "communalists", "toadies" and "reactionaries". The worst wicked "communalists" to-day amongst "toady" on earth, the most wicked "communalists" to-day amongst Muslims when he surrenders unconditionally to the Congress and abuses his own community becomes the nationalist of nationalists to-morrow.

The All-India Muslim League certainly and definitely stands to safeguard the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities effectively. That is its basic and cardinal principle The Congress attempt under the guise of establishing mass contact with the Mussalmans is calculated to divide and weaken and break the Mussalmans and is an effort to detach them from their accredited leaders. It is a dangerous move and it cannot mislead any one. All such manoeuvers will not succeed notwithstanding the various blandishments, catchwords and slogans. The only honest and straightforward course is to give minorities a fair deal. All the talk of hunger and poverty intended to lead the people towards socialistic and communistic ideas for which India is far from prepared The Muslim League in the present conditions considers the policy of direct action as suicidal and futile. Two such attempts have hitherto failed and have entailed untold misery and suffering to the people, and it had to be wound up after two decades of persistent efforts in that direction with the result that a more reactionary constitution is forced upon the people, and the Congress is working it now.

To ask by a resolution the Governor-General to convey to the Secretary of State for India, to call a constituent assembly on the basis of adult franchise is the height of all ignorance It shows lack of any sense of proportion. A constituent assembly can only be called by a sovereign authority and from the seat of power—a special body of men chosen as the representatives with the authority of the sovereign people to frame such a constitution of the government of the country as they may think proper, and their function then ceases and the constitution so framed by them would automatically take the place and function as the constitution of the Government of the country. Who is to constitute the electorates on the basis of adult franchise, and how many representatives will be chosen by these electorates constituted on the basis of adult franchise, and what will happen to the minorities in such constituencies and what will the electorates understand and how will they make their choice of this special body of men with final authority and power to frame the constitution of this great continent? Who will direct the machinery to choose the special body of men with representative authority to frame such constitution as they may think proper? Who will set in motion the machinery? And above all what will happen to the minorities in such a body, Is the Congress really serious that the Secretary of State is going to carry out all these requirements?

Instead of ploughing the sands, let the Congress at least concentrate and see that the All-India Federation scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, which is more reactionary than even the present central constitution, is not brought into being, as now it is so emphatically and confidently asserted by those who speak with authority on behalf of the British Government that it is soon going to be inaugurated.

May I point out to Great Britain that this question of Palestine, if not fairly and squarely met, boldly and courageously decided, is going to be the turning point in the history of the British Empire. I am sure I am speaking not only of the Mussalmans of India, but of the world, and all sections of thinking and fair minded people will agree when I say that Great Britain will be digging its grave if she fails to honour her original proclamation, promises and intentions—pre-war and even post-war—which were so unequivocally expressed to the Arabs and the world at large. The Muslims of India will stand solid and will help the Arabs in every way they can in their brave and just struggle that they are carrying on against all odds.

To the Mussalmans of India in every province, in every District, in every town, I say your foremost duty is to formulate a constructive and ameliorative programme of work for the people's welfare and to devise ways and means of social, economic and political uplift of the Mussalmans. We shall not hesitate to co-operate with any party or group in any practical and constructive programme for the welfare and advance of the provinces or the country. I entreat and implore that every man, woman and child should rally round one common platform and flag of the All-India Muslim League

Eighty millions of Mussalmans in India have nothing to fear They have their destiny in their hands, and as a well-knit, solid, organised, united force can face any danger, and withstand any opposition to its united front and wishes. There is the magic power in your own hands Take your vital decisions—they may be grave and momentous and far-reaching in their consequences Think hundred times before you take any decision, but once a decision is taken, stand by it as one man. Be true and loyal, and I feel confident that success is with you

Resolutions

Following is the full text of the resolutions tabled by the Subjects Committee for consideration at the open session of the All-India Muslim League .—

This session of the All-India Muslim League condemns the present policy of the Government of India with regard to Waziristan and is of opinion that the forward policy is against the best economic and political interests of India and calls upon the Government and people of India to change and come back to the close border policy

The All-India Muslim League deprecates and protests against the formation of Ministries in certain Provinces by Congress Parties in flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the Government of India Act of 1935 and the Instrument of Instructions, and condemns the Governors for their failure to enforce the Special Powers entrusted to them to safeguard the interest of the Mussalmans and other important minorities

This session of the All-India Muslim League condemns the wanton demolition of the Shahidganj Mosque at Lahore as a most intolerable interference with the law of Islam and, in view of the fact that this demolition was carried on in broad daylight under the protection of British troops and British guns, calls upon the British Government to restore the mosque to its original condition and, thus, avoid the inevitable conflict between Muslims of India and the British Government whose representative in the Province has failed to perform his elementary duty of protecting an admittedly Muslim mosque.

The All-India Muslim League declares in the name of the Mussalmans of India that the recommendations of the Royal Palestine Commission and the subsequent statement of policy presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament are in conflict with their religious sentiments and in the interest of world peace, demands their rescission without further delay

The All-India Muslim League calls upon the Government of India to issue instructions to the representatives of India at the Assembly of the League of Nations that, in view of the failure of the present Mandatory to carry out the terms of the Mandate which have never been accepted by the Arabs and the rest of the Islamic world and in order not to prejudice the civil and religious rights of Arabs, they shall demand the annulment of the Mandate and dissociate themselves from any decision tending to perpetuate it and, thus, to violate the fundamental right of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine to choose the form of government best suited to their needs and requirements as guaranteed to them under international treaties. The All-India Muslim League appeals to the rulers of the Muslim countries to continue to use their powerful influence and their best endeavours to save the Holy Places in Palestine from the sacrilege of non-Muslim domination and the Arabs of this Holy Land from the enslavement of British Imperialism, backed by Jewish finance.

The League places on record its complete confidence in the Supreme Muslim Council and the Arab Higher Committee under the leadership of His Eminence the Grand Mufti and warns the local administration in Palestine not to aggravate the resentment already created in the Muslim world by a policy of repression as advocated by the Royal Commission against the people of the country, ostensibly to uphold law and order but in reality calculated to further the interests of aliens through the scheme of partition. The League expresses its entire confidence in the leader and members of the delegation selected by the Palestine Conference, held on 24th and

25th September, 1937 and appeals to every friend of Arabs in Palestine to raise a united voice to redress their grievances.

The session of the All-India Muslim League warns the British Government that if it fails to alter its present pro-Jewish policy in Palestine the Mussalmans in India, in consonance with the rest of the Islamic world, will look upon Britain as an enemy of Islam and will be forced to adopt all necessary measures, according to the dictates of their faith.

(a) Whereas the Urdu language is organically an all-India language,

(b) Whereas the Urdu language is the result of the age long process of the inter-action of culture primarily of the Muslims and the Hindus and possesses a capacity such as no other Indian language does to sustain the cultural thought of both sections,

(c) Whereas the Urdu language is spoken and understood as a common language over a greater part of the country and has for that reason been styled by foreigners as Hindusthani or the language of Hindustan *par excellence*,

(d) Whereas the Urdu language is consequently fitted eminently to serve as a powerful means for the development of a united nationality for the people of India and whereas the new language that is being devised in the name of Hindi or Hindi "Athwa" Hindustani just to replace Urdu is aggressively artificial in character and is so far removed from the common life and speech of the people that it might rip the structural basis of Urdu, otherwise known as Hindustani, and adversely affect the growth of comradeship between the Hindu and Muslim section of the Indian population,

The All-India Muslim League calls upon all the Urdu-speaking people of India to make every possible endeavour to safeguard the interests of their language in every field of activity with which the Central and Provincial Governments are concerned through their educational and other departments of public administration by insisting,

(1) That in all those parts of the country, wherever the Urdu language is the language of the area, the arrangements already in operation for its protection are not hampered and its use and development shall be upheld by the Government.

(2) That in all those parts of the country, wherever the Urdu language is not the predominant language of the area, adequate arrangements shall be made for the Urdu-speaking sections of it to pursue their education, if they should so desire, through the medium of Urdu and that also Urdu shall be prescribed as an optional subject in the curricula of state education and necessary provision be made for its efficient teaching, and

(3) That in all Government offices, courts, Legislatures, railway and postal departments, provision shall be granted for the use of the Urdu language.

The All-India Muslim League shall make every effort to make Urdu the universal language of India

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League strongly condemns the attitude of the Congress in foisting *Bande Mataram* as the National Anthem upon the country as callous, positively anti-Islamic, idolatrous in its inspiration and ideas and definitely subversive of the growth of genuine nationalism in India

This meeting further calls upon Mussalman members of the various legislatures and public bodies in the country not to associate themselves in any manner with this highly objectionable song

Speeches in Open Session

Mr. *Abdul Rahman Siddiqi* moved the resolution regarding Palestine in the open session of the League.

Mr. *Maqbool Mahmud*, supporting the Wazirstan resolution, said that Muslims have the sanction of organisation behind them if they wanted their resolutions to be accepted by other parties. That organisation, however, should not be to hit others but to see that others did not hit them because they were weak. A strong, patriotic Moslem community was indispensable for the freedom of India. He said that to-day they stood under the League but he wished to emphasise that the Muslims were not living in a vaccum. He concluded that their organisation must be based on tolerant patriotism.

Moving the Shahidganj resolution, *Maulana Zafar Ali* blamed the British Government's attitude with regard to the demolition of the mosque. He narrated the

various stages leading to the tragedy and believed that the Government would not have taken the attitude they did if the Muslims had been united.

Mr. *Inayatullah* regretted the disunion amongst the Moslem youths. He felt convinced that they should never allow the Congress to mislead Moslems. He appealed to the Moslem youths to take their proper share in the fight for freedom.

Begam Habibullah placed full faith in their honesty of purpose Moslem women, she said, had surely advanced and men should not think that they were left alone to fight the battle. Women would fight shoulder to shoulder with them.

After *Malik Barkat Ali's* speech, the resolution was unanimously passed.

Moving the *Bande Mataram* resolution, Mr *Akram Khan* (Bengal) traced its history from the Sanyasi rising and Mr. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's book *Anand Math*. He quoted passages from the book having a bearing on the question and said that the song was not national as professed by the Congress but, as its origin showed, was intentionally meant against Muslims. He wondered why such a song should be sung in the Legislature when Muslims took exception to it and why when a Muslim member, whose feeling it hurt, walked out during its singing, exception had been taken to his doing so.

Mr. *Badruddaja*, supporting the resolution, saw an attack on the culture of Islam and a conspiracy against Islam in the book *Anand Math*. He said that the Congress had a small mind though a great impulse and they went ill together.

Mr. *Mahomed Habibullah* thought that the song was not only anti-Islamic but also anti-national. The Congress wanted independence but did they mean it, he asked He thought that the Congress President should declare the *Anand Math* and the *Bande Mataram* song to be anti-national. Would the President at the next Congress session burn the book? If he did not, he was not serious in what he said and only wanted a Hindu revival and the perpetuation of British imperialism

Khan Bahadur Hayi Rashid Ahmed asked, when they were subjected to such an indignity on minor things, what their position would be if they were not allowed safeguards. At this stage, closure was moved and the resolution was passed.

Moving the Ministers' resolution, *Malik Barkat Ali* said that Muslims could not repose confidence in non-Muslim Ministers The Muslim Ministers in the Congress Provinces were not real representatives of the Muslim community. He advised the Congress not to encourage Muslims to accept any Ministry in opposition to the Muslim view.

Supporting the resolution, Mr. *Chundrigar* said that the Congress had formerly complained that Ministers were elected from the Government flatterers and were not the real representatives of the people, but the same might be applied to the Congress and he believed that the Congress was the greater sinner in this respect.

Similar views were expressed by Mr. *Mahomed Ishaq* and *Seth Abdus Sattar* and the resolution was passed unanimously.

The House was comparatively thin when the fourth sitting of the open session of the League commenced on the **18th October.** Moving the Federation resolution, Mr. *Hussain Imam* remarked that the League was opposed to Federation since the difference between the consulting units were very marked. They were not there on a similar footing While British India would be represented by those who were ruled, the Indian States would be represented by their rulers. From their previous experience, they could hardly trust the States since they would have to carry out the orders of the British Government. He believed that if Hindus did not come to an understanding on the question of Federation, it would mean that their opposition to Federation was not sincere.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, supporting, said that Federation was composed of Government, Congress, Muslims and States. The Government would willynilly like to introduce the Federal scheme. Their plan apparently was to persuade Congress to join by influencing Mr. Gandhi. The Government, he added, were at present very kind to Congress and the Hindus. As for the States, they would be forced into it and, thus, the Muslims would be isolated and compelled to join. On the other hand, advised the Maulana, the League should take steps to isolate the Government by winning over the other two parties. He explained that at present Congress and the Muslims had a mutual suspicion, each thinking that the other might join, leaving it isolated. He believed that they could join hands and approach the Nizam and other States since a number of States were already shaky on the subject. He said that some members of the Subjects Committee had suggested an alternative scheme,

which was opposed and deleted He concluded that if under pressure, the Muslims accepted Federation, they would not be able to give effect to the resolutions passed in the session.

Mr. *Chundrigar* described Federation as a retrograde measure. By joining Federation, they would be strengthening the hands of Hindus. The resolution was unanimously passed.

The resolution opposing the introduction of joint electorates in local bodies was moved by Mr. *Muminullah* from Bihar who alleged that the Government in his province were planning to close schools and substitute pathsalas in their place. The purity of the Urdu language was being attacked. He said that if Mussalmans accepted joint electorates in local bodies, they would lose all influence in shaping policy and programme to the benefit of their community

Mr. *Zahur Ahmed* and Mr. *A. S. Khan* further supported the resolution which was adopted, Mr. Zahur Ahmed adding that the system of electorates could only be altered by the consent of the Mussalman community.

The *Raja of Mahmudabad* next moved the resolution on the Urdu language. He said that if Mussalmans wanted, they could have imposed the Arabic language on the Hindus when they ruled in India Mr *Karimullah Raja Khan* said that the problem of Urdu was interwoven with the individuality of the Mussalmans in India and he urged the setting up of Urdu Defence Committees in every district in India Mr. Hussain Riaz, Ghulam Mahomed Hussain and Mr. S M Hussain further supported the resolution, the last speaker pointing out that the University of Urdu in India would unite and consolidate the Muslim community into one unit. The resolution was passed.

At this stage, Mr. *Jinnah*, addressing the press, said: "I find, very much to my regret, that certain incorrect views of some members of the Subjects Committee, including myself, have been given currency in some newspapers though it is fully known that the proceedings of the Subjects Committee are held in camera and are not open to the press. I appeal to the press representatives as to whether it is fair or right. I am not at liberty to disclose the discussions or the views of any member of the Subjects Committee so as to categorically repudiate certain misrepresentations because that would be doing what I so strongly deprecate I am, however, in a position to say that every resolution in the Subjects Committee was passed unanimously and that is enough for the present."

Mr. *Zafar Ali* moved the Baluchistan resolution, which was supported by Prof. Inayatullah and adopted.

Moving the resolution on the Assam "Line System" Mr. *Abdul Matin Chaudhury* said that Assam was an undeveloped province and people from the neighbouring districts came and settled there He described the hardships which the people of the province had to undergo under this system when they had to migrate to Bengal. The speaker regretted the Congress attitude in this respect.

Mr. *A. K. R. Khan* of Bengal was optimistic that within the next few years, Assam would also be a Muslim Province.

Moving the resolution on the economic programme, the *Raja of Mahmudabad* said that he was not there as a Raja but as Amir Ahmed Khan. He said that Talukdars generally might not have sympathy with the economic condition of the people, but the Muslim Talukdar was a tenant first and a Talukdar next. If the wealthy pondered, they would find that while there were defects in Socialism, there were good points, too, and when its defects were expunged, what was left was the teaching of Islam. When the Raja came to describe the pitiable plight of the teeming millions, tears trickled down from his eyes He appealed to the wealthy not to make Islam a Government of Rajas but of the people. Islam, he said, was not a religion—it was a disgarce to call it so—it was a system which all the world followed. Lenin had a good programme but that, too, fell far short of Islamic principles.

Mr. *A. B. Habibullah* said that the League had been maligned and abused for having no economic programme and he challenged if Congress could offer anything better than what they were putting forth to-day.

Mr. *Naqi Imam* advised them not only to have love for their religion but also for their country. He said that they must impart proper education and produce better-educated men Pointing to the House, he said it was certainly an assembly of educated men but it was not the real mirror of the condition of the community. If

they wanted to improve economically, they must give up applying for government jobs. The salvation of the community lay on the plane of nationalism

Mr. *Qutubuddin Abdul Wali* described Congress as an irreligious body.

Mr. *Aziz Lalji* said that Congress was spreading communalism and Socialism, only to bring the Hindu Raj.

"Have any of the programmes of the Congress cared for Muslim artisans ?" asked *Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman* and he added that if Hindus did away with capitalism, they would find Muslims ahead of them.

Mr. Jinnah announced in the afternoon that the session would be concluded after the new Constitution was adopted. It was a long and complicated document like a statute and laid down rules and regulations for the League. He then referred to the forthcoming bye-election at Bijnore and said he was a believer in action, by which alone any organisation could be judged. He acknowledged the cordial response by the audience to the appeal by the Chairman of the Reception Committee. There was, however, the great factor of money. The Jhansi Election they had won by one motor car and a flag, the latter of which they were preserving as a memento In Jhansi, they had won only by 700 votes, nearly 2,000 votes being cast against them. At Bijnore, he wanted to give their opponents a crushing defeat He, therefore, appealed to the audience to contribute in money as much as they could to form a fund which, he said, would be kept in trust by the Raja of Mahmudabad, the balance, if any, would be handed over to the United Provinces Provincial League.

Mr. Jinnah's speech was translated into Urdu by Mr. *Hossain Imam*, who alleged undue interference in election for which till yesterday the British Government in India had been blamed.

The following resolution as regards the League's constitution was moved from the Chair and accepted : "That (a) This session of the All-India Muslim League approves of and adopts the constitution as amended by the Subjects Committee on the report of the Special Committee appointed by the Council of the A I M. L by a resolution passed at a meeting held at Delhi on 21st March, 1937 (b) The President be authorised to appoint a Working Committee from amongst the members of the Council and the A. I M L Committees in every Provincial, District and Primary League, according to the amended constitution by 31st December, 1937. (c) All elections of delegates and members of the Council of the A I. M L. shall be held in accordance with the provisions of the new constitution and shall be intimated to the office of the A. I. M. L. by 20th January, 1938."

Moving the resolution, Mr. *Jinnah* said that the Subjects Committee was the most powerful in the history of the League. All the amendments had been passed unanimously. For these reasons, he thought that it was unnecessary to waste the time of the House in formal discussion. Besides, constitutions were not permanent and they could be changed. The amended constitution would be published and it could then be better examined and changes could be made, if necessary.

At the conclusion, the President announced that the special session of the All-India Muslim League would be held at Lahore (in February).

The Bengal Presidency Muslim League

The Presidential Address

Are our Ministers of the Presidency of Bengal acting with that faith and courage and moving steadily forward towards the realization of the common ideal of the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress ? The Hon'ble gentlemen are the representatives of the people and therefore the ultimate sanction of the offices which they hold rests on the will of the people".

"They took office on the 1st April, 1937, yet I am sincerely sorry to say that neither their acts nor their utterances conform to the wishes of the people Clearly, they are not possessed of those 'mighty forces' and 'faith and courage' which the Viceroy in his extremely generous mood expected them to possess",

Thus declared Sir *Wazir Hassan*, ex-Chief Judge of Oudh Chief Court, in course of his presidential address at the annual general meeting of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League which was held on the **22nd. August 1937** in the premises of the •Calcutta Dental College.

There were 16 resolutions which (1) demanded immediate release of all political prisoners, detenus and those under restrictions, (2) requested Bengal Government to immediately raise a loan of two crores of rupees in order to start free compulsory primary education in Bengal and vocational education for unemployed youths, (3) urged that the tenancy legislation of the Province be immediately overhauled in order to give relief to overtaxed peasantry and (4) requested Bengal Government to make a beginning of total prohibition in some selected districts of Bengal and draw up programme so that total prohibition might be enforced in the Province within the next four years.

When the discussion on the remaining resolutions was going on, several policemen entered the hall with crowd behind them who created such disturbance that further proceedings became impossible. In consequence thereof the President adjourned the meeting and declared that the meeting would be held at 18, Canal Street at 7 p. m.

Referring to these unseemly scenes *Sir Wazir Hasan* remarked "it was a painful sight for me to see that the politics in Bengal should have degenerated into such a low ebb that it prompted unseemly scenes which we have all witnessed this afternoon. Nothing can take me away from the path of duty I have chosen for myself No Minister or his Police Commissioner can deter me from the work I have set before me as a duty to my country and duty to my brothers in Islam."

The adjourned meeting was held at 18, Canal Street, the residence of Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, Sir Wazir Hassan presiding.

The following further resolutions (1) offering co-operation to Indian National Congress in the work of mass contact and fight for freedom of the country with adequate safeguards for the Mussalmans of India, (2) urging Bengal Government to consider the widespread feeling in the country against repressive laws which still disfigure the statute book of this Province and take measures for repeal of all repressive acts at an early date, (3) conveying to the India Goverument the strong feeling in the country against the use of Indian soldiers in foreign countries and urging the Government of India to discontinue the practice, were passed at this meeting.

Addressing the meeting Sir *Wazir Hassan* said :—

"I assume that the Bengal Presidency Muslim League is affiliated to the All-India Muslim League either under Section 37 or Section 40 of the Constitution of the All-India Muslim League. If this is so then under Section 3 of the same Constitution your League forms an integral part of the All-India Muslim League, and therefore the aims and objects of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League are the same as those of the All-India Muslim Leauge.

"According to Section 2 of the Constitution of the All-India Muslim League the aims and objects of the League are as follows :—

(a) The attainment of full responsible Government for India by all peaceful and legitimate means with adequate and effective safeguards for Mussalmans.

(b) To protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interests of the Indian Mussalmans.

(c) To promote friendship and union between the Mussalmans and other communites of India.

(d) To maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Mussalmans of India and those of other countries

"When the aims and objects of the League in so far as they are covered by clauses (a) and (b) are placed side by side with the objects of the Indian National Congress as stated in its Constitution and several resolutions it will be found that they are the same in substance.

"In your Province you are happily free from the responsibilities of the protection of the interests of the Mussalmans as a minority group. But on the other hand on your shoulders rests the responsibility of protecting the interests of the minorities in the Presidency of Bengal. I am convinced that you will always make your best endeavours to discharge the obligation justly and conscientiously. The first question therefore which arises in relation to your Province is to discover whether there are many such rights of the minority community which require protection in your hands. The only question of such a nature, so far as I can see, arises out of the allotment of seats in Legislatures of your Province to the Hindu community of Bengal under

the Communal Award. It is obvious that the disadvantages under which the minority community of your Province is placed by the Award, have not resulted in any advantage to your community In all fairness, therefore, it is your duty as a majority community to help the Hindu minority in relieving the latter from the burden of those disadvantages, provided of course, there is no higher equity which must be exercised in favour of any other minority group To my mind there are no such equitable considerations In this connection, I may be permitted to say broadly, that any community which is foreign and not Indian, cannot invoke any equity in its favour

"It has been rightly said that the relationship between India and England is that of 'exploitor' and 'exploited' and not of partnership Britishers in India are the living symbols of British Imperialism and whatever they have done in this country they have done in the interest of England and not of India. This subject has been discussed threadbare in books of history tracing back to the earliest days of connection between the two countries It was a "Society of Adventurers" which became constituted into the East India Company and the latter received its charter on A D 1600, from Queen Elizabeth to trade with the East In furtherance of the economic interests of Great Britain territorial acquisition were made by the Company and with the victory in the battle of Plassey in 1757 commenced the political supremacy of the merchants of England over our unhappy motherland. To quote Macaulay, "The servant of the Company obtained, not for themselves, a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade They forced the native to buy dear and sell cheap they converted with their protection a set of native dependants, who ranged through the provinces, spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared Every servant of a British factory was armed with all the power of his master, and his master was armed with all the power of the Company Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the last extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never under tyranny like this"

"The transfer of the political domination of India to the Crown of England brought no fundamental change in the relations between India and Great Britain : exploitation continued though in new and legalised guises with the result that the abject poverty of the people came to be linked with the political slavery of India. As I said elsewhere "it is a grim irony that those very interests which were acquired with the help of deception and sheer brute force are now flaunted at us as legal and legitimate rights" protection of which is sought on grounds of justice and good conscience The latest Constitution framed by the British Parliament for the governance of this country breathes with the spirit of political domination and economic exploitation of the people of India by the people of England Our Prime Minister of Bengal truly said that under the New Constitution there will be neither Hindu Raj nor Muslim Raj but British Raj.

"The attitude of the Indian National Congress towards the inequities and denationalising effect of the Communal Award may not be logical or consistent with its high ideal of nationalism but it certainly demonstrates its anxiety and political wisdom not to raise communal issue at a time when the services of the entire people of India are needed in the great fight for freedom.

"In the matter of acceptance of offices in the Provinces in which it had a majority the Congress has again taken the decision in favour of acceptance with the object of averting a split, so that cohesion and solidarity of the people of India may be maintained in the movement for emancipation.

"The All-India Muslim League at its session held at Bombay in April, 1936 resolved that the Constitution relating to Provinces may be worked for what it is worth . thus there is no conflict of policy between the Congress and the Muslim League as regards the Provincial part of the Constitution Act of 1935. But there is a vital difference between the objects of the two organizations in working the Constitution. The League considers that the Act provides considerable powers for introducing beneficent reforms by the Ministers while the Congress is of opinion that the Constitution would be so worked as to frustrate the intentions of the framers of the Act. In other words the British Parliament intended to burden the Ministers with responsibilities and to vest the powers in the Governors of the Provinces. The Congress resolutely declined to accept such a bare responsibility until His Excellency the Viceroy made public his authoritative interpretations of

the provisions of the Act. His Excellency said : "But I do not believe that these sad things (conflicts between the Governors and responsible Ministers and consequent suspension of the Constitution) will come to pass, for I have faith in you and in the destiny of India. The way we tread may seem dark and sometime difficult. The star that guides our course may seem sometime to flicker and almost to fail. Yet faith and courage are mighty forces. Let us summon them to our aid in this difficult hour, and together move steadily forward towards the fulfilment of our hopes."

"Are our Ministers of the Presidency of Bengal acting with that faith and courage and moving steadily forward towards the realization of the common ideal of the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress? These Hon'ble gentlemen are the representatives of the people and therefore the ultimate sanction of the offices which they hold rests on the will of the people. They took office on the 1st of April 1937, yet I am sincerely sorry to say that neither their acts nor their utterances conform to the wishes of the people. Clearly, they are not possessed of those "mighty forces" and "faith and courage" which the Viceroy in his extremely generous mood expected them to possess.

"The dark shadow of the old regime, the old habits of covering acts of injustice and oppression of flouting public opinion with the pretence of maintaining Law and Order, still dominate the administration of the Presidency of Bengal Hundreds of sons and daughters of our motherland may starve themselves to death, thousands of them may arbitrarily be deprived of their freedom, thousands and thousands of our labourers may be compelled to live on the verge of starvation and millions may roam about in our villages naked and hungry. All this may happen but no relief and no sympathy can be extended to them because of chimerical fear of breach of rules of discipline and Law and Order Legitimate and non-violent demonstration by the people against the actions of the Government are suppressed with force and are construed as threats founded on communal bias Are these the ways by which our Ministers propose to rapidly reach the goal of responsible Government? It is said that these conditions existed long before the advent of the popular Ministry. Yet no protest was made against their continuance. This may be so, but surely the inference is not that the present agitation is directed against the personnel of the Cabinet or on communal grounds. On the contrary, the only legitimate inference is that the agitation is prompted by the fact that our Ministers of to-day are the servants of the people and not their masters.

Nothing gives greater incentive to law breaking than a policy of repression. Our Ministers must know and realise the consequences of their callous disregard of popular opinion and sentiments. The whole of India is deeply agitated and with one voice demands the redress of sufferings of the Andamans prisoners, the release of detenus and political prisoners. This demand cannot be suppressed by parading before the eyes of the people shibboleths of prestige and Law and Order. To quote the words of the President of the All India National Congress, "To day this inhuman, tragic sight is uppermost in the people's minds, and the shadow of death hovers over them. While we argue, people might well be dying I trust still that this human side will be considered by the Viceroy No government ever lost prestige by doing the right thing. But even if prestige being the balance, there are other factors in life that count far more" Having regard to this great wave of indignation and stirring of deep currents of human feelings it will be, in my opinion, in the interest of Law and order that the demands of the Andaman prisoners, reasonable as they are, should at once be met and satisfied. Hunger strike is an outcome of desperation. It is the duty of the representative Government of the country to stop spreading and deepening of this desperation by taking possession of the hearts of the people of India. How vividly reminiscent of the days of Lord Willingdon who laboured under the illusion that he had crushed the aspirations of the people of India by his policy of repression, is the attitude of the present Government of Bengal? I should here like to strike a personal note. The chief Minister of Bengal is an old friend of mine, if I may say so, and from my knowledge and experience of his political views I can say with a certain degree of confidence that if freedom of thought and action were left to him as his most sacred possessions, he would have done the needful long ago. He is not a free agent but then who dominate him? They may be some powerful and reactionary members of his own party. There can be little doubt that the Bengal Presidency Muslim League can exercise greatest of influence for the better on these reactionary colleagues of the Chief Minister. The League may even disown and disaffiliate the

Muslim Parliamentary Board which after all is said and done is the creature of the League. This Board must accept your mandate and has no right to dicate to you.

"I recommend that you may send a message to our fellow countrymen in the Andamans Prisons, that it is the earnest desire of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League that they should discontinue their hunger-strike as it has already served the purpose with which it was started. Their sufferings are now the sufferings of the entire people of India and have moved them to the innermost depth.

"Coming back to the broader question of the freedom of the country from alien domination, I have no hope that it will come by the so called process of evolution. The History of British Imperialism belies all such hopes Britain lost American colonies as a result of war. Britain was also on the verge of losing Canada altogether when it was saved as a self-governing Dominion by Lord Durham. The case of Ireland bears great resemblance to the case of India. Successive efforts were made by Gladstone to give home Rule to the people of Ireland, but the British Parliament at every instance set its face against it Truely none of these cases is a parallel instance to the case of India. India is a continent, inhabited by thirty-five crores of people ; Hindus and Mohammedans are the inheritors of a glorious heritage of civilization, culture, philosophy and even of territorial sovereignty in different parts of the the country, and yet Indians are a subject people. Can history present any parallel to the case of India ! No

"Constitutional reforms in India began in 1909 and in 1937 ths British Parliament has imposed a constitution on the people of India which is condemned by every political organization of the country. Indeed, at one time in six provinces of the country, the Government of India Act of 1935 was faced with a grave danger of being suspended. The Federation part of the Act still remains condemned and so far neither the All India Muslim Leauge nor the Indian National Congress has evinced any desire to work it to any extent. It follows that our fight for the attainment of our object of responsible self-government must be maintained and our forces strengthened.

"Before I proceed further I wish to analyse a little more closely the true nature of this struggle, and for this purpose I would like to quote a passage from a recent booklet issued under the auspices of the Indian National Congress and prepared by my young friend Dr. Z. A Ahmad "For the past half-century a struggle has been in progress between British Imperialism and the Indian people The central fact of this struggle has been the question of sovereignty on the one hand, an ever growing conscious mass of the Indian people, economically crushed, are continuously striving to bring about a radical improvement in their living conditions by altering the existing political relationship , on the other hand, British Imperialism and its Indian supporter are continuously exerting themselves to suppress these endeavours and to maintain the politico-economic status quo

"It often happens that politicians in order to satisfy group interest or in reacting to the exigencies of particular circumstance, erioneously characterise the Indian struggle as being essentially economic, or essentially political, or even as essentially moral or religious. The Precept of Political Science that the connection between economics, politics and forms of thought in society is organic, is a socio-logical generalisation, which applies to all societies irrespective of race and territory." Our struggle for freedom, therefore, means freedom from political slavery, freedom from the fetters of class domination and fredom from economic exploitation But how to attain this freedom ? The Congress has found the way, that way is both legitimate and peaceful and briefly stated it is the way of stirring mass consciousness

"I have shown above that the object of the All-India Muslim Leaguo is the same in substance as the object of the Indian National Congress i e, the attainment of responsible self-government for the country and nobody blames to-day either the Muslim League or the Mussalmans of India that they lack in ideals But have we discovered any way leading to that goal, different from that of the Congress ? To my mind given the conditions of lawfulness and non-violence, there is no other way than the way on which the Congress has already begun its march with a grim determination to reach the goal. With the passage of time our chains of slavery tighten more and more, the class domination increases and the economic miseries deepen.

The Indian Mussalmans must join the Congress and the reasons for doing so are implicit in the bare statement of the nature of the fight. No sacrifice is too great in this cause. Indeed it is a sacred obligation by which every Mussalman is bound and it is his duty to discharge that obligation to the best of his capacities. In my opinion every obstacle placed in the way of the Musalman to the fulfilment of our obligation

to our country must be unhesitatingly removed as unworthy of a great people Delaying in our march to freedom shoulder to shoulder with the Congress until settlements made is not only opposed to the constitution of the League but is highly derogatory to our national honour and political morals.

As I said on another occasion this demand for a settlement in anticipation of victory comes to this. "We will take no part in the battle of freedom unless and until our share in the fruits of the victory is fixed and determined" This is a most humiliating position for the Mussalmans of India to take "The Mussalmans must learn to depend on their own national characteristics and dynamic forces; the measure of their right must be determined by the proportion of their contribution to the struggle for freedom" We must cease to be the parasites of British Imperialism and should not degenerate into sycophants of another label. I may say in parenthesis that I do not admit for a moment that there remains any thing to be settled between the League and the Congress before we join the Congress and build a united front in the fight for freedom

"Let me test this proposition in another way. According to the Constitution of the League one of our several obligations is to protect our rights in this country but we are land under another obligation of service to the Mussalmans of other countries also Thus it is our duty to support the Arabs of Palestine in their fight for independence and integrity of their motherland Obviously, we the Mussalmans of India can have no material share in the fruits of the victory of those people When our battle in India is won we cannot be any the less free people than any other community. Once the objective of the fight is firmly grasped every question of communal nature fades into insignificance I trust that you are not oppressed with apprehension that the coming Swaraj will be a Hindu raj and not a raj of the people of India. This fear if it exists at all is obviously created by the British Imperialists and their Indian supporters and I must earnestly appeal to you not to swerve even to a hair's breadth from your duty to you motherland

"Reverting for a moment to the question of Palestine, I will ask you to consider the resemblance of the report of the Royal Commission with the Constitution Act of 1935. Both reveal in a remarkable degree the inherent vices of the British Imperialism. Palestine is proposed to be divided into three parts, the Arab Palestine, the Jewish Palestine and the wedge of British Palestine. The Constitution Act divides India first into British India and States India. This division is made to serve the purpose of wresting any power that the representatives of British India may legitimately claim to possess in the government of the country The second division affected by the Act is the division of British India into Muslim India and Hindu India and ye there is a third division by dividing each province into Muslim and Hindu electorates. We must fight with as much determination against the proposed partion of Palestine as we should against the constitution of 1935, independence being the common cause in both cases. Though perhaps it is not possible for our Muslim Ministers to fight for Palestine on the floor of the Legislatures but there is no reason whatsoever why they should not join us in the public agitation Near at hands there is a similar fight going on in the Frontier of India The League and the Congress are engaged in it in the interest of freedom.

"Pray do not misunderstand me. I do not ask you to wind up the Muslim League if you think that there is a need for its continuance. One of the objects of the League is "to protect and advance the religious and other interests of Indian Mussalmans." Perhaps it is necessary to maintain the League for serving the object contemplated by the clause quoted above.

"Just yet, however, there is no attack from any quarter on your rights and interests of any description, nor is there any interference in the promotion of those interests. But the primary and dominating object of your Constitution is described in clause of (a) Section 2, and for the attainment of that object you can join the Congress without any hesitation Neither the Constitution of the League nor the Constitution of the Congress debars you from joining both the Organisations.

"Besides the objects enumerated in Clauses (a) and (b) of Section 2 of the Constitution of the League there is another object stated in Clause C of the same Section. That object also can best be served by joining the Indian National Congress. The peak which the waves of National Movement of Freedom have reached is bound to drown all communal differences, and if communalism is not yet dead it is certainly on death-bed.

I now wish to close this address with an appeal to the youths of Bengal. Some of you will be the leaders, others will be the Soldiers of the Great National Army

ch is fighting the battle of Freedom for our Motherland. You have training in problems which confront the entire world of the present day and you have facility of youth to adjust your vision to the new angle with which those blems are presented at the present moment. You have a correct conception our entire social and political structure which clearly needs drastic readjustits if not complete demolition and rebuilding. You know the true interpretation he "birth right" of every citizen of our country Thus your age and your pment fully entitle you to take the responsibility on your shoulder of serving cause of Freedom. I, therefore, ask you to begin to take interest in the onal problem of the day and individually and collectively share amongst selves the burden of this service. The Constitution of the All India Muslim gue as well as of the Indian National Congress permits you to use only timate and peaceful means for the attainment of the freedom of our Motherland are not required to do anything which is forbidden by law nor anything which violent as opposed to peaceful. You must keep the fire of patriotism burning in r hearts Without this there can be no incentive to action National honour and of one's country are the noblest and the strongest of human emotion To my id all your education and all your culture must be deemed to have been vested ou fail to respond by action to these impulses. Any attempt to suppress this ed and noble emotion is clearly immoral and tyrannical

Last I would appeal to the Government of Bengal and in particular to my friend Prime Minister that they do redeem pledges which they made to their electorates ough whom they have attained the status of the Government of Bengal.

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he All India Shia Political Conference

Sixth Session—Lucknow—11th. & 12th. October 1937

The Sixth annual session of the All India Shia Political Conference commenced at know on the **11th October 1937**, under the Presidency of *Sir Wazir Hassan*, in the course of his address said :—

"The poverty and miserable plight of the Muslim masses is as great as (if not ater than) that of the Hindu masses. In this work of creating national sanctions nd the struggle for political freedom, the Congress will welcome co operation a all communities and classes But obviously if co-operation is offered on terms it a price, Congress cannot pause to consider such terms or to evaluate the e"

Sir Wazir Hassan continued : "I deny that what is called the problem of the orities is a reality. I am convinced that the so-called problem of the minorities creation of British imperialists and is always used as a weapon to impede the gress of nationalism in this country" Sir Wazir regretted that communalism ed its head at every step that was taken or intended to be taken on the march he goal of freedom by the Congress or any group of Indian Nationalists. The mmunalists amongst the Hindus were as much obstructive as communalists amongst Mussalmans. The Congress had, thus, to fight the battle of freedom on three nts, viz, British imperialist, Hindu communalist and Muslim communalist, and, l willing it would win on all fronts.

The days of drawing-room politics and intellectual gymnastics with a view to ilding an agreed formula by the best of the Hindu and Muslim communities had e, he said, and added . "You cannot reverse the wheels of force which are mating the thoughts and actions of the peoples and nations of the entire rld. If you have the least impulse of patriotism in you, you cannot let your ities degenerate from nationalism to communalism and from communalism to atriotism."

As regards their rights under the Communal Award, the attitude of the Congress s perfectly clear though that attitude had neither the authority nor the wish

to disturb the adjustments made by the British Parliament in the Award as regards seats in the Legislatures of the country. "With whom are we to make a settlement," asked Sir Wazir Hasan. In the Provinces where the Mussalmans were in a majority and formed the Governments, neither the All-India Muslim League nor the Provincial Leagues had any status. Taking a view of the position of the League in all the provinces, the President thought that the League could not be said to represent a majority of the Mussalmans in any province of British India, except Bombay, and in several Provinces the League did not represent Muslims at all. Further, he said there was no guarantee forthcoming that any settlement between the League and the Congress would be honoured and accepted by the Mussalmans of India as a whole or even by the Mussalmans in the Provinces separately. Sir Wazir maintained that the proper time for a settlement of what was called the minority problem would come after India had attained the status of a free country.

Sir Wazir thought that the crux of the problem was that the aspirations of India for independence could not any longer be satisfied with a mere change of mentality. What India wanted today was action. He believed that obviously the forces of freedom would be immeasurably enhanced if all the Mussalmans of India would also contribute their share of sacrifices and services in the fight for independence and he felt convinced that the battle for freedom must be fought at any sacrifice or cost. "It should be remembered" said the President 'that the destiny of India in future will not only fall into the hands of the young and educated people of to-day but also into the hands of the masses, who in their eagerness to attain freedom as the only panacea of all ills will not pause to consider such trifles as what is now called the minority problem For, does not 'the adult franchise' imply the supremacy of the masses ? If such is the reality of the future, I trust that you, my friends, will be no party to qualifying the main purpose of the resolution relating to the Constituent Assembly by annexing provisos to safeguard the interests of minority communities and classes"

Sir Wazir Hasan thought it advisable in the interest of the solidarity of the Muslim community that they should work for the attainment of their goal from inside the Muslim League. Referring to the Madhe Sahaba question, the President advised that whether the finding of the tribunal was adverse or favourable it must be accepted most readily and in the full belief that justice had been done.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—12th. October 1937

Noisy scenes marked the proceedings of the second day of the All-India Shia Political Conference, at which far-reaching decisions were taken. After a warm discussion, the Conference decided that Shias should join the Congress unconditionally.

Sir *Wazir Hasan*, speaking at length, traced the history of the Muslim League and said that that body did not treat the Shias honestly and had forced their hands to join the Congress.

By another resolution, the Conference opined that separate electorates for all legislatures should be abolished and should be replaced by joint electorates with reservation of seats for Muslim minorities on the basis of the ratio fixed by the Communal Award, and that joint electorates, with the ratio of representation of Mussalmans as provided by the present Municipal and District Boards Act, should be immediately introduced.

The Conference unanimously passed the Constituent Assembly resolution as passed by the United Provinces Assembly without any proviso. While resolving and requesting the Congress to note that the Muslim League did not represent the entire Muslims of India, allegations were made that the rights of the Shia minority were always crushed by the League and that the League Party had helped the Madhe Sahaba agitation.

The Conference formed a propaganda committee and decided to start a newspaper.

The Conference "condemned" the Royal Commission's recommendation for the division of Palestine.

The All India Shia (Muslim) Conference

For the progress of Muslim industry and commerce, it was necessary for the Muslims to take a vow to purchase things from Muslim manufacturers and shops, said the *Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad*, presiding over the All-India Shia (Muslim), Conference, which opened its session at Cawnpore on the **26th December 1937.** The Raja said that preference must be given to Muslim merchants without distinction of country and race Failing this, the goods of Indian manufacturers should be preferred to non-Indian

In the course of his address, the President bewailed the conditions of Shias in the country, which he attributed chiefly to insufficient attention being given to mechanical labour For the betterment of the Shias, he advocated the establishment of an industrial institution of the type of Dayabagh in Agra and also suggested the collection of funds for bringing out a community paper.

The Raja then condemned the policy of the British Government in Palestine, which, he said, had alienated the sympathies of the Muslims He asked the Shias to emulate the example of the past leaders of the community who had helped the Moghuls to establish their Empire in India.

Nawab Khan Hussain, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of his address, dwelt on the deterioration of the condition of the Shias which, he thought, was due to jealousies and disunity He regretted that the Shias had failed to live up to the teachings of the Prophet.

The All Bengal Muslim Conference

The All-Bengal Muslim Conference commenced at Berhampur on the **23rd October 1937.** All the Moslem members of the Bengal Cabinet and many M. L. A. s, M. L. C's were present

Mr *A K Fazlul Huq* briefly addressing the gathering said that if they did not feel the necessity for Muslim unity they would not have come here.

Sir Nazimuddin pleaded for founding a branch of the All-India Moslem League in every village and thana. Referring to the Muslim members who had gone back on their election pledges, he urged his audience to give them no hearing from any platform He challenged the Congress to show anything they had done for the betterment of the lot of the masses. Congress people indulged in tall talk about the masses but their action in that respect was little. He cited as an instance the action of the Congress party in the time of the third reading of the Bengal Tenancy Amedment Bill in the last Assembly

After Prince *Kademali Mirza* delivered his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* delivered his presidential address.

Mr. *Jinnah* said. "Times are changing Under the old constitution the Ministers would not have come to you as these Ministers have done. The Ministers have now come to you to explain what they are doing for you You are now masters. The vote is in your hands and the biggest and the greatest have to be to your decision."

Proceeding, he said that when the new constitution came into being and realising that Mussalmans were numerically weak, educationally backward, economically nowhere and financially bankrupt, the Moslem League decided to contest the provincial elections. Without previous organisation they set up a machinery to regulate the whole of India. They took the field because there was no other alternative. Thus provincial and central boards were set up. They had enormous difficulties to face. They had their enemies who did not wish that Mussalmans should organise. Nevertheless they preserved in every province and they succeeded beyond expectation, having regard to their difficulties.

"The issue before the Musalmans of India to-day" Mr Jinnah continued, "is this." The Moslem League has got a definite policy and a definite programme. The vital

and fundamental difference between the Congress policy and the Moslem League policy is that we insist that the communal award should not be changed unless it had to be done by an agreement. We insist that in any future constitution in this country, by whomsoever it may be framed the rights and interests of Mussalmans should be effectively safeguarded. Why are we fighting for them ? If you lose this battle the Mussalmans in India will be crushed and wiped out of their existence You may talk as much as you like about your religion, culture and language. Political power is a power that will safeguard our religion, culture or language. That is what we are fighting for.

"The Congress answer is a dishonest answer that it 'does not matter They say the question is the economic question of hunger and poverty from which Hindus and Mussalmans suffer alike.

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said that in the legislatures every legislation had got to be carried by a majority of votes. In most of the provinces in India Mussalmans were in a hopeless minority. Even in Bengal their majority was not so strong and it might be reduced to minority by various methods that might be resorted to

Mr *Jinnah* asked what was the objection on the part of the Congress to come forward honestly in a straightforward manner and settle the question of minority. In other parts of the world, such as Canada,' Czechoslovakia, Poland and Egypt this question had been settled but the Congress said there was no such thing. The Congress said : "You must trust the majority their good-will and sense of justice and fair-play. When you are told this you are being deluded and bamboozled

"They in the Congress say that the Congress stands for freedom and the Moslem League stands for slavery. That is absolutely untrue. There is no difference in the ideal of the Congress and that of the Moslem League If there was any doubt in their aims and objects the historic session of the Muslim League at Lucknow has made it quite clear that we stand for freedom and full freedom"

The other accusation against the League, Mr. Jinnah continued, was they had no economic programme. "We have met that charge. At the Lucknow session we put down our detailed economic programme". He believed that when a Mussalman put down something on paper he honestly meant to carry it out

"Other charges against us are that we have got Nawabs, Knights, Zemindars, Talukdars and Capitalists. That is merely to bamboozle you. These Zemindars, Nawabs and Talukdars do not like them But what about the Congress ? What about the Birlas, great millowners and millionaires who regulated their policies."

They had now democratised their constitution. Any one who paid two annas could become a member of the League The rein of power was in their hands They had got the machinery now and would deal in a proper manner with those who proved unfaithful and disloyal to the League by using sanction which was their disapprobation and condemnation. They had dealt with two prominent men, Sir Wazir Hasan and Mr Yakub Hossain.

He said he had brought a message from Lucknow. It was that Mussalmans had awakened from the slumber of long years. The league in its revised democratised constitution, policy and programme had created platform on which every class of persons and interest could stand. He, therefore, appealed to them in all earnestness he could command not to join any party or organisation except the All-India Muslim League and rally round its banner.

Hindus where they were in majority were attempting to force upon Muslims Shree, Lotus and "Bande Mataram" as the national anthem and Hindi as the national language. Was it equality or fraternity ? Did it mean responsibility and good taste ?

Mr. Jinnah appealed to them to organise provincial leagues all over the country. Because Moslems were nowhere in everything, disorganised and disunited they had neither fear nor respect for either Britishers or the Hindu community

Finally, he said minority could never be anything but minority. "To ignore it is like the proverbial spider saying to the fly to walk into his parlour. If it walked into his parlour it would be swallowed up. To-day the entire brunt of attack is on me because I am attempting to prevent the spider making the fly to walk into his parlour". Eighteen months ago he was a hero of nationalism ; now that he had came to the rescue of the Moslem League he was being called communal and reactionary, hobnobbling with toadies and flunkeys.

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

19th. Session—Ahmedabad—30th. Dec. to 1st. January 1938

The Welcome Address

Amidst scenes of enthusiasm the nineteenth session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha opened at Ahmedabad on the **30th December 1937** About 500 delegates from various provinces, the majority being from Gujerat and Maharastra, 200 ladies and visitors attended The dais was decorated with Hindu and tricolour flags, buntings and slogans asking the Hindus to unite.

Besides the President-elect those present included Dr. Moonji, Mr. Bhopatkar, Bhai Paramanand, Dr. Kurtkoti, Sri Sankaracharya, Sir Gokulchand Narang, several local lawyers, millowners and doctors. Hindu Congress leaders were conspicuous by their absence The proceedings commenced with Vedic prayers by Prof. Athavale followed by welcome songs and *Bande Mataram.*

Welcoming the delegates and visitors, Mr *K.K. Thakor*, Chairman of the reception committee, referred to Mr Fazlul Huq's speech at the last session of the Muslim League at Lucknow in which he held out threats of retaliation and said that it revealed the mentality of the Muslim leaders like Mr. Huq and their hope of a Moslem Raj

He said "Mr M A. Jinnah, President of the Moslem League in his recent speech at Surat exhorted his coreligionists to do away with the internal differences and to become united and organised under the banner of the Moslem League He appealed to them to join the League which was striving hard to train Mussalmans to fight for their rights and for the amelioration of the community in general. They could maintain their present political position in the present upheaval of the country only if they could make their voice a living one

Under the present constitution of India the Mahomedans are a privileged community, enjoying special rights and privileges ; if their leader thinks it necessary for them to unite and fight for their rights, how much more it is necessary for the Hindus, who has to regain lost ground, to do so ?

May I consequently from this platform request the Hindus Sanatanists, Arya Samajists, Sikhs, Jains, etc, to enrol as members of the Hindu Mahasabha, to lend the organization their material and moral support and thus to strengthen the hands of its leaders in safe-guarding the legitimate interests of the Hindus ?

The Hindus as a class are extremely peaceful and tolerant people , they believe in the principle of "live and let live." One of the objects of the founders of the Mahasabha is to promote good feelings between the Hindus, Ex-Hindus and other communities in India and to act in a friendly way with a view to evolve a united and self-governing Indian Nation.

In his extremely instructive volume 'A civilisation at Bay' the late Dr. K. Kunhi Kanan, a profound student of sociology, speaking with great detachment makes the following observations regarding Indian Mahomedans —

"The safe-guards they demand in provinces where they are in a minority, they refuse to concede to Hindus in others where they are in the minority. The object appears to be to gain political dominance in the outlying provinces of India contiguous with foreign territories under Islamic rule The Hindus rightly feel, in view of Pan-Islamism, that any surrender to this demand, would make for dangerous affiliations which may reduce the Hindus as a whole to political impotence and endanger the integrity and unity of India as a whole." (pp. 441-442).

The learned author praises the Mahomedans for their strong sense of brotherhood, solidarity and readiness to suffer for the sake of their community, but laments their narrowness of outlook, exclusiveness as far as members of the other communities are concerned, and exhorts them to come to an amicable settlement of their claims with the Hindus, and not solely with the Government. The Hindus, in my humble opinion, would be well advised even now to try to cultivate friendly relations with their Mahomedan brethren provided the latter care to respond to such a gesture , further than this it would not in my humble opinion be desirable to go. for friendship cannot be forced on those who do not wish to be friendly.

The Presidential Address

Presiding over the session *Mr. Vinayak D. Savarkur* observed : "Though we form an overwhelming majority in the land we do not want any special privileges for our Hindudom Nay, more, we are even willing to guarantee special protection for the language, culture and religion of the Mahomedans as a minority if they also promise not to infringe the equal liberty of other communities in India."

He added "Let the Indian State be purely Indian. Let it not recognize any invidious distinctions whatsoever with regard to franchise, public services, offices and taxation on the grounds of religion and race. Let not cognizance be taken whatsover of a man being a Hindu or Mahomedan, a Christian or a Jew. Let all citizens of Indian States be treated according to their individual worth, irrespective of their religious or racial percentage in the general population. Let their language and script be the national language and script of the Indian State which is understood by an overwhelming majority of the people, as happens in every other State in the world Let no religious bias be allowed to tamper with that language and script. Let "one man, one vote" be the general rule irrespective of caste, creed, race or religion. If such an Indian State is kept in view Hindu Sanghathanists, in the interest of Hindu Sanghathan itself, will be the first to offer their whole-hearted loyalty to it. I, for one, and the thousands of Mahasabhaites like me, have set this ideal of the Indian State as our political goal ever since the beginning of our political career and shall continue to work for its consummation to the end of our life."

[Shri Sankaracharya's Message

Shri Shankaracharya (Dr. Kurtkoti), in the course of a message to the Hindu Mahasabha said :

"The year that has just passed has been one of great moment to the whole of Hindustan, as it has witnessed the introduction of the scheme of Provincial Autonomy laid down in the new Constitution. The Provincial part of the constitution has already begun functioning and governments responsible to the Legislature are in office in all the Provinces I cannot, in this connection, avoid referring to the disconcerting fact that while in a majority of the provinces, a non-communal organisation, pledged to the cause of the country's freedom, is in power, in some others including the important Province of Bengal, a communal Ministry is in office, as a direct result, it needs no mention, of the communal decision. The Hindus in these provinces have, naturally, cause for anxiety and it is all the more necessary, therefore, that they should organise themselves effectively.

"Lest I should be misunderstood I may say that my objection is not at all to there being a majority of non-Hindu members in the Legislature, but to that majority being due to an undemocratic plan (the Communal Decision) which restrains the right of free choice of one's representative (a right inherent in democracy) and thereby places the Hindus under a handicap, especially in provinces where they are in a minority. It is sometimes asserted by critics that the Hindu Mahasabha also is communal in outlook and it should, therefore, be discouraged. I must say that this a perverted view, for what the Mahasabha actually aims at, and has been working for, is to resist communalism in public affairs, unhappily introduced into our body politic by certain interested leaders of communal organisations. I do not think that the Hindu Mahasabha is in any sense a rival to the National Congress which it recognises as the one organisation for the whole country, striving for political independence and when other communal bodies, for their part, identify themselves with the Congress and agree to merge in it, the Hindu Mahasabha also will have no need to continue functioning as a political body. During the year that has just elapsed it was, therefore, my endeavour to bring about better understanding between the members of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress. On the religious side also, I have endeavoured to foster feelings of fellowship between the different faiths whenever an occasion presented itself, as at the sexcentenary celebrations of the Vijyanagar empire and the All-Faiths Conference at Dhulia. I am thankful to all those who have co-operated with me in these tasks."

Resolutions—2nd. Day—31st December 1937

A plea for the acceptance of Federation was made to-day in a resolution which was unanimously passed. It stated :

"In view of the fact, firstly, that under the constitution laid down in the Government of India Act, 1935, some elements of provincial autonomy have been introduced and the Congress has been actually working provincial governments for the present and secondly, that the provincial autonomy will not work with constitutional smoothness unless responsibilty is introduced in the Central Government at least as provided under the Act, this conference puts on record its deliberate opinion that in spite of the defective and unsatisfactory character of the constitution, the Hindus should utilise whatever powers are provided under the Act in the interest of the evolution of Hindustan as a united nation and urge the Government to expedite the introduction of Federation. The Hindu Mahasabha warns the Government and all those who will be concerned with it that as the Mahasabha has fundamental opposition to the so-called Communal Award and is determined to do all that lies in its power to do away with it as early as possible, it (the Mahasabha) will not tolerate any attempt to extend the scope of the Award, or to apply it, also to Indian States."

Speaking on the resolution, Dr. *B. S Moonje* said that the attempt to divide India into Hindu India and Muslim India would be frustrated by the acceptance of Federation.

Dr *Sir Gokul Chand Narang* said that their power of resistance would be increased somewhat by the acceptance of the Federation as it had been increased by the acceptance of office in the provinces as admitted by Congress leaders, including Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Mr. *Karandikar* said that he would be opposed to Federation theoretically but the Federation was not a matter of reality and the Hindu Mahasabha urged the Congress and Hindu rulers to act wisely and timely.

Another resolution congratulated their Highnesses the Maharajas of Kolhapur, Baroda, Travancore, Kashmir and Lathi States for throwing open all State temples and requested other Hindu rulers to follow them. The resolution was opposed by Sanatanists but was passed by an overwhelming majority.

The third resolution was put from the chair and passed. It congratulated Hindus on the successful termination of the agitation against the proposed erecting of the central abattoir at Lahore and appreciated the action of the Viceroy and the Punjab Government in abandoning the project in deference to the sentiments of Hindus.

One more resolution which was passed defined the aim of the Hindu Mahasabha as 'the maintenance, protection and promotion of the Hindu race, Hindu culture and Hindu civilization and the advancement of the glory of Hindu 'rashtra' and with a view to secure them, the attainment of 'Purna Swaraj', *i. e*, absolute political independence for Hindustan by legitimate means'.

Resolutions—3rd. Day—1st. January 1938

A number of resolutions were passed at [the concluding session of the Hindu Mahasabha to-day. One resolution urged the Indian princes to grant their subjects full rights of citizenship and more facilities for obtaining responsible government within their States.

Another resolution urged the central and provincial Governments to enact a law to allow accounts of Hindu charitable institutions to be inspected by a committee of the Hindu Mahasabha and allow reasonable amount of funds to be utilised for religious, social and economic welfare of Hindus.

The third resolution reaffirmed the Lahore resolution for the removal of the slaughter house at Mathura and stated that if the present provincial Government would not give a satisfactory answer, the Hindu Mahasabha would be compelled to commence Satyagraha.

The fourth resolution called upon the provincial Hindu Sabha to organise a Hindu youth movement.

The fifth resolution supported the demand of the Jains for the declaration of Mahavir Jayanti a public holiday.

The sixth resolution called upon all provincial Governments as well as the central Government to release unconditionally all prisoners and detenus.

The seventh viewed with great indignation the alleged communal activities of the Bengal Government as evidenced by the several proposed legislations and administrative measures as also by the speeches of Premier Fazlul Huq and called

upon the Hindus of Bengal to unite and organise themselves in defence of their political, economic and cultural rights.

The eighth condemned the Government policy of unrestricted immigration into the province of Assam which is deliberately calculated to turn it into a Muslim majority province and called upon the Hindus of Assam to resist this policy.

The ninth condemned the attacks, loot and rapine by the so-called independent tribes on the innocent, defenceless and helpless Hindu population of villages in Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan districts and urged the Government to provide every Hindu family with at least one rifle and sufficient ammunition.

The tenth held that Hindi had originated from Sanskrit and was the common spoken language and Devnagari the common script for India and condemned the decision of the Wardha Educational Conference to include Urdu in the general educational curricula.

The eleventh appreciated the decision of the Congress to work the constitution, in spite of its defects and congratulated the interim Hindu Ministers who accepted office in the teeth of opposition and prevented a breakdown of the constitution.

The twelfth demanded statutory prohibition of cow slaughter.

Concluding the session the president, Mr. *Vinayak Damodar Savarkar* said that the position of the Hindu Mahasabha was similar to the position of the Congress 20 years ago when it passed pious resolutions. If Hindu voters voted at the next election for Hindu candidates standing on the ticket of the Hindu Mahasabha they would come into power

An appeal to the Hindu and Sikh princes to make up their minds to join federation as early as possible in the interest of the evolution of India as a united nation, was made by the newly elected working committee of the Hindu Mahasabha held today in pursuance of a resolution passed yesterday at the open session of the Mahasabha regarding early introduction of federation.

The Sind Hindu Conference

Presiding over the Sind Hindu Conference held at Karachi on the **15th. October 1937** *Bhai Parmanand* said :—

When in the Hindu Mahasabha session at Ajmer I called the attention of the country to the importance of the Constitutional measure that was being moulded into shape in London, I was bitterly assailed by the Congress Press But time has shown that I was right in emphasising that the Constitution, with all its defects, could not be ignored and to-day the Constitution has conquered the Congress.

The most prominent outcome of the working of the Constitution is, as designed by its framers, the division of the country into two parts. There are the Congress Ministries in office in the six Hindu provinces while Muslim Ministries have been formed in the remaining four or five provinces. The attitude of the Congress Ministries in the Hindu provinces is to me a very puzzling one. While the Muslim ministries are quite free to look to the interests of their communities without any regard for the Congress or the Hindus, the Congress Ministries are wedded to their pro-Muslim Congress programme, and are ever alert in their attempts to appease the insatiable Muslim communal hunger. It is clear to any impartial observer that the Hindus in the Muslim provinces have to combine themselves under the banner of a Hindu party if they want to protect their interests and live with honour and self-respect. To force the Hindus in these provinces to adopt the pro-Muslim Congress policy would be unnatural and detrimental to their interests. In the Hindu majority provinces the main function of the Hindu Sabhas will be to keep the Congress ministries on their

rails and to prevent them from going too far in the pursuit of their policy of pleasing and cajoling the Muslim community.

To save their face in the matter of Constitution-making, the Congress Party now proposes to summon a Constituent Assembly Such a proposal I consider to be a mere make-believe and a sham. The Constituent Assembly can be summoned only when the existing Government breaks down It is meaningless to ask the present Government to summon the Constituent Assembly We all know full well the views of the Muslim community in provinces like Bengal, the Punjab, Sindh and the Frontier. I may say there that the North-west Frontier Congress, judging it from its Muslim outlook, is very little different from Muslim parties in other Muslim provinces. While the Muslims want to create "a free Islam in a free India", how can any one expect better results from a Constituent Assembly than from the various Unity Conferences that have gone before The proposal of a Constituent Assembly under these circumstances is a grave political blunder.

Next comes the question of Federation. I have not the least doubt that Parliamentary mentality having come to stay, the Congress cannot but accept Federation though Pandit Jawharlal is most emphatic in opposing the scheme. He used very strong language in his first speech and when it was criticised, he explained in a statement that he was not correctly reported. He was not against Federation as such but he was opposed to the Federal Scheme embodied in the Government of India Act Babu Rajendra Prasad has also supported this view and told us that Congress will oppose Federation because it lacks the element of popular control in it By popular control Babu Rajendra Prasad evidently means Congress control, and in this sense the Hindu provinces alone have come under popular control. Now Hindus number three-fourths of the population, and had they been allowed representation according to their proportion in the population of the country, then there would have been popular control in the Federal Assembly in spite of the quota to the Indian States. The Hindus have been deprived of their just rights of representation by the Communal Award which the Congress has virtually accepted Hence the complaint of popular control in the Federal Centre

While Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru finds fault with the Federation on account of the share of the Princes in it, my view is that it is the Communal Award that really deprives the Federal Assembly of popular control Out of the 250 seats assigned to British India, the Hindus should get 187 if they are given their proper share according to population. And this means one-half of the total number of seats in the Federal Assembly inclusive of the Indian States Supposing they were under the influence of the Congress, then surely the Federal Assembly could not have been accused of lacking in popular control. But the position of the Hindus has been reduced so low by the Communal Award that their representatives will have no effective voice in the Assembly. Instead of seventy-five per cent, the Hindus have been given forty-two per cent in the Assembly, out of 250 they get only 105, and out of these 105, nineteen are reserved for the depressed classes. So, practically speaking, the Hindus get only eighty-six seats while the Muslims, who form only one fourth of the population, get eighty-three seats. Pandit Jawaharlal attaches no value to the question of number of seats in the legislature, he calls them a few crumbs from the table of British Imperialism. I think he would realise the importance of these crumbs if he just pays a little closer attention to the dodge played and the havoc done by the Communal Award

Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant has made a very elaborate and clear speech on the Constituent Assembly, in which he says, "I can say so with a little authority that I am supposed to possess that there will be no constitution passed by the Constituent Assembly if the Hindus and Muslims do not agree. It is impossible to conceive of a constitution which may be framed against the wishes of 70 millions of people in this country. That constitution cannot last for the fraction of a second . . . . I agree I have never made a secret of it that unless there is an agreement between us and unless there is full concord between us we can have no freedom." Is that possible ? The Muslims have fought for separate electorates and gained them with the avowed object of preserving their separate entity. Even now, Mr. Jinnah reflects the Muslim mentality when he says that the Muslim should develop their separate nationality. Quite recently a Moslem League Conference was held at Calcutta under the presidentship of Maulana Zafarali Khan of Lahore. In the course of his address the Chairman of the Reception Committee said, "The Muslim League should adopt com-

plete Independence and the creation of a free Islam within a free India as its political goal; and open branches at every town and village inhabited by Muslims." Maulana Zafar Ali himself gave expression to similar feelings that the Muslims wanted to live as a self-sufficient and independent nation of India.

To work out a scheme of genuine joint electorates with this mentality of a big community is like attempting to fit in a square peg into a round hole. We must, then, await with patience a change in the Muslim angle of vision, before we can have joint electorates.

How can you remove the appalling poverty of this country ? Could you do it by instigating the workers against the employers and the peasants against the land-owning classes ? Will the class war help us in any way ? Let us examine the figures. The average annual production of wealth and consequent income per capita is Rs 30 per annum which means nearly one anna per head per day. It is calculated that the average income of a peasant per head is 7 pies per day. If you have equal distribution of wealth, you will give him two pies more per day i.e 9 pies instead of 7 pies. Will that remove our poverty ? The real remedy lies in the development of the country's industries, and the increase in the production of her wealth Class-war will be a terrible drag on industrialisation. Even according to strict theory, socialism must follow and not precede industrialisation. I would ask the doctrinaire hot-heads not to be swept of their feet by theories of social organisation imported from abroad. Let us rather ponder over the practical methods employed by other countries in increasing their wealth. England is great and powerful because the annual produce of wealth in England is twelve hundred rupees per capita.

The feeling of self-respect has kept the Hindus alive throughout the ages, under all the invasions and storms. For the sake of their religion, Hindus have undergone all sorts of sufferings and tribulations. But the faith was bright and there was something in Hinduism which was not to be found elsewhere. It is this faith which has kept the depressed classes within the Hindu fold for thousands of years in spite of their troubles and disabilities. It was the spirit of national self-respect that produced Sivaji, Rana Pratap, Guru Govind Singh and Banda Bairagi. Take away this spirit and this faith and the Hindu society becomes a lifeless skeleton. It is fashion with some people to talk of Hindu communalism Such talks are absurd in the extreme. Politically, it is in the interests of the Hindus to be above all communal spirit. Their religion and bigoted intolerance are poles apart, the Hindu religious philosophy teaches tolerance of every other religion or religious theory. To lecture to the Hindu youths on the evils of communalism is simply to attempt to convert the converted.

Proceedings of

The Trade & Industry in India

July—December 1937

Trade of India in 1936-37

An improvement in India's balance of trade to Rs 78 crores, the continuation of the rising trend of agricultural prices, and an expansion in industrial production unaccompanied by a rise in prices of manufactures are the salient features of India's trade in 1936-37, which is surveyed in the Annual Review of the Trade of India published by the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics.

Dealing first with world economic conditions the Review states :

The year under review was marked by a distinct acceleration in the process of economic recovery which started in many countries from the middle of 1932 In the earlier stages, the improvement was confined to particular countries or industries but in 1936, the world appeared to have definitely emerged from the paralysing conditions of the great depression.

World Recovery

The recovery, however, is still national in character and the rate of growth, as well as the level attained, varies considerably from country to country and from one business activity to another.

The upward movement began in what may be called the 'sterling group' of countries soon after the United Kingdom went off the gold standard The movement spread to Japan and the United States of America when these countries also devalued their currencies.

In 1934 and 1935 stocks of primary commodities were being gradually worked off and restriction schemes for the regulation of production of various commodities were adopted on a voluntary basis by some of the chief producers In addition to these restrictive efforts, the droughts which occurred in North America and other important countries greatly helped to reduce stocks still further

As a result, the general level of commodity prices had begun to show an upward trend even before 1936 But in the latter half of that year, these tendencies received a fresh impetus by the collapse of the gold block under the leadership of France and the devaluation of the erstwhile gold currencies in September. The cumulative effect of these causes was a sharp rise in the prices of many commodities during 1936 and the first quarter of 1937.

Super-imposed on these general forces towards recovery was the influence of heavy Government expenditure on armaments in many countries which gave a great stimulus to the heavy industries. Prices of iron and steel manufactures soared high as a result, and the boom conditions thus created naturally led to increased investment in these industries which were precisely the industries in which employment and investment had been most depressed since 1929.

This had an exhilarating effect on the general economic situation. The recovery being, however, still mainly national in character, did not lead to a similar advance in international trade, which was 15 per cent less in volume in the year under review as compared with 1929.

Recovery in India

After this survey of world conditions the review describes the progress of recovery in India :

India followed the general world trend, owing to the special conditions of the country, the course of recovery was somewhat different from that of other countries. The main feature to be remembered in the case of India is that, in spite of the rapid industrialization of recent years, she still remains predominantly an agricultural country and the economic welfare of the people depends largely on agricultural conditions in the country as well as abroad.

The depression which started in 1929, hit agricultural countries with special severity. The unprecedented fall in prices of primary commodities was the most marked feature of the depression, and India, in common with other agricultural countries, suffered severely from this. Although the improvement in agricultural prices began some time previously, it was only in the year under review that there was an appreciable advance in the prices of India's agricultural products.

Export Prices Decline

Dealing with trading conditions the review remarks :

The total value of India's exports during 1936-37 amounted to Rs. 1,96 crores which was Rs. 36 crores more than in the preceding year and Rs. 64 crores more than the lowest point reached in 1932-33. As compared with 1928-29, the pre-depression year, exports in the year under review still showed a deficit of Rs 1,34 crores or 41 per cent.

This enormous shrinkage is almost entirely due to the decline in prices of exported articles which amounted to 41 per cent in 1936-37 as compared with 1928-29. The quantum of exports was in all probability slightly higher than that in 1928 29

Imports into India were valued at Rs. 1,25 crores in 1936-37 as compared with Rs. 1,34 crores in the preceding year and Rs. 1 15 crores in 1933-34, the lowest figure attained during the period. As against 1928-29, when the value of imports was Rs. 2,53 crores, the fall in the year under review amounts to 51 per cent.

Only a part of this shrinkage, however, is due to the decline in prices. As compared with 1928-29, the decrease in imports prices was only about 35 per cent and there is little doubt therefore that the quantum of imports has been reduced considerably unlike exports, as compared with the pre-depression level.

Export Trade Up

The main feature of India's foreign trade during 1936-37 was a remarkable growth in the export trade as compared with the preceding year, the advance being nearly Rs. 36 crores.

The largest increase occurred in the case of raw cotton amounting to Rs. 10 3-4 crores, oil-seeds accounted for a rise of Rs 8 1-4 crores and jute raw and manufactured for Rs. 5 1-2 crores. Thus, these three items between them accounted for a rise in value of Rs. 24 and half crores or over two-thirds of the total.

Smaller increases of Rs. 3 crores in grain, pulse and flour, and Rs 1 3-4 crores under hides and skins and a large aggregate increase of Rs 6 3-4 crores in another miscellaneous items account for the remainder of the advance in value during 1936-37.

Most of the items under imports recorded decreases during the year under review as compared with the previous year, the largest being under cotton yarns and manufactures amounting to nearly Rs. 3 2-3 crores. Imports of iron and steel manufactures shrank in value by over 1 1-4 crores and those of motor cars and other vehicles by Rs. 1-3 crore These three items account for a fall of Rs. 5 1-4 crores out of a total of about Rs, 9 crores

Two items to show increase in value were machinery and other yarns and textile fabrics (except cotton) which between them registered a rise of nearly a crore. All the other items shrank in value to the extent of nearly Rs. 4 3-4 crores.

Improvement In Trade Balance

The balance of trade in merchandise, which was over Rs 86 crores in 1928-29, had dwindled to Rs. 3 crores in 1932-33. In the next three years, the balance was on a somewhat higher level, but in the year under review, it increased to nearly Rs. 78 crores as compared with Rs. 31 crores in the preceding year.

Gold: India imported gold to the extent of Rs 21 crores in 1928-29. In 1932-33, the tendency was reversed and India exported Rs. 66 crores worth of gold Since then, gold exports have been steadily going down and in 1936-37 they mounted to Rs. 28 crores.

Another interesting fact in the year under review is the revival of the imports of silver which amounted in value to Rs. 14 crores As a result of this, the net balance of transaction in treasure in favour of India was only Rs. 14 crores in 1936-37 as compared with Rs. 36 crores in the preceding year and Rs. 65 crores in 1933-33. In 1928-29, India had a net balance against her in treasure to the extent of Rs. 34 crores.

The total balance of trade in favour of India amounted to Rs 92 crores in 1936-37 as compared with Rs. 67 crores in the preceding year and Rs. 53 crores in 1928-29. This is a substantial figure and was exceeded only in 1933-34, owing chiefly to the larger exports of gold in that year.

Agricultural Prices

Agricultural prices declined almost consistently from 1928-29 to 1933-34. Thereafter, there has been some improvement.

The most striking rise has occurred in the case of tea, due to the Tea Restriction Scheme which came into operation in 1933. Prices of tea which had fallen by 54 per cent in 1932-33 rose steeply immediately after the scheme came into operation and though this level was not maintained in the next two years, yet prices were generally high, and in 1936-37 a further increase took place which carried the quotation to within 10 per cent of the pre-depresion level.

Prices of linseed have shown the next largest recovery. This has been due mainly to the successive short crops in the Argentine and North America. The price of linseed fell by nearly 45 per cent from 1928-29 to 1932-33. Since then it has recorded fair improvement, the index number during the year under review being 70.

Raw cotton prices were nearly halved between 1928-29 and 1931-32. In the next two years, the rise was very slow, and in 1936-37 prices were still 40 per cent below those of 1928-29.

In the case of jute, prices fell by nearly 60 per cent and the rise was very meagre even in 1936-37, when the average quotation for the year was less than a half of that for 1928-29 In the last few months, prices of raw jute have increased to some extent.

Rice also fell sharply in the years up to 1933-34, showing a decline of over 60 per cent Prices, however, rose in the last two or three years, the only average level in 1936-37 being only 45 per cent lower than in 1928-29.

Wheat prices dropped by nearly two-thirds between 1928-29 and 1931-32. They rose rather abruptly the next year but fell off again in 1934-35 There was a rapid rise in wheat prices during 1936-37, the quotation in March 1937 recording an improvement of one rupee a maund or 49 per cent as compared with April, 1936.

In the case of groundnuts, prices declined by 60 per cent in 1933-34. In the last three years, however, prices advanced and in 1936-37 they were nearly two-thirds of what they were in 1928-29

On the whole, therefore, agricultural prices registered increases of varying proportions in the last two or three years, the increase being particularly marked during 1936-37 Prices even in that year were, however, much lower in the case of most commodities than in 1928-29.

Agricultural Production

Apart from seasonal vicissitudes, agricultural production in India has shown no definite trend since 1928-29. This is to be expected as there has been no organised attempt to regulate production except in the case of rubber, tea and, to some extent, Jute. In the latter case, there has been some propaganda to reduce the acreage under the crop, but this does not appear to have materially affected either the acreage or the output of raw jute.

On the other hand, some incentive to increase the area under linseed was provided by the larger demand from the United Kingdom for this article as a result of preference, and this, coupled with the relatively better prices secured for it, resulted in an increase in production.

The area sown under sugarcane also recorded an increase in 1936-37 by over 75 per cent, as compared with 1929-30, and this remarkable expansion is mainly accounted for by the rapid growth of sugar industry in India during the last few years.

It has been remarked above that agricultural prices improved in a marked manner during 1936-37. This was chiefly the result of a general recovery in the demand for primary commodities and raw materials. But the effects of this have been influenced in the case of each agricultural commodity by the special conditions ruling in that market in India as well as in other countries.

Industrial Progress

Regarding industrial conditions, the Review states :

As in most countries which suffered from the effects of the great depression, particularly in the sterling group, the first definite signs of an upward movement in industrial conditions made their appearance in India during or after 1932.

Production in all industries except coal recorded considerable increases during the period. The largest increase was in the case of sugar, its production more than trebling itself. The next largest increase was in the case of cotton piecegoods, where the yardage produced was nearly doubled in the period.

In the case of cement there was an increase of 80 per cent, and about 70 per cent more steel was produced in 1936-37 than in 1928-29. Paper registered

an increase of over 25 per cent. In the case of the jute industry, production figures for years before 1932-33 are not readily available. Since that year the output in the industry increased by nearly 38 per cent. In the case of coal, however, production showed no increase and in 1936-37 it was slightly less than in 1928-29.

Fall in Prices of Manufactures

In contrast with the course of production, prices of industrial products pursued an almost consistently downward course in India since 1928-29. In other countries also, in spite of the recovery, prices of manufactured goods showed relatively little tendency to increase. The reasons for this, however, are not the same in India as in the older manufacturing countries. In these countries, although output increased greatly since recovery began, it still remained within the limits of the existing unused productive resources and permitted a thinner spreading of overhead costs. Since no substantial addition to the capital equipment was involved, overhead charges became less per unit as output increased. In India also this factor has probably operated to some extent. But during the last few years there have been other forces, more important, which have tended to reduce prices.

The growth of production behind protective tariffs has in recent years reached a stage when the effects of internal competition have been acutely felt, leading in some cases to price-cutting. On the other hand, this competition has also encouraged greater efficiency in methods of production and helped to reduce the cost of production and this saving in cost has been passed on, at least partially, to consumers by way of reduced prices.

Internal competition and increased efficiency in methods of production appear to be the main causes of the almost consistent drop in prices of industrial products in India in recent years.

The National Trade Union Federation

3rd. Session—Calcutta—18th. & 19th. December 1937

The Welcome Address

The third session of the Congress of the National Trade Union Federation commenced at Calcutta on the **18th. December 1937**, under the presidency of Mr. *B. Siva Rao.*

"A leaven of moderation, of wisdom born of experience will not be bad for the All-India Trade Union Congress and a blend of youthful ardour will not be useless to the elderly leaders of the National Trades Union Federation"

With this plea for a united Labour movement throughout the country, Mr. *Mrinal Kanti Bose* welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Reception Committee of the National Trades Union Federation.

The policy of the employers towards trade unions, Mr. Bose continued, remained as short-sighted as ever. It was one of open or covert hostility. The Trades Unions, moderate or immoderate, were considered superfluous and their leaders busy bodies who were out to create trouble and earn cheap notoriety In ordinary times i. e, when there was no sign of labour trouble, the employers did not bother themselves about labour unions. The outward calm of the employees was taken for contentment till one fine morning the employers were aghast to learn that a strike had broken out. They immediately came to the conclusion that outsiders, "Communists", must have been busy, working mischief among their "contended" staff. They raised the cry of 'wolf', the Government took up the cry, Section 144 Cr. P C. was invoked, a police force was requisitioned for the protection of the loyal workers and the factories, some heads were broken, and a criminal prosecution was started. The strike failed or partially succeeded. In either case, the discontent continued till another

outbreak took place. The root cause of the trouble remained untouched. What was that root cause, asked Mr. Bose. It was the hostility of the employers to genuine trade unions.

As causes of discontent among the workers, Mr. Bose referred to the burden of unemployment; low wages, bribery and corruption; long hours of work, insecurity of service, and no provision for incapacitating illness and old age

Making allowances for certain, almost insuperable, difficulties, such as differences in race and language, the Royal Commission on labour had suggested certain means of establishing contact between employers and employees, such as the development of stable trade unions, the appointment of labour officers and the formation of Work Committees. They attached more importance and value to an internal settlement by means of these agencies than to any external machinery. What had the employers done to profit by this valuable suggestion, asked Mr Bose, Practically nothing, though more than six years had passed since the Commission reported.

The Presidential Address

Delivering his presidental address, Mr *B Shiva Rao* offered his congratulations to the elected representatives of the worker in the different legislatures and in particular to Mr V V Giri, Minister for Labour in Madras He then paid a tribute to the work of Mr. Harold Butler and of Dr. Pillai and Messrs Raghunatha Rao and Martin. He said .

"No one can fully appreciate, without spending a considerably longer period in this country, how far removed we still are from the fine ideal which the I. L. O. has set before itself, and how stupendous are the obstacles in our path. But I am certain that Mr. Butler has seen enough and heard enough to sense our needs and difficulties. Let me express on your behalf the earnest hope that he will infuse some of his own enthusiasm into the provincial Governments and Government of India and quicken the pace of progress in this country He cannot be unaware of the fact that in recent years the Government of India has succumbed more to the pressure exerted by the representatives of the employers in the Central Legislature. Open declarations have been made promising them a respite from further labour legislation; and an examination of the record of the Government of India in the matters of ratification of the Conventions and Recommendations adopted at Geneva will show a sad falling off from the promise of earlier years

We have, for a number of years, been urging the I. L O to convene an Asiatic Labour Conference under its auspices, so that the problems peculiar to workers in Asiatic countries may receive special consideration in a setting more congenial to such consideration than is afforded by Geneva The presence of Mr Butler here, and the results achieved by us on our own initiative, modest as they undoubtedly are, justify the hope, I venture to observe, that this suggestion of ours will be borne in mind for being implemented at an early date but under more favourable circumstances than unfortunately obtain in the Far East to-day. Meeting in a Federation which has for its special concern the problems of the workers. I have no hesitation in saying that we, as much as any other section of the Indian people, view with abhorrence and disgust the ruthless aggression of Japan in China. China and India have much in common, and it is my firm conviction that the culture and the spiritual outlook of these two ancient countries must hasten the dawn of the day when righteousness shall again prevail on the earth. But meanwhile cruel sufferings are being heaped upon the Chinese people by their oppressors and our hearts go out to them in depest sympathy

"Comrades, the phenomenon has been noticed, especially since the inauguration of the new Constitution in April, of a recrudescence of unrest in industrial areas in several provinces. I have not the figures with me to make a precise comparison; but it will be generally agreed that there have been many more strikes and lock-outs during these months than during the last half-a-dozen years. Some of these strikes have been of what is described as the lightning variety, no formal notice having been given to the employer. At some centres the dispute have been prolonged and serious and caused the provincial governments concerned a certain amount of anxiety. Even a man so entirely on the workers' side as Mr. Giri has been compelled to strike a note of warning that the workers should not declare strikes except as a last resort, and place themselves in the wrong by striking without notice. I agree, if I may say so, with the view expressed by the Minister of Labour in Madras and am confident that the Federation generally endorses the principle enunciated therein. But emphatically I do not accept the

analysis of the present situation put forward in certain quarters that this manifestation of industrial unrest, widespread and potentially dangerous in certain centres as it is, is due to the inflammatory teachings of a certain set of people. Whatever may have been the truth of the assertion eighteen years ago that the workers could be led into a strike by mischievous agitators, we know that to-day they are not so ignorant or credulous as to become the innocent dupes of partisan propaganda. I have too high a regard for the shrewd practical sense of the workers to accept this view of the situation.

"No, Comrades, we must look elsewhere and deeper for the wave of unrest which is undoubtedly sweeping over the country. There is a certain amount of natural impatience, both on the part of the workers themselves and those who are leading them, with existing conditions—an impatience which is finding expression in strikes of different kinds, stay-in, lightning or properly declared. The comparative peace of the last few years was mistaken by the provincial Governments and the employers for willing acceptance of the conditions obtaining in industry. The workers had been hit particularly hard during the period of the economic depression because of their inability to safeguard even the standards to which they had been previously accustomed.

Let me give only one instance of the kind of exploitation that is going on in this country by a reference to the recent report of the Coal Mining Committee, whose appointment was due to a number of disasters involving the loss of hundreds of lives. There was no workers' representative on the Committee, and yet it has declared, "risks have been taken in India which would not have been possible with less ignorant labour." And not only has human life been trifled with in the mines wages of labour (I am again quoting the Committee) "have fallen by 45 per cent, under-ground labour by 43 per cent and surface labour by 47 per cent" No wonder that the President of the National Association of Colliery Managers were moved to remark that the wages were "ridiculously low". After enumerating the dividends declared by certain companies, going up in one instance to 65 per cent, the Committee has observed with delicious sarcasm "the prices have not been too low to pay dividends, but have been too low to permit of adequate wages or improved methods to prevent avoidable waste" And can anything be more vivid than the Committee's description of the coal industry? "The coal trade in India has been rather like a race in which profit has always come in first, with safety a poor second, sound methods, an 'also ran', and national welfare a 'dead horse', entered perhaps, but never likely to start Neither Government nor the landlords can escape responsibility for allowing this state of affairs to prevail for long." That, comrades, according to an official Committee of Experts, is the position of one major industry; and I will not attempt to improve upon the language of the Committee or offer any comment of my own, except to say that industrial management in India and the general attitude towards such questions as the welfare of the workers are not materially different in other types of industry.

In addition to the adverse effects of the economic depression must be mentioned the abnormal political circumstances prevalent in the country during the same period. I am not concerned here to discuss either the principles of civil disobedience or the methods adopted by the provincial Governments to deal with the movement initiated by the Congress But so far as the workers are concerned, they suffered heavily on account of the tendencies of the police to deal generally with industrial disputes as though they were activities of a political character. The machinery for their settlement through conciliation or arbitration was hardly ever utilised, in spite of the strong criticisms of the Royal Commission on Labour, for it was so tempting and so easy to invoke the aid of the policeman's lathi and section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code Provincial Governments as well as employers cherished the illusion during these years that so long as the workers could be coerced into submission, it did not much matter what methods were adopted; they overlooked the simple fact, as vested interests always do, that to sit tight on a problem is not the same thing as solving it.

The strikes that have taken place during the last few months are the first fruits of a release from the repressive but otherwise do-nothing policy of the Governments of the last several years. The workers are impatient for reforms that have long been overdue, and hopeful that under the new provincial Governments, especially with the pledges that the Congress has given, both at its annual sessions and in its election manifesto, a definite and comprehensive programme

will soon be put into operation. The volume of industrial discontent prevalent in India is a measure of the failure of the old administrations to deal with the workers in a spirit of fairness and justice. It is a heavy burden they have left for the autonomous provinces of to-day I must plead from this platform for a sympathetic understanding of the situation, for only thus can the new provincial Governments handle the problems that are being placed before them by the workers on sound and wise lines I would appeal to them to look back by about two decades and realise that the workers, right from the commencement of the movement, have preferred the methods of conciliation and arbitration to direct action. Strikes there have been during all these years, some of them prolonged over periods of some months' duration But the workers do not need to be told that they stand to lose and to suffer through stoppage of work. The primary choice of the weapon is not theirs, for if the employers in India had shown a preference for conciliation and arbitration, a willingness to recognise that even the workers have a right to organise themselves, to demand decent housing, living wages and fair conditions of work, it would have been a very different story in India, Was it not the late Lord Chelmsford who earnestly appealed to the employers, when strikes were almost an epidemic, to yield to the dictates of reason and justice what ultimately would be wrung out of them by force and the dislocation of industry ?

"That appeal, I regret to observe, has not evoked after all these years a satisfactory widespread response from the capitalist class in this country. The conclusion is writ too large to escape notice across the history of industrial development in India that labour has never been anything more than a commodity that could be bought in the market, or never more than a pawn in the game of rivalry between indigenous and foreign industry. It is a tragic confession to make but every time Lancashire set up an agitation for the improvement of our labour conditions, it was easy for the Indian capitalists to raise the cry of selfish interests and enlist nationalist settlement on their side Scarcity of labour, because of epidemics or for some other reason, was the only factor which exercised on occasions some pressure on them. In the name of industrial development they have with remarkable success exploited in the past both the Swadeshi movement and the demand for protective tariffs. We too believe in industrial development and are willing to play our part in order to facilitate it But can we look complacently when it implies the physical and moral destruction of millions of lives in the name of industrial progress ? The employers talk of industrial peace. We too want it But industrial peace does not, cannot and should not mean the perpetuation of the ghastly conditions under which our workers live, in dwellings which are a disgrace to our civic life, on wages which are with few exceptions on a starvation or semi-starvation level—victims of exploitation and disease hastening to a premature death.

"Is it any wonder then, that the moment a party came into power pledged to the removal of all the evils associated with industrialisation, the workers should break out into manifestations of discontent through a series of strikes ? Nevertheless, Comrades, I venture to assert speaking for myself, that deeply and actively as we sympathise with their efforts to better their lot, the circumstances of to-day not only justify but demand a different technique. The Congress Party believes in and is pledged to the right of association. Let us utilise this favourable factor for an intensive drive for larger membership of our unions. It is beyond question better, safer and healthier for the workers to rely on the strength of their own organisations than on any outside body for the achievement of their objective. We must make all possible endeavours during the coming year to strengthen the foundations of our movement and see to it that it spreads to every type and centre of industry. May I, in this connection, throw out a suggestion ? There has been for some years a Railwaymen's Federation functioning on behalf of all the Railway workers The time has come for us to organise other industrial workers also on similar lines, under the sheltering influence of the Federation as a whole—in the textile industry, in the iron and steel industry, in the rapidly growing sugar industry, in the mines, and so on. We must turn our attention also to the workers in the tea plantations to whose conditions Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made such a moving reference only this week.

Comrades, as you are aware, the Labour Sub-Committee of the Congress met in this city about two months ago and drew up a programme which I believe has not

yet assumed final shape. Before that stage is reached I hope that the Sub-Committee will consider the desirability of consultation with the Executive of the Federation, for after all we are in a position to say what are the requirements of Labour and to suggest the appropriate remedies. At the same time let me say this in my personal capacity : when I think of the provincial Governments which functioned under the old Constitution and of those to which they have given place, especially in the provinces in which the Congress Party is in power, in fairness and candour I must observe that for the first time in India we have a powerful party attempting, as the Government of the day, to carry out its pledges so that labour may be accorded its rightful place in the industrial structure of the country. I do not suggest that the labour programme of the Congress is not capable of improvement nor that the Governments in all the provinces under Congress sway have at all times been faithful to the principles they profess But when we view these Governments in the right perspective and consider the system of administration they have replaced, and the programme to which they are committed, I have no hesitation in affirming that in the real interests of the workers themselves, we must adopt towards them an attitude of helpful, sympathetic and constructive criticism There may be occasions which we shall feel bound to say that they have fallen short of their principles. No Government is infallible and no Government can remain healthy if it does not welcome honest and fearless criticism. But from our standpoint, let us see to it that behind such criticism is a lively appreciation of the spirit and temper of the new Governments. There must be, I am convinced, mutual and active co-operation between the provincial Governments and the Executive of the Federation. It is easier to generalise about those administrations which are under the Congress party, for whatever may be the local variations, they subscribe to the same creed and programme, than to refer to the Government in the non-Congress provinces. I can only express the hope that they will not be behind the Congress either in their sympathies with the aspirations of labour or in translating them into action.

I have adopted this line, Comrades, in my address for deliberate purpose. We understand better than any one else the miserable plight of the workers, their natural impatience to see promises converted into achievement, and their suspicion of all authorities. At the same time, we are or should be in a position to point out the danger of adopting the old attitude towards the provincial Governments. It is necessary to stress this point, because in more than one industrial centre conditions are developing in a manner which must unless they are brought under control result in a crisis. So far as industrial labour is concerned a change of Government in the Congress-governed provinces, if such is possible in the normal sense, cannot in the immediate or even near future be for the better. Therefore we must make the best of the situation as we find it, until the workers can assert their strength and come in to their own. We must alter the main phase of our activity from agitation to constructive criticism. We cannot be content any more to pass resolutions on general lines. In dealing with every matter that concerns the workers we must be in a position to offer positive and detailed suggestions. It will be our duty, we must make it one of our main functions, not only to subject any proposals that may be put forward by any party in power to a careful scrutiny but to give a lead ourselves to the provincial Governments and to local authorities.

Concluding, the President pleaded for unity among the Trades Union Federation, the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Association at Ahmedabad. He also hoped that employers would recognize the reasonableness of the workers' demands before the forces of unrest got the better of the desire for a lasting peace.

Mr. Harold Butler's Address

Addressing the Conference, Mr. *Harold Butler*, Director of the International Labour Office at Geneva, said that he was delighted to find the evidence in India of the work which the I. L. O. had been doing for the last 18 years. "We have been very often accused of being too European", he continued "of judging most things by European standards and of neglecting Eastern conditions". He doubted whether that accusation really held water and that for two reasons. Firstly, he did not think that it was true there was an absolute gulf between the East and the West. It seemed to him that the development of industry in the East was following the same lines as in the West. It was true that India had not yet reached that stage of industrial development which they found in Great Britain and the United States of America, but he thought that development was along the same lines and there were the same diffi-

culties and the same problems and he had no doubt they would be dealt with by the same methods and on the same principles.

Secondly, Mr Butler did not think that it was true that they were a merely European organisation. It might have been true to some extent in the early days but even at the very first Conference, they had a special Committee to consider the conditions in India, China and Japan and ever since that time they had been doing everything in their power to make the links between Geneva and the East closer and more intimate. Mr. Butler was sure that as a result of his visit to India, he would go back with a very much better understanding of India's difficulties and would be able to direct the work of his office towards helping a solution of their problems much more intelligently than if he had not visited the country. He assured the Conference that they would make efforts to arrange for better publicity to the I. L O.'s work in India through the medium of the principal Indian languages.

Mr. Butler concluded that he had been greatly impressed by two things in India. Firstly, despite differences and despite variations in the conditions in some European countries, the problems were fundamentally the same. Secondly, he realised that there were nevertheless some questions which would be better advanced if they were discussed here in the East, in Eastern surroundings and by Eastern people, and he hoped that the next year or so they would be able to make a beginning in dealing with Eastern questions and on an Eastern basis.

Mr. Giri's Address

The hon. Mr. *V. V. Giri*, Labour Minister of Madras, thanking Mr. Butler, said that Mr. Butler's advice on Labour problems would be of a great help to the working classes of this country But Mr Giri wanted to make definitely clear that even Geneva could not help India if India did not know how to help herself He assured the Federation that the Congress had realised its sense of responsibility by passing the resolution at Karachi about Fundamental Rights and he declared on behalf of the Congress Governments that they stood by that resolution and would try to carry it out to their utmost.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—19th. December 1937

The Federation concluded to-day after adopting a number of resolutions, urging the Central Government to undertake a programme of legislation with a view to ameliorating the conditions of labour and protesting against the continuous disregard by the Government of their obligations under the International Conventions regarding the hours of employment, which were ratified sixteen years ago.

The Federation observed with great concern that some Provincial Governments even under the new regime, were using Section 144, Cr. P. C, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, prohibiting meetings and processions and restricting the personal freedom of workers and urged them to amend Section 144, preventing its use in case of trade disputes, and to repeal the Criminal Law Amendment Act *in toto*.

The Federation also protested against the opening of fire on workers by the police and requested Provincial Governments to institute public enquiries in all cases of such firing.

The National Trades Union Federation has suggested that the Governments and the Legislatures in India should undertake a programme of labour legislation in the immediate future regarding social insurance of workers, of the hours of work to 48 a week, the fixing of a minimum living wage and the abolition of child labour under 15.

In view of the grave menace to human life in coal mines and the wastage of the natural resources of the country, the Federation has requested the Central Government to give immediate effect to the recommendations embodied in the reports of the Coal Mining Committee and has urged them to send a delegation of Indian colliery workers to the forthcoming tripartite conference convened by the Governing Body of the international Labour Office at Geneva, early next year.

The Federation has deplored the policy on the part of employers of labour, including the Provincial Governments, of discouraging the formation and growth of Trade union among their employers by refusing to grant recognition on various grounds and has requested the Central and Provincial Governments to recognise unions and their employees.

Discussing the situation in the Far East, the Federatiou has condemned Japanese atrocities in China.

The Associated Chambers of Commerce

Calcutta—20th. December 1937

H. E. the Viceroy's Address

The prospects for the early inauguration of Federation were referred to by *His Excellency the Viceroy* in his address to the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce held at Calcutta on the **20th. December 1937.** "It would be foolish", he remarked, "to rush ahead without taking all possible pains for the preliminary elucidation of the various problems which present themselves." Later, in his speech, His Excellency outlined the measures taken to improve the trade intelligence service by the appointment of Trade Commissioners in different centres abroad.

His Excellency the Viceroy, addressing the meeting, surveyed the political situation in the country. He referred at the outset to the working of Provincial Autonomy. Proceeding, Lord Linlithgow said :

What I have said so far has been directed principally to the operation of that portion of the Government of India Act, of which we have had practical experience even if over a brief period. There lies ahead of us the achievement of an ideal which is the ideal which inspired the framers of the Act, an ideal for which we owe a deep debt of gratitude to those spokesmen of the Indian States and of British India who participated in the deliberations which resulted in the present constitutional scheme. When I spoke to you a year ago, I said that in my judgment Federation was not remote. I have spared no effort in the period which has since elapsed for the solution of the problems inherent in the establishment of a Federation. Those problems can never in their nature be simple. Their importance becomes if possible greater when the Federation involves the combination and the co-operation not only of the great Provinces of British India, with their widely varying conditions and problems, but of the historical Indian States with their long individual traditions and the harmonisation so far as possible into a common scheme of British Indian and Indian State interests and concerns However great our anxiety—and no one's can be greater than mine and that of the Secretary of State—to achieve at the earliest possible moment, the culmination of the scheme, embodied in the Act by the placing on the Indian Constitutional edifice, of which Provincial Autonomy is the first and essential stage, of the coping stone of Federation, it would be foolish to rush ahead without taking all possible pains for the preliminary elucidation of the various problems which present themselves. I arranged, as you know, with the object of ensuring that in reaching our conclusions, we had before us the fullest information as to the questions of concern to the Indian States for the despatch to the rulers of those States of emissaries of my own. I cannot overestimate the value of the approach thus made and of the information which those emissaries in the light of their discussions with the rulers made available to me of the points to which the States attached importance.

It has been no light matter to analyse the results of those visits but I do not for a moment regret the delay which has been involved for it makes it possible for us to say that in the evolution of the great scheme, the framework of which is laid down in the Act of 1935 there was no aspect of which we were not conscious or to the effect of which we were failing to give full value. You can rely on me to continue to urge forward with all the energy and all the personal interest which I have in me, the completion of the scheme. I feel confident that the rulers of the Indian States with their long tradition of statesmanship and their clear realisation of the trend of world events and the fortunes of India can be relied upon to play their part.

I have spoken little so far of those immediate commercial problems which are of such direct concern to you and to those whom you represent. I have done so deliberately because in my judgment vital as those immediate problems are the matter of essential significance to all of us is the present and the future state of India. Provincial Autonomy directly and immediately affects you and your affairs. That is no less true of Federation and I am sure therefore that you will forgive me if in the remarks which I have the honour to address you to-day I have devoted so much time to these general aspects of the situation.

Let me touch now for a moment on certain of the developments which have taken place in the last twelve months, developments which directly affect and are of direct interest to your Chamber. Two changes of great importance which have taken place since December of last year are the separation of Burma and the Provisions of the Indo-Burma Trade Regulation Order which came into force in April last. The importance of close relations between India and Burma from the point of view of both the countries is one which is present to all of us and in the lengthy discussions which led up to the framing of the Trade Regulation Order, the constant preoccupation of my Government was to ensure that the change in the status of Burma consequent on her separation from India should involve as little dislocation as possible in her commerce with India. In that, I think I am right in saying that we had the support of the entire trading community of both countries. I do not think that I am going too far when I say that even after this relatively short experience of the operation of the Order in Council, we can claim that our object has been attained nor do I feel the smallest doubt that you, gentlemen, wholly share my earnest and sincere hope that our trade relations with Burma will continue to show that commercial rivalry is not inconsistent with close and friendly co-operation.

There is a second important matter which has reached a decisive point in the twelve months since we last met. The lengthy trade negotiations which have taken place with Japan ended last April with the conclusion of the new agreement which was formally signed in London two months ago. Under that agreement we have been able to provide for responsible safeguards for our textile industry and a measure of security for our cotton growers and I think that we can claim in the light of the general tone of well-informed press comment in both countries and of the manner in which the terms of Agreement have been received by the trade that the agreement has given that reasonable satisfaction to both parties which is after all the only solid basis for the maintenance of friendly commercial relations between nations.

The importance of the trade negotiations with the United Kingdom must be very present to all of us to-day. Our discussions with the United Kingdom with the object of concluding a new agreement to replace the Agreement concluded in 1932 in pursuance of the Ottawa Pact are still in progress. I am very conscious of the criticism which has been made—and widely made—that those negotiations have been unduly protracted This is a criticism, natural as it may be to which, in my judgment, if regard is had to the volume and the importance of the trade between the two countries and to the complexity of the issues involved an exaggerated importance ought not to be attached. To examine those details, frequently of so direct a relevance in a case such as this, inevitably will take time but there has been no break in the negotiations. There has hardly indeed been even a necessary pause and at the stage which things have reached, I see no reason why, with patience and with understanding, we should not be able to look forward to the establishment on a satisfactory and mutual basis of our relations with our principal customer.

I have paid close attention since I have been in India to the expansion of our trade intelligence service. Since we last met an Indian Trade Commissioner has opened his office in Japan In a day or two from now an Indian Trade Commissioner for East Africa will be sailing from Bombay to assume his duties at Mombasa. A Trade Commissioner is to be appointed in New York. He will, I hope, open his office there in June of next year. The appointment of a Trade Commissioner at Alexandria with a view to the development of our trade interests in the Levant countries is actively under investigation. We can, in other words, claim during the last twelve months to have taken decisions the result of which will be to develop our foreign trade intelligence service I may, I think, appropriately in this connection refer to the recent decision to appoint an economist of international reputation as Economic Adviser to the Government of India. Addressing you, gentlemen, with your great experience of this matter I need lay no emphasis on the fact that it is no longer possible in the conditions of the present day for the economics of any great nation to be considered in isolation and you will feel with me that the expansion of our intelligence system would be of little use without a proper study and interpretation in India of the data which the expansion of that system make available. I am confident that we can look for assistance of the utmost value from the advice and the wide international experience of the gentleman who has been selected for this most important post.

I am accused from time to time of displaying an interest in agriculture which is close to a degree which leaves me little time to consider the improvement of industry.

Gentlemen, I am deeply and sincerely concerned with agricultural problems—I think they are of the utmost importance to industry and I am sure that it is vital to industry if real progress is to be made that agriculture in the countryside should be in a flourishing condition and I am glad to see the recognition which your Chairman gave in his speech to-day of the importance of the condition of agriculture. Let me at once, however, repudiate any suggestion that because I am interested in agriculture, I do not take the closest and the most informed interest in the industrial problem. My own considerable experience of great industrial concerns has provided me with some degree of familiarity with the problems of industry and I would add with a natural incentive, while I hold my present charge, to do all in my power to further industrial development and prosperity in India You may be sure that I shall at all times be ready and open to any suggestions which I may receive from the commercial interests of this country. I hope sincerely that the Industrial Conference which took place at Lahore a few days ago under the chairmanship for the first time, of my Commerce Member in whose portfolio the subject has recently been included, will produce results of real value. I would draw your particular attention to the discussions on industrial surveys and the connected subject of the development of schemes of apprenticeship and the several schemes for helping young men of the educated classes to start and conduct small industrial enterprises.

You know, I think, how anxious I am to give all the help I can to the solution of the problem of unemployment which as I have frequently indicated in the past is so great a source of anxiety and which bears so hardly and so undeservedly on the middle class in this country. I know how conscious the Provincial Governments are of its importance and I am sure that we can look with confidence to them for their fullest and their most sympathetic cooperation.

I have detained you too long and I do not propose to say more than a word more but I would like to say first of all how much importance I attach to the generous acknowledgment made by your Chairman of the full consideration given to all the interests concerned during the passage of the Insurance Bill. I fully associate myself with the tribute he has paid to the success and the fairness with which this most contentious Bill was piloted through the Central legislature by the Law Member.

You have referred in your speech to the Motor Vehicles legislation now under the contemplation of my Government. This is a question to which, as you know for sometime past, the Government of India have been giving close attention. The general lines of the Bill have recently been considered at Delhi by the transport Advisory Council and I trust that the measure which will emerge out of those discussions will be found to be generally satisfactory to all the interests concerned.

Let me say, too, how glad I am that it should be proposed to revise the Merchandise Marks Act and to introduce a scheme of statutory trade mark registration. The growth of industrialisation in India and the progressive diversification of the country's foreign trade lend additional importance to this question. I have felt increasingly in the light of press and other comments that the demand for protection against infringement both at home and abroad is most strong. My Governments are fully aware of the difficulties which the owners of trade marks at present experience in India and I am very ready, and indeed anxious, to meet the demands of the trading community for the introduction of a system of statutory registration. I do not ignore that there are controversial points which must be settled before any measure can be introduced in the legislature and I have taken steps to ensure that these shall be examined in detail by the expert Departments concerned. Let me only say that I realise to the full the importance of the issues. Commercial opinion will be fully consulted before any decision is reached as to the advisability of proceeding with the scheme. I am confident that you will share my view as to the importance of overcoming difficulties and of giving effect to a scheme of this nature.

Before I conclude I would like most heartily to associate myself with the tribute which your chairman has to-day paid to your new Governor. I have known him for many years and he and I have worked together in closest and most intimate touch during the time that I have been Viceroy. He takes the place of a great Governor who has, you will agree with me, rendered service of the utmost value to Bengal and therefore to India. No one who knows Lord Brabourne can for a moment doubt that with his remarkable qualities, his energy and his wide experience, his contribution to the welfare of this presidency and of India will be outstanding.

Indeed, I know of no man better equipped to hold the great charge upon which he entered last month.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for the welcome you have given me to-day and the opportunity you have given me of thinking aloud on some of the major problems which cannot but be always in the mind of those on whom there rests the responsibility for government in India Your sympathy, your co-operation, your realisation of the many aspects of the problems confronting us will be of inestimable value to me You can rely as far as I am concerned on a sympathetic approach, in the light of my own experience of the difficulties and the anxieties which confront all businessmen, to your difficulties and problems.

Proceedings & Resolutions

RELIEF FROM DOUBLE TAXATION

Mr *G. A Bambridge* (Madras Chamber) moved a resolution on income-tax urging upon the Central Government the need for an early review of the present arrangements for granting relief from double taxation borne by an assessee taxed in British India as well as in Mysore and other States. He said that in the letter to the Associated Chambers, the Government of India had stated that the latter had already been in correspondence with Mysore over the subject. The present resolution was meant to secure information as to how far the matter had further progressed and if the Government had been able to achieve anything by the negotiations Both the Associated Chambers and the Government were fully aware that the administration of the Income-tax Act in certain Indian States resulted in undue proportion of double income-tax relief to an assessee to the detriment of British India revenue. The underlying principle of relief from double taxation should be that when an income was subjected to taxation in the Indian States as well as British India the assessees should be granted relief to such extent that the final amount of taxation borne by him would not exceed the amount he would be called upon to pay on the income concerned in the country having the higher rate of taxation He therefore suggested some form of arbitration tribunal consisting of representatives of the Government of India, the Indian States and non-official opinion which might provide a method of deciding the points at issue.

Mr W J. Young, Bengal Chamber, supported the resolution He said that to cover all possible cases they asked for relief to the extent of lesser of the taxes. They were told a year ago that there was "more than a suspicion" that the British Indian Government did not receive its full share of the tax and this condition of affairs was not unknown to the Government That condition still persisted, but as the proposer of the resolution had said, the Government were no doubt doing everything possible for its revenue. They hoped this was so As human beings they abhorred taxation of all kinds, but as good citizens they strongly objected to their Government not receiving its fair share of what was extracted from the commercial community

SURCHARGE ON INCOME TAX

Mr. G. H. Cooke, Bombay Chamber, supported the resolution which was unanimously adopted.

Mr. J. H. S. Richardson (Bengal Chamber) moved a resolution on the remaining surcharge on income-tax and super-tax. He said the level of taxation which was borne mainly by a very small section of the community was even now too high. This depletion of the resources of industry, occurring at a most inopportune time as it did, must retard the growing confidence of the public in the future of industrial enterprise in India. If heavy taxation did not stop the process of industrialisation it had checked its celerity.

Sir Leslie Hudson (Bombay), seconding the resolution, said theirs might be a voice crying in the wilderness, but still that voice must be raised as loud as possible. *Mr. Richardson's* remarks regarding the income-tax experts' report should be pointers for close consideration by the Select Committee to which, he understood, the Income-tax Bill would be referred at the next session of the House. *Mr. Richardson* had raised certain very excellent points which would be most useful and he was also certain that criticism in the same direction from other quarters would be forthcoming. The resolution was carried.

PROTECTION TO COTTON GROWERS

Mr. *C. L. Buss* (Karachi Chamber) moved the resolution for the protection of Indian cotton growers. He said the catastrophic fall in price and lack of export demand had already produced a financial situation in the Punjab and Sind which was bordering on a crisis. Therefore, an assured market must be found and it was the contention of the Karachi Chamber that such a market could be found in the United Kingdom. Obviously, he said, there would be strong opposition in interested quarters to any proposals for further reduction of the import duty on United Kingdom piecegoods, but he suggested that the well-being of agricultural provinces like the Punjab and Sind could not be indefinitely subordinated to the artificial fostering of protected industries. If necessary, a sliding scale might be agreed to as in the case of Japan, but the proposal would have to be really attractive to the United Kingdom.

Rai Bahadur P. Mukherjee (Punjab) while sympathising with the spirit of the resolution regretted that he was unable to support the resolution wholeheartedly. If there was to be any quota system between the United Kingdom and India in regard to cotton textile goods the quantity of cotton should be the determining factor.

Mr. A. McIntosh (Bombay) suggested an amended resolution running as follows : "In view of the very serious situation which has arisen in the cotton trade due to world supplies being vastly in excess of the estimated consumption and recent events in China which appear likely to result in the replacement to some considerable extent of Indian cotton by Chinese cotton in Japan, the prospects of satisfactory disposal of the Indian crop must be a serious problem. The Association, therefore, urges on the Government of India the necessity of incorporating in the trade discussion with the United Kingdom the consideration of an arrangement whereby an assured market for Indian cotton of suitable qualities may be found in the United Kingdom"

The amended resolution was put to vote and carried. Bengal and three other chambers did not exercise their votes.

STAMP DUTY ON CURRENCY BILLS

Mr. G. A. Todrick moved and *Mr C. W. Tosh* (Upper India Chamber) seconded the resolution on stamp duty on inland currency bills, which was carried.

TAX ON FOREIGN INCOMES

Mr. G. H. Cooke (Bombay Chamber) moved an amended resolution on foreign incomes which ran as follows. "This Association is of opinion that the recommendations of the Incometax Inquiry Committee to tax foreign incomes of residents not domiciled in India on the basis of the whole income arising is inequitable and urges the Government of India to accept the principle of taxation on reciprocal basis with other countries in which case the United Kingdom renders Indians resident in the U. K. assessable for income-tax on income arising in or remitted to U. K. only" *Mr. Cooke* said if the proposals of the Committee were accepted by the Central Government two classes of people of non-Indian domicile were affected chiefly, firstly those who take up appointments in India over a period of years interspersed by periods of leave in countries of their domicile and finally retire from this country and secondly those who paid regular annual visits to India as was the custom of many overseas sales representatives. His contention was it should be recognised that one country only should have the right to levy tax on individuals of domicile and none other.

Sir George Campbell, supporting *Mr Cooke's* resolution, said if the proposals of the Committee were accepted the result would be to penalise the honest tax-payer and perhaps turn some from the paths of righteousness. Evasion would be more widespread than under the present system. The effect on non-domiciled persons would be that they would be subject to taxation on that portion of their foreign income which they could not enjoy in India. This hardship was recognised in the United Kingdom, where the Codication Committee, with no less than 137 years' income-tax records and precedents to guide them, endorsed those special provisions dealing with the foreign income of a non-domiciled person which was a feature of the United Kingdom income-tax law. The objection put forward by the experts to this universally accepted distinction between domiciled and non-domiciled persons was that it would amount in fact to discrimination. This was due to the failure on the part of the experts to recognise the existence in India of many communities domiciled in other parts of Asia or America or elsewhere. This reference to discrimination was open to the strongest objection. *Sir George Campbell* held

that both the United Kingdom and India schemes of 1931 and the experts themselves had publicly recognised the right of non-domiciled persons for special treatment in this matter. "I would, if necessary and if possible claim this as the right of a minority community, which must claim the protection of Government," concluded Sir George.

The resolution was carried unanimously,

POST & TELEGRAPH SERVICES

Moving the resolution on the shortcomings of the post and telegraph services, *Colonel W Rae*, D S O. (Calicut Chamber) said the postal service might be good in Calcutta and other larger cities but they were living far away and near a single railway line. Possibly their dissatisfaction might be enhanced by the fact that many of their letters were missent to Calcutta. Referring to the telegraph services, he quoted what a leading newspaper in Madras had published about the delays in receiving press messages from different centres of India That state of affairs, he said, would not be tolerated in the United Kingdom and should not be tolerated here as well Justifying the abolition of phonogram charge of two annas or failing that its reduction to one anna, Mr Rae said a little tightening up all round, not only in the telegraphs but also in the postal department, might produce remarkable results and this was the point which they wanted the new Member for Communications to consider.

Mr. *P H Guest* (Northern India Chamber) seconding the resolution on the posts and telegraph services, said that since the last meeting and as a result of the action taken by the Posts and Telegraphs Department consequent on the resolution passed at that meeting, there seemed to be no doubt that some improvement had been registered, but the position was still far from satisfactory. Instancing the case of delay, the speaker said it appeared that at this rate of progress the only punishment that would be possible when a fault was discovered would be to stop the pension which he (the offending servant) would be then enjoying. He submitted that this distressing fact was not a fault of the service but of the apparent inability of the Department to find out the fault and take disciplinary action. Conditions could not improve if the organisation was such that it took more than four months to discover the culprit. The root cause of the trouble, he added, appeared to be inefficiency in supervision. If this resolution were to be passed unanimously it ought to remove any doubts that might be still lingering in the minds of the Government as to the advisability of this proposal

Supporting the resolution, *Rai Bahadur P. Mukerjee* (Punjab Chamber of Commerce) said he had travelled between two places, New Delhi and Calcutta, and still he suffered from the postal disadvantages to which references had been made by the proposer of the resolution Even when he instructed his office to utilise express service no improvement was felt. He, therefore, supported the resolution The resolution was put to vote and carried.

WITHDRAWAL OF TARIFF VALUATIONS

Moving the resolution on the withdrawal of tariff valuations without notice, Mr. *A. McIntosh* (Bombay Chamber) said the Government had issued a notification cancelling tariff valuations on various items and transferences to the *ad valorem* list. These items included copper and yellow metal sheets. It was presumed the reason for this step was the desire of the Government to secure enhanced revenue from the increased market valuation of these imports He criticised this policy because it created difficulties which did not appear to have been fully realised.

Seconding the resolution on the withdrawal of tariff valuations without notice Mr. *S. C. Lyttleton*, D. S. O. (Bengal Chamber) said it was quite obvious that there were very good reasons for fixing tariff valuations in the case of certain goods, particularly those subject to sudden and violent fluctuations in value and those reasons had not disappeared. The immediate effect of the abrupt removal of tariff valuation on yellow metal sheets this year would be chaos in the market and losses to good many dealers. The more far-reaching and harmful effects of such actions on the part of the Government were they contributed so greatly to nervousness and that feeling of uncertainty of which they already had quite enough in the world to-day.

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. *J. W. R. Stevens* (Narayanganj Chamber), moving the resolution on navigation lights for country craft on rivers, said the matter had now become more acute on account of the much larger country boat traffic in the riverine areas of East Bengal, Bihar and Assam. He was not sure one in a thousand manjhis in East Bengal was

acquainted with the law on the subject and therefore the danger to life and property was obvious and it was to minimise this risk that the resolution had been put forward. If, however, he added, the resolution was carried and the Government accepted it, his Chamber's suggestion was that an Act or rules should be created rather as an educative and protective measure than as a repressive measure. At present a fine of Rs. five hundred could be levied on the offender but his Chamber would be satisfied if it was made half, provided the Act made offence cognisable and choukidars and daffadars in the country areas were empowered to take cognisance of any breach of the lighting rules.

Mr *Anwardley* (Bengal Chamber) supported the resolution, which was adopted unanimously. The session at this stage concluded.

The Indian Economic Conference

21st. Session—Hyderabad—28th. December 1937

The Welcome Address

The 21st. session of the Indian Economic Conference opened at Hyderabad on the **28th. December 1937.** More than two hundred delegates attended the Conference, besides a large number of officials and non-officials.

Nawab Mahdi Yaer Jung Bahadur, President of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates. In the course of his speech the Nawab said that Hyderabad had a great deal in common with British India in the economic problems that it had to face. Two important problems, namely, unemployment of educated youths and prosperity of agriculturists, were being tackled by the Government who were trying to improve the life of agriculturists and recognising their education to enable in future their young men from schools to take up productive work They were proceeding on somewhat different lines from British India In British India the slogan was earn while you learn, but in Hyderabad they found earning and learning would not go together. They were making primary education more attractive, more comprehensive and more suitable. In the secondary stage, they hoped to give a vocational bias to boys and girls so that in the later stage, those who were qualified might take up different lines. That was a great experiment. But they were determined to try it out.

The Rt. Hon. *Sir Akbar Hydari* before opening the Conference read out the following message from H. E. H. the Nizam :—

The Nizam's Message

"I feel gratified when I see that the Osmania University is not only spreading enlightenment among my subjects, but is also creating more and more intellectual contact with other parts of India. At the beginning of the year, we had the Indian Science Congress in our midst and at the end of it, I am pleased to know that the economists of India are holding their twenty-first session in the capital of my Dominions. The prosperity of our country is closely connected with the scientific study of its economic problems and it is a happy sign that we in India have realised the importance of this science and have made provision for the teaching of Economics in our universities I hope that this Conference will stimulate the interests of my people in their economic affairs and in the possibilities of the economic development of Hyderabad. India is a country of rich natural endowments and it is the privilege of Indian economists to show ways and means of placing India in line with the most advanced countries of the world."

The Opening Address

In opening the conference, Sir Akbar said that he greatly valued the opportunity afforded to him of extending to so many distinguished economists of India a hearty welcome to the capital of a premier Indian State. He regarded their choice of venue as highly significant. As economists they were naturally

conscious of ties which linked Indian States and British India and their presence in Hyderabad afforded additional proof of the importance of the place which States were now recognised as holding in the polity of their motherland.

The days had long gone by, continued Sir Akbar, when Indian States were regarded as mere unwanted appendages of British India. For it was now recognised that they were the traditional exponents of a political urge which had made itself manifest throughout many centuries of their history This urge was derived from astonishing range and variety of culture which were the glory of India. The preservation of these cultures was as much a part of their national heritage as the right of their country as a whole to control its own destinies. From very early times, Indian States had been traditional homes of Indian culture and through all vicissitudes of changing fashion, had preserved intact the ancient cultural conceptions of India. The richness and variety of Indian local cultures presented no obstacle to the progress of the country as a whole, indeed they might discern in the recent inauguration of provincial autonomy in British India a recognition of the value of the principle of local diversity, which was the counterpart of the fundamental unity of their country The true welfare of the great land of India depended upon the nice preservation of an equilibrium between forces which derived their strength from age old striving for local autonomy. Each set of forces was indispensable with its proper sphere and the country on the whole suffered if one set of forces was permitted to trespass too widely upon the sphere of operation of the other. The realisation of this vital truth had throughout inspired the Asafiah House of Hyderabad to adopt its two-fold policy of contributing on the one hand to the welfare of India as a whole and preserving on the other that wealth of tradition, administrative, cultural, social and economic, which was characteristic of the genius of the people of these Dominions. In Hyderabad, they presented a miniature picture of Indian as a whole and Deccani culture has been built up through centuries by a synthesis of diverse .races and different faiths. To this synthesis, Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim elements had all made their contribution. He hoped that in the course of their welcome visit to Hyderabad, they would find opportunities of exploring for themselves the rich treasures in the realms of art and architecture which constituted some of Hyderabad's most distinctive contribution to the cultural wealth of India.

Sir Akbar then referred to certain topics which demanded the close and concentrated attention of all men of goodwill The problem springing most readily into the minds of them all was that of unemployment. This problem had been analysed from many different points of view. At the moment, there was not enough work of particular kinds for people who desired to undertake productive labour. He suggested that in essence the problem was one of readjustment. Their country possessed natural resources of almost every kind. If these were utilised widely and well, he for one could not believe that there would not be work for all. They must, on the one hand, modify their economy to permit scientific utilisation of these natural resources and on the other bring about such changes in traditional lines of their educational system that the rising generation was adequately fitted to take advantage of the opportunities thus opened to it. The reorganisation of the educational system of the State was based upon the necessity of bringing education into conformity with the needs of the people By pursuing this policy, they would be solving the problem of educated unemployment and also aiming at a widespread development of the economic resources of the State. A combination of these two benefits would lead to cumulative advantage. The new methods and new ways, revealed to them through progress and application of scientific knowledge, would in their turn, lead to a more balanced adjustment of their whole economy. Government and the governed would alike benefit from the increasing intimacy of relation between natural resources and trained intelligence. He hoped that their deliberations would throw light upon many of these problems.

Proceeding Sir *Akbar* referred to the problem of ;indigenous banking and said that in Hyderabad. the principal problem was to co-ordinate and connect with one another innumerable channels, large and small, through which capital resources of the country flowed. The particular line of enquiry over which they in Hyderabad were engaged at the moment was that of co-ordinating their capital resources so as to use them most effectively for the agricultural and industrial reconstruction of the State. At the present moment an expert inquiry was being conducted into this side of the problem and he hoped they would be profited much by their own discussion.

Referring to trade cycle which was linked with the problem of indigenous banking, Sir Akbar said that in many western countries, as they were well aware, it was regarded as one of the duties of the State to influence so far as might be the course of trade cycle by taking such measures as seemed calculated to level off the apex of booms and grade steepness of depressions.

Sir *Akbar* then made a reference to the rehabilitation of provincial finances and said that the success of self-government in the provinces, of which the measure was the benefit conferred upon the people, must depend very largely on the capacity of those now assuming the direction of provincial governments to utilise most the scientific and financial resources at their disposal. In Hyderabad, the Finance Department made a triennial allotment for each department on the basis of its average annual expenditure which led to thoughtful and well-considered schemes of long range development and eliminated that wasteful outlay which some times characterised the departmental expenditure towards the end of each twelve month under the system of annual budgeting where the unspent balance had to be returned. By a further refinement, they had introduced the system under which the surplus at the end of the triennial period was shared between the department showing a surplus and various nation building departments of the State This system, it had been found, worked for economy and efficiency in management and he hoped, might be found useful in other parts of the country also.

Continuing *Sir Akbar* said that in all the matters referred to above, their was one fundamental postulate—an adequate knowledge of economics. Accurate statistics constituted the sole guide for both the economist and the administrator as without a knowledge of precise facts, their decision would not remain uninfluenced by personal equation. Party politics, and turmoil of election, the need of attracting the suffrage of people turned inevitably one into a partisan of one view or the other. Without the assistance of accurate statistics they had no material upon which they could form a right judgment. But even when the material was available, it was necessary that they should consider it with impartial minds. "We must free ourselves from the trammels of communalism, we must recognise the fundamental unity of our interests. It is in this direction if I may say so that the Indian Economic Conference consisting as it does of men trained by their academic experience to take detached views, can provide invaluable guidance to the administrators and statesmen of our country." They in Hyderabad were in a position which called for a economic planning. No one was more keenly alive than they were to the dangers of insufficiently considered State intervention. At the same time, unless economic progress proceeded in accordance with ordered plan, past work and past investigations where all labour lost and potential advance might degenerate into a policy of drift It was along these lines they were facing and considering problems which confronted them in the economic sphere. He had already alluded to the emphasis which they were laying on vocational education. He had further alluded to their present inquiry into banking. They were investigating the economic burdens of their agriculturists and the possibilities of relief through consolidation of holdings, liquidation of debts and increased security of tenure combined with improvements in methods of agriculture and in the condition of land. It was hoped that in connection with the banking inquiry they might lay the groundwork for increasing credit facilities where scientific marketing and grading of produce had already been undertaken Provision of cheap power was in their hands and a survey was being made with the object of utilising the hydro-electric resources of the State. Additional railway development would result in the opening up of areas of great economic potentiality. It should be a part of planning to think out how best to preserve the balance between private enterprise and State action. Sir Akbar concluded wishing their deliberations all success.

The Presidential Address

In the course of his address Dr. *P.J. Thomas* said that the Indian Economic Association held its first session at Calcutta twenty years ago. "Since then the Association has grown in number and influence. A momentous step in self-government has lately been taken in the Provinces of India, and the Association is expected to give the lead in economic matters to these Governments. It is for persons of riper age and mellowed wisdom to give such a lead I shall only perform the *nandi* by giving a brief analysis of what I consider to be our fundamental economic problem to day."

"The most distressing feature of India's economic position" Dr. Thomas said, "is that in spite of the large increase in foreign trade and industrial production in the last seventy years, there has not been any appreciable improvement in the standard

of living of the masses. With all the increase in production labourers in organised industries still number only 1.6 millions or less than half per cent of the total population. Our information about income and standard of living is inadequate, but we have enough evidence to show that living standards, even of urban labourers, remain very low.

"It has lately been customary to impute the economic ills of India to the trade depression. In many countries, especially those narrowly specialising in certain kinds of industry or agriculture, there has been a severe setback in production, trade and employment, but in India, on the other hand, the years of the depression coincided with a large expansion in industrial production, thanks largely to the Government's tariff policy. Since 1928-29, the production of cotton piecegoods has increased by 89 per cent, sugar by 1016 per cent, pig-iron by 213 per cent, and steel by 151 per cent. Nor has export trade fallen in quantum. There has been a large increase in the exports of raw jute, raw cotton and oil-seeds, which are the mainstay of our commercial agriculture. The increase between the post-war period and 1936-37 was 50 per cent in cotton, 67 per cent in raw jute, and 380 per cent in groundnut. No doubt the terms of trade turned against India by a large disparity between export and import prices (22 points) between 1929 and 1931, but the disparity got narrowed down to 4 points in 1936-37. All this helped in maintaining purchasing power in the country. Rural debt is still a serious problem, but it was a crying evil even in 1928 and no degree of recovery will wipe it out. It can only be cured by a reconstruction of rural economy. Therefore, the problem of India, to-day, is not merely one of recovery, but of solving our perennial problem of poverty and a low standard of living.

"India has abundant natural resources and a large labour supply to utilize them. The two prime essentials for economic activity are therefore available in ample measure, and yet the resources remain untapped and man remains poor. For this state of things, various causes have been assigned. In my opinion, it is due to two factors: (1) inefficient and inadequate production and (2) inequitable distribution. These two causes interact on each other at many points.

In India, the producer, whether he be a cultivator or an artisan, depends on moneylenders and traders for capital and marketing, and the nature of the bargain is generally such that he seldom gets any reasonable share of the fruits of his labour. All over the world, even in Soviet Russia and the U. S. A., agriculturists obtain a much smaller portion of the national income than their labour entitles them to. The agencies that trade in agricultural produce obtain with less effort a much larger share of the income from land. The position is worst in India, because here the middleman makes profit not only by handling agricultural produce but by advancing money to the agriculturist on unconscionable terms. In the ryotwari areas, the Government too gets a good slice of the income from land. What is left to the cultivator is hardly a living wage, and he has soon to borrow for maintaining himself and family. Thus even in normal times, the agriculturist is in want and in debt, and when crops fail or cattle die, he has to mortgage his land, and mortgages generally end in loss of land. Nearly the same conditions obtain in the handicrafts, and the artisans are everywhere steeped in poverty and debt.

"With the dawn of modern economic conditions in India—a money economy, statutory rights in land, registration of money claims, laws of contract and civil procedure and courts to administer them—the lot of the agriculturists only became worse. Their credit increased when land laws were enacted, but facile credit proved a curse to most of them. Landholders freely used their credit to borrow, mostly for non-productive purposes, but payment was difficult and the new law courts, unlike the old panchayats, gave all facilities to the creditor to recover his claims. Thus land alienation became common and the condition of the agriculturists became worse. With the increase of foreign trade after 1860, towns grew in size, an urban middle class arose and professional men carved out large incomes, but the rural masses who made all this possible benefited little by it. The balance of trade in favour of India went on increasing year after year, and much money flowed into the country, but the bulk of it went into the pockets of merchants, money-lenders, and other middlemen.

"Had the people who obtained the bulk of the profits from agriculture and handicrafts invested their earnings in productive enterprises, the economic system would have functioned better. This is what happens in all advanced countries, including Japan. In 1868, when Japan was opened to foreign trade, the landlord and

trader put their savings into productive enterprise and thus the country developed rapidly. But in India, the habits of moneyed persons have not been conducive to productive activity. They bought gold or lands or gave out money at high rates of interest to needy persons—all more or less sterile pursuits. Year after year, a large part of the trade balances in favour of India came in the form of gold or silver mostly for hoarding purposes. Between 1835 and 1925, as much as Rs. 1,300 crores, or 52 percent, of our merchandise balances were converted into gold and silver thus got sterilised.

"As the savings of the country were so largely hoarded, labourers found little opportunity at home and sold their labour abroad, on such unfavourable terms and with such undesirable results to make Indian coolie labour an object of contempt. Nor had educated persons any chance for suitable employment, and those who received education in the new schools crowded into the Government services or became lawyers. It must be admitted that the influx of British capital into the railways, jute mills and tea plantations of India from about 1860 did something to relieve the persistent paucity of purchasing power in this country. But such investments slowed down during the war and have almost ceased since. Year after year, increasing numbers of eligible persons have been sent out by the Universities, and with all the elaborations of the administrative machinery, the Government have found it impossible to employ them all.

"The state of things explained above seems to lend support to some of the familiar under-consumption theories Too large a proportion of the income derived from production has been going to the capitalist classes, while the producing and labouring classes have been living on the subsistence level. Unfair tenancy conditions, unjust loan transactions and inequitable modes of marketing have been instrumental in bringing about this condition. The result has been under-consumption, which in turn had led to under-production. Owing to the largely unproductive use of savings year after year, little increase of investment has taken place, and the common people have been always under-employed and have been living on minimum requirements.

"Not only has this baneful system kept India poor and undeveloped; it has also upset the balance of world economy. Had the purchasing power of the teeming millions of India and China been higher, economic internationalism would have functioned more harmoniously and food-stuffs would not have been destroyed in one part of the world while the other part was hungering for food. Therefore, from every point of view, national or international, social or economic, selfish or altruistic, it is necessary to raise the standard of living of the Indian masses to a higher level, and this must be the prime consideration in our future policy. A larger production and better distribution,—this, in short, is the problem of India to-day.

"It is clear from the above that our economic problem is somewhat different from that of most Western countries. To many of those countries, the problem is chiefly one of distribution For us in India, production is still the principal problem; we have a large potential market for all kinds of consumption of goods and therefore production must be increased in order that there may be more goods and more purchasing power to buy them. We have so small an aggregate income to be distributed that all talk of equalisation is somewhat premature. Social justice is indeed needed, but its claims must not be so urged as to deflect us from our main purpose. Further, in devising the plan for rebuilding our economic system, o ur national genius and cultural heritage must also be taken into account."

Dr. Thomas observed: "A good many persons think that the immediate need of India is the rapid expansion of large-scale industries. Few will deny that the present economic system of India is overweighted on the agricultural side and that a larger proportion of the population must be made to depend on industries, but all will not agree that wholesale mechanisation will solve our problem. On the mass production basis, all the requirements of India in the way of finished goods can be met by a few factories congregated in one or two centres, but on this basis we cannot give employment to a fraction of those who need work.

"No doubt, a certain number of key industries will have to be conducted on the mass production basis in large factories with all the up-to-date equipment, but in the case of ordinary industries nearly as much efficiency can be secured in small units, especially if cheap electric power can be distributed and provision made for efficient marketing. Recent hydro-electric developments and improvements in transport enable such scattered units to obtain the external economies which hitherto

were available only to large factories. It is the cherised aspiration of our best minds that this country must be saved from the moral and physical ills resulting from Industrialism, and Mahatma Gandhi's lead in this respect may with advantage be accepted in other countries also. That an efficient industrial development is possible on this basis has been demonstrated by Japan, where the bulk of the industrial labourers are employed in small production units. Even in Europe—especially France and Germany—small industries still play a large part in the economic system. In Germany half the number of industrial workers are employed in handicrafts."

Emphasising the importance of agricultural improvement, the President stated: "However rapid our industrialization may be, the majority of people in this country will have to draw their sustenance from agriculture Further, industrial development in this country is necessarily dependent on agricultural improvement The low productivity in Indian agriculture arises chiefly from certain imperfections in the system of land tenure, rural credit and marketing By bringing more land under irrigation and by introducing improved methods of agriculture and cattle-breeding, production can be largely increased in India. The high cost of seasonal credit can be reduced and wasteful markting methods eliminated by the introduction of a system of controlled credit, operated by the co-operative societies under the careful supervision of the Government.

"Some people believe that all these improvements are only possible by following Soviet or Fascist methods A totalitarian State would destroy the valuable cultural and spiritual foundations of India and would subject this country to a drab materialism No doubt a much greater discipline is needed if our people are to advance, economically, and a certain amount of compulsion will also be required as a temporary measure. But this can be done without stamping out freedom. In my opinion, the co-operative method is best suited for improving Indian economic life Of course, its operations must be extended over a wider sphere than mere credit or consumption.

"An increase of national income is not sufficient to raise the standard of living. Income must be more equitably distributed so that the masses may have greater purchasing power than hitherto More of the national dividend must stay with the producing and labouring classes. The system of rural credit and marketing suggested above is calculated to improve distribution as well as increase production seeing that the producer is himself the labourer in most cases. Better tenancy laws are also necessary. In industry, statutory provision is needed for assuring to the labourers a minimum standard. A comprehensive scheme of social insurance is needed, and the cultivator must not be left out of it

"The financial policy of the Government can do a great deal to lighten the burdens on the rural population and to tone down the inequities of distribution. It is generally admitted that the system of land tax obtaining in India is regressive seeing that it takes no account of the tax-payer's ability. Not only land revenue, but our financial system as a whole, stands in need of readjustment in order that it may be approximated to the ideal of maximum social advantage. We have now come to a stage at which the improvement of economic conditions largely depends on a bold increase of expenditure. Owing to an effete economic and social organisation all the money that the tax-payer pays does not reach the treasury, nor does all the expenditure undertaken by the Government reach the masses. A readjustment of the economic mechanism is therefore necessary. A good part of the money required for this new policy must come from loans. The loan policy of the Government in India is very conservative. The result is the comparatively light burden of public debt. But the country is crying for drinking water and roads and irrigation works, and it is necessary to quicken the progress of such productive works. The best time to launch such a policy was in 1933 and 1934, when the depression reached the bottom."

Adverting to our foreign trade, Dr. Thomas said : "Absolute self-sufficiency is not a suitable goal for any nation, not even for a sub-continent like India with all her varied resources. We have to pay our dues abroad by means of our export trade, and even if these diminish, we shall need various goods from outside and we must exchange them for the produce of our labour. The present reckless drive for self-sufficiency will not only weaken world economy but may undermine the foundations of civilised economic life India must avoid both the extremes. In other words, we must have a co-ordinated economic system within

the country so that we may not be hit when foreign trade fails. Firstly, there must be a balance between industrial and agricultural production. Secondly, our agriculture itself must be a balanced one. That is to say, the diversified cropping which is already a feature of our agricultural economy must be maintained intact and wherever possible there must be a balance between food-crops and other crops, Thirdly, there must be a balance between the different industries so far as possible. The production of an article like cotton cloth or sugar need not be concentrated in one province or area. The indiscriminate springing up of factories must not be permitted ; recent tendencies in the Indian sugar industry clearly point to the need for State regulation. The location, size and labour conditions of new factories must be prescribed carefully in the national interest.

Concluding his address, Dr. Thomas said : "What Russia sought to do and did in a monstrous way we must do in a peaceful manner. It is for us economists to show the way, If we fail, the masses may be misled by interested propagandists. The economic rebuilding of India to-day rests largely with the provincial Governments and the Durbars of Indian States They have nearly all the powers needed to remove the mal-adjusments which keep purchasing power and standard of living at low ebb. They have already started on the campaign for debt relief and agrarian reform. It is expected that after removing the obstcles which now stand in the way of economic progress they will commence a positive programme of reconstruction with the central aim of increasing production and raising the standard of living. This cannot be done in a haphazard manner , it requires careful study and diligent enquiry into local conditions, and in this difficult task, it will be the duty and privilege of ecnomists to give wholehearted support."

Educational Progress in India

July—December 1937

Vocational Education in India

Recommendations of Abbot Report

The following recommendation was made by Mr. *A. Abbot*, C.B.E., formerly H M. Chief Inspector of Technical Schools, Board of Education, England, in his report on Vocational Education in India published in July 1937 :—

Every province should make a survey of the educational needs of its industries and commerce and this determine the types of vocational education to be provided, the stage to which each type should be carried, and specially the number of recruit that can be absorbed annually."

Until such a survey has been made, the report adds, it is impossible to do more than prepare an educational framework into which vocational schools and courses of instruction can be fitted.

Large-scale industries, it continues, require an adequate supply of men specially trained for the responsible posts in them. It cannot be expected, however, that men will undergo training for work in these industries unless they see a reasonable prospect of suitable employment. The expansion of vocational education should therefore not greatly outstrip the development of industry

General and vocational education are not essentially different branches, but the earlier and later phases of a continuous process. General and vocational education should not, however, be provided in the same school since the pupils in the two types have very diverse aims Education for industry can, with certain safeguards, be given in the same school as education for commerce. Industry and commerce must co-operate with educational organizations if the vocational education provided is to be appropriate and adequate. Organized co-operation of this kind does not yet exist in India.

There appears to be a common belief in India that a more adequate supply of vocational education would lead quickly to greater use being made by organized industry of the raw materials of the country. The existence of skilled workers, though essential, is not in itself enough to create organized industries. Capital, means of transport and reasonably assured markets are also needed. Although a certain degree of caution in the plans for training men for organized industry is therefore necessary, schemes for improving the skill and efficiency of cultivators and small-scale workers can be safely undertaken.

The problem of improving the lot of the villager is formidable. The population consists mainly of small holders · the villages are generally isolated from one another and from towns : the cultivators are mostly illiterate and they are reluctant to abandon old customs and to adopt new methods. There is little possibility of a cultivator becoming a successful small-scale worker.

Small-scale workers may be divided into (a) those who compete with organized industry (b) those who carry on hand crafts even when employed in organized industry. The former need better appliances and the ability to use them ; the latter are dependent mainly on their personal skill. Both classes need better training than is yet available.

Manufacture on a small scale is very prevalent in India. Even if organized industry expands greatly in India, there will still be room for the small-scale manufacture of (a) goods needed in small quantities and (b) goods which demand an individuality of their own. Greater attention must be paid to the training of this type of worker, and especially to his training in art where this is appropriate.

In general there are three grades of workers in organized industry ; (a) the directing and managing grade, (b) the supervisory grade, and (c) the operative grade. There is no great demand for an immediate and considerable increase in the facilities for the vocational education of the members of the first group. It is the supervisory grade, i e., foremen, chargehands and similar workers, on whose education and training great attention should be concentrated at this stage.

Effective machinery should be established for securing close and regular co-operation between industry and commerce, on the one hand, and education, on the

other. This can be secured by the establishment in each province of a Government Advisory Council for Vocational Education, which would include the Director of Industries, and two or three principals of important vocational schools ; on the side of business, it would include four or five businessmen selected by the Government on account of their knowledge and experience of particular branches of business, and not because they represented special interests.

The Advisory Council for Vocational Education would appoint advisory sub-committees dealing respectively with education for : (a) engineering ; (b) textile industries ; (c) agriculture ; (d) small-scale and cottage industries , (e) other industries of major importance ; (f) commerce.

The functions of advisory sub-committees would be to draft curricula and syllabuses of instruction, to advise on equipment, to suggest where schools should be established, to visit the schools regularly, and generally to do all in their power to make their branch of vocational education successful.

Employers can help in the development of vocational education in other ways—by providing buildings, equipment , materials and funds. All these forms of assistance are frequent in Europe.

Vocational schools should be classified according to:—(a) Their standard of admission : and (b) the precise vocational aim of the instruction they give

Vocational education must be based on adequate general education. The entrance standard should not, as a rule, be below that reached at the end of the Middle School (Class VIII) Pupils who have reached this can be admitted to "Junior Vocational Schools." Pupils who have successfully completed the Higher Secondary School course can be admitted to "Senior Vocational Schools."

Full-time vocational schools fall into three types :—

(a) Those which impart a vocational bias to their curricula during the last year or two of school life , (b) Those which prepare their pupils for work in an occupation to be selected at the end of the course from a range of related occupations. These are "Pre-apprenticeship" schools ; (c) Schools which prepare their pupils for a specified occupation. These are "Apprenticeship" schools, and are sometimes known as "Trade schools."

Schools which impart a bias to their curricula are usually preparing their pupils for commerce It is suggested that their general establishment in India should be postponed until the educational reconstruction now proposed is approaching completion ; but this suggestion does not apply to schools with a bias towards agriculture.

The Junior Vocational School, receiving its pupils at the end of Class VIII and providing a three years' course would be parallel to the Higher Secondary School, and should be held in the same repute.

The Senior Vocational School, receiving the pupils at the end of Class XI and providing a two years' course, would be parallel to the existing Intermediate Colleges.

Part-time schools should be provided for the further education of young men already in employment and, if possible, classes should be held in the day time, the students being released by their employers for two half days a week in order that they might attend.

Vocational education should be administered by the Department of Public Instruction, and until it has become stabilized, the schools providing it should be maintained and controlled by the Governments themselves and not by voluntary bodies aided by grants.

A limited number of Higher Secondary schools should have a bias towards the needs of agriculture throughout their curricula, which should be a continuation of that of the Rural Middle School.

The type of Junior Vocational School which appears to be most necessary in India is the "Junior Technical School," which gives a training, preliminary to employment in industries of the "manipulative" variety, suitable for boys who aim at becoming highly skilled artisans and foremen. The type of Senior Vocational School which appears to be most suitable is the "Senior Technical School," which prepares its pupils for responsible posts in industries of the "non-manipulative" variety. Junior and Senior Technical Shools are appropriate in industrial centres only and should not be established, as a rule, in areas with a population smaller than 50,000.

The curricula of the Junior Technical School should include mathematics, the scientific principles underlying the practice of the workshop, technical drawing, workshop practice in wood and metal, and English. The instruction should be in the vernacular (except, of course, in English itself), though technical terms should be given

in their English form. The English taught should be of that variety which is useful in the ordinary affairs of life, and n oattempt should be made to give the pupils an appreciation of English literary style.

The Senior Technical School, with its two years course, should teach mathematics, physics, chemistry, mechanics, machine drawing and workshop practice, all of which are of value to a youth who is to enter one of the non-manipulative industries with aim of occupying a position of responsibility.

In both types of school, it is of great importance that the principals should keep themselves in touch both with the schools from which they draw their pupils and with industry and commerce. They can do much to place their pupils in suitable rosts on leaving, if they have established the right kind of relationships with prospective employers.

The best education for the business man with great responsibilities over a wide field is not necessarily in "commercial subjects," since what he needs is certain valuable personal qualities which can be developed by the study, under suitable conditions, of other branches of knowledge in which he is interested. For young men who have to make their own way in life, the course followed in the commercial departments of universities is, however, more suitable, since they have, from the very beginning of their commercial life, to show that they possess the exact knowledge which will make them immediate ly useful.

The Senior Vocational School would provide a useful preparation for students unable to undertake university studies.

If it were not for the fact that many clerical workers need a knowledge of English the Junior Commercial School would form a suitable school for training clerical workers As it is, the conditions demand the setting up of Senior Commercial schools which would teach English, arithmetic, the elements of accounts, geography, shorthand typewriting. In addition, they should give their pupils a knowledge of the general structure and methods of commerce by including "the elements of commerce" in their curriculum. The normal length of the course of the Senior Commercial School should be two years, following Class XI of the Higher Secondary school.

Existing industrial and technical schools in the Punjab have undergone various changes since their development was encouraged by the Industrial Commission. At the present time, they are training pupils both for handicrafts and for work in organized industry

The schools belonging to this group in the United Provinces are more numerous. They range from weaving schools containing a proportion of illiterate pupils, to really advanced institutions such as the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute at Cawnpore.

The schools in the United Provinces can be conveniently classified into the following groups—(a) trade schools, where boys are trained for employment as handicraftsmen, (b) industrial schools, which prepare youths for working on their own account in smallscale industries. (c) technical schools, in which the students after a sound education in the principles underlying industrial practice, are equipped for responsible industrial posts.

The Annual expenditure on the industrial and technical schools in both provinces is high. It varies in the Punjab from Rs. 169 to Rs. 625. and in the United Provinces from Rs. 155 to Rs. 869. In the case of the larger institutions and those doing very advanced work, a high expenditure is probably justifiable ; but in the case of some of the smaller schools, doing elementary work, it is probably too high. The annual cost per pupil may be compared with that in an English junior technical school, where an investigation of the average expenditure on each of the 5,600 pupils in 42 schools shewed that it amounted to £23-2-0 (Rs. 308).

It is desirable that the Departments of Industries concerned with these schools should carefully review the expenditure. In particular, they should consider (a) the policy of concentrating the instruction into a smaller number of institutions and (b) the policy of raising the standard of entrance to some of the schools, and thus diminishing the time spent in them by each student.

It is also recommended that in each important centre of population the Government concerned should take a long view and endeavour to concentrate the classes scattered into larger institutions.

Even when there is an entrance standard laid down for the admission of students exceptions are made, in some instances, too freely. It is important, if there is to b

proper economy, that there should be strict adherence to the conditions of admission.

In the present position of organized industry in India, it is essential that workshop practice shall occupy a prominent place in the curriculum of the full time technical or industrial school. In Great Britain, where the standard of workmanship is often very high, it is possible to share the burden of training recruits to industry between the industry itself, which gives workshop experience and the school which teaches the scientific principles underlying workshop practice. But this plan is not suited to Indian conditions.

It is recommended that for the present, the control of trade, industrial and technical schools shall remain with the Departments of Industries, although it is contemplated that with the development of vocational education in India the conditions will change and the control of these schools may have to be transferred to the Departments of Public Instruction.

Although the recommendation of the Indian Industrial Commerces that there should be an Imperial inspecting service for Industrial Schools has certain attractions, its adoption is not recommended.

Schools in India devote insufficient attention to the teaching of art and there is a serious risk of the artistic traditions of India being weakened. The spheres of influence of the existing schools of arts and crafts should be enlarged considerably ; and other schools of arts and crafts working in close association with them should be set up as opportunity serves. Far greater use should be made of the museums in the two provinces by the gradual building up at each of them of a "loan collection" from which good examples and photographs of these could be lent to the industrial technical schools.

Technical schools should organize part-time day classes for young men already in employment.

In spite of the absence of industrial surveys in the provinces, it was found possible to gain information relating to the methods of recruitment for (a) the railway service, (b) the Public Works Department and (c) the printing industry in Allahabad.

It is recommended that the conditions for admitting trade apprentices and others to the railway service and to the P. W. D. should be modified so as to give opportunities for employment to boys from junior technical schools, as it is believed that this would result in the recruitment to these services of better trained boys. It would have the additional advantage of leading to the establishment in the industrial centres of junior technical schools attended, in the first instance, by boys aiming at entering the railway and P. W. D. service and subsequently attended, as the value of the schools became known, by boys desiring to follow careers in other industries.

It is recommended that a printing school should be set up in Allahabad since this is an important centre of this industry.

It is recommended that the Government of India shall take steps to reorganise the whole of the educational system of the province of Delhi : and, at the same time, to seek the collaboration of the Governments of the Punjab and the United Provinces in a scheme for the training of vocational teachers for all three provinces, at least.

On the vocational side of the reorganisation, it would be necessary to establish on the same site and under the same principal—

(a) a vocational training college working in close association with an ordinary training college for teachers in each of the other two provinces.

(b) a junior technical school, providing, during the first two years of its course, instruction in mathematics, science, technical drawing, wood and metal work, and English ; and, during its third year, instruction specialized in accordance with the needs of general engineering, electric wiring and textiles.

(c) a technical school attended by part-time as well as full-time industrial and commercial students and (d) a school of arts and crafts.

The premises of the existing Government High Schools in Delhi appear to be suitable, with the necessary extensions, for all these purposes.

The report concludes : In view of the importance of the vocational guidance of boys when they are on the point of deciding upon their future occupations, it is desirable that the problem of devising suitable methods for this should be tackled in

India, as it has been in so many other countries. But the problem is so complex that it would probably be necessary for a number of the Provinces to co-operate with one another in the task of finding a solution.

The adoption of the recommendation of the Unemployment Committee of the United Provinces that the Government should publish a series of pamphlets describing careers for boys and the preliminary education needed for each career would without doubt serve a useful purpose.

The Wardha Educational Conference

Wardha—22nd. & 23rd. October 1937

The Educational Conference was held at Wardha on the **22nd & 23rd. October 1937** and was very largely attended Among those invited and present and who took part in the proceedings of the Conference were the hon. Mr. B G. Kher, Prime Minister of Bombay, the hon. Dr. P. Subbaroyan and hon. Mr. S. Ramanathan, Madras Ministers, the hon. Mr. Pyarelal Sharma, U. P. Minister, the hon. Mr. R. S. Shukla, C. P. Minister, the hon. Mr. Bishwanath Das, Orissa Premier, the hon. Dr. Syed Mahomed, Bihar Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr Zakir Hussain, Mr Vinobha, Mr. Kalelkar, Prof. Malkani, Prof K. T. Shah, Shrimati Hansa Mehta, Shrimati Saudamini Mehta, Shrimati Gosiben Captain, Mr. Sevasharma, Mr. A. V. Thakker and many other educationists and principals of educational institutions.

After two days' free and heart to heart discussion, the Conference adopted resolutions that in the opinion of the Conference free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale ; that the medium of instruction be the mother tongue , that the Conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period shall centre round some form of manual and productive work and that all other abilities to be developed or the training to be given should as far as possible be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child ; and that the Conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of teachers.

With a view to framing a syllabus of primary education on the lines of these resolutions, the following Committee with power to add was appointed : Dr. Zakir Hussain of Jamia Milia (Chairman), Mr. Aryanayakm (Convenor), Khwaja Ghulam Saifideen, Principal, Training College, Aligarh, Mr. Vinobha, Mr. Kalekar, Mr. Krishnadas Jajuji, Mr. J. C Cumarappa, Shrimati Ashadevi, Mr. Kishorelalabhai Mashruwala and Prof. K. T. Sah.

Report of the Committee

We publish below the important portions of the scheme prepared by the Committee':—

Dr. Zakir Hussan, Chairman, Wardha Education Committee, in forwarding the report on the scheme to Mahatma Gandhi wrote :—

I have the honour to submit herewith the report of the Committee appointed by the Wardha Conference on the 23rd. of October 1937 to formulate a scheme of basic education on the lines suggested by the resolutions of that Conference.

The members of the Committee present at Wardha had a preliminary discussion with you on the 24th October. The Committee met at Wardha on the 2nd and 3rd of November when all the members attended except Professor K. T. Shah who was prevented by urgent work from coming. They met again at Wardha on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of November, Professor Saiyadain could not come, and Professor K. T. Shah could be present only on the first day of the meeting. You will be pleased to know that the discussions were conducted in the most cordial spirit and every member was anxious to contribute his very best. We recorded no evidence, but the Committee are extremely grateful to the numerous friends who sent us their views on the problems engaging our attention.

We are fully conscious of the short-comings of the report we are submitting. Our own limitations as well as the limitations of time did not permit us to do better. We have been able, for instance, to include a detailed syllabus only for the craft of Spinning and Weaving. If time had permitted, we would have very much liked to include a similar scheme for more crafts. For we are anxious to avoid the possible impression that we do not attach equal importance to other crafts with similar or better educational possibilites. When at a later date we submit to you a detailed scheme of correlated grade placements, as desired by you, we hope also to include a detailed scheme of Agriculture and Gardening as the basic craft.

We are thankful to many Provincial Governments for sending us all the relevant literature, and specially to the Government of Central Provinces for deputing an officer of the Educational and an officer of the Agricultural Department to help us whenever we needed their help during the course of our deliberations. Sjt. Aryanayakam and Shrimati Ashadevi, though members of the Committee, deserve to be specially thanked for facilitating the work of the Committee by their efficient handling of the voluminous correspondence and making all necessary arrangements for the meetings we held.

I am personally very grateful to the Staff of the Teachers' Training College, Muslim University, Aligarh for their whole-hearted co-operation and for permitting me to draw freely on their expert knowledge and precious time.

We submit this report to you in the sincere hope that under your guidance the scheme presented in it may prove to be the beginning of a sound educational system in our country.

The members of the Committee were: Dr. Zakir Husain (Chairman), Sjt. Aryananyakam (Convenor), Sjts. Khwaja Gulam Saiyandain, Jinoba Bhave, Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Kishorlal Mashruwala, J. C. Kumarappa, Shrikrishnadas Jaju, Prof. K. T. Shah, and Shrimati Ashadevi.

The Report. Section I. Basic Principles. The Existing Educational System

The following are the first two sections of the Report :—

Indian opinion is practically unanimous in condemning the existing system of education in the country. In the past it has failed to meet the most urgent and pressing needs of national life, and to organise and direct its forces and tendencies into proper channels. To-day, when quick and far-reaching changes are reshaping both national and international life and making new demands on the citizens, it continues to function listlessly and apart from the real currents of life, unable to adapt itself to the changed circumstances. It is neither responsive to the realistic elements of the present situation, nor inspired by any life-giving and creative ideal. It does not train individuals to become useful productive members of society able to pull their own weight and participate effectively in its work. It has no conception of the new co-operative social order, which education must help to bring into existence, to replace the present competitive and inhuman regime based on exploitation and violent force. There is therefore, a demand from all sides for the replacement of the present system of education by a more constructive and human system, which will be better integrated with the needs and ideals of national life, and better able to meet its pressing demands.

Any scheme of education designed for Indian children will in some respects radically differ from that adopted in the West. For unlike as in the West, in India the nation has adopted non-violence, as the method of peace, for achieving all-round freedom. Our children will therefore need to be taught the superiority of non-violence over violence.

Mahatma Gandhi's Leadership

In this field as in so many others, farsighted leadership has come at this critical juncture from Mahatma Gandhi, who has thrown himself whole-heartedly and devotedly into the question of evolving a system of education which will be in harmony with the genius of the Indian people, and solve the problem of mass education in a practicable way and within as short a time as possible. The basic idea of his scheme, as expounded by him in his articles in Harijan and at the Wardha Educational Conference, is that education, if sound in its principles, should be imparted through some craft or productive work which should provide the nucleus of all the other instruction provided in the school. This craft, if taught efficiently and thoroughly, should enable the school to pay towards the cost of its teaching staff. According to him, this would also help the State to introduce immediately the

scheme of free and compulsory basic epucation. Failing this, in the existing political and financial condition of the country, the cost of this education would be prohibitive.

Craft Work in Schools

Modern educational thought is practically unanimous in commending the idea of educating children through some suitable form of productive work. This method is considered to be the most effective approach to the problem of providing an integral all-sided education.

Psychologically it is desirable, because it relieves the child from the tyranny of a purely academic and theoretical instruction against which its active nature is always making a healthy protest. It balances the intellectual and practical elements of experience, and may be made an instrument of educating the body and the mind in co-ordination. The child acquires not the superficial literacy which implies, often without warrant, a capacity to read the printed page, but the far more important capacity of using hand and intelligence for some constructive purpose. This, if we may be permitted to use the expression, is *the literacy of the whole personality*

Socially considered, the introduction of such practical productive work in education, to be participated in by all the children of the nation, will tend to break down the existing barriers of prejudice between manual and intellectual workers, harmful alike for both. It will also cultivate in the only possible way a true sense of the dignity of labour and of human solidarity—an ethical and moral gain of incalculable significance.

Economically considered, carried out intelligently and efficiently, the scheme will increase the productive capacity of our workers and will also enable them to utilise their leisure advantageously

From the strictly educational point of view, greater concreteness and reality can be given to the knowledge acquired by children by making some significant craft the basis of education. Knowledge will thus become related to life, and its various aspects will be correlated with one another.

Two Necessary Conditions

In order to secure these advantages it is essential that two conditions should be carefully observed Firstly, the craft or productive work chosen should be rich in educative possibilities I should find natural points of correlation with human activities and interests and should extend into the whole content of the school curriculum. Later in the report, in making our recommendations on the choice of basic crafts, we have given special attention to this point, and we would urge all who are in any way concerned with this scheme to bear this important consideration in mind. The object of this new educational scheme is not primarily the production of craftsmen able to practise some craft *mechanically*, but rather the exploitation for educative purposes of the resources implicit in craft work. This demands that productive work should not only form a part of the school curriculum—its craft side—but should also inspire the method of teaching all other subjects. Stress should be laid on the principles of co-operative activity, planning, accuracy, initiative and individual responsibility in learning. This is what Mahatma Gandhi means when he says: "Every handicraft has to be taught not merely mechanically as is done to-day, but scientifically. That is, the child should learn the why and wherefore of every process"—of course through personal observation and experience. By merely adding to the curriculuse one other subject—weaving, spinning or carpentry—while all other subjects are still taught in the traditional way we shall, we are convinced, encourage passive assimilation and the division of knowledge into unintelligible water-tight compartments, and thus defeat the real purpose and spirit of this scheme.

The Ideal of Citizenship Implicit in the Scheme

We are also anxious that teachers and educationists who undertake this new educational venture should clearly realise the ideal of citizenship inherent in it. In modern India citizenship is destined to become increasingly democratic in the social, political, economic and cultural life of the country. The new generation must at least have an opportunity of understanding its own problems and rights and obligations. A completely new system is necessary to secure the minimum of education for the intelligent exercise of the rights and duties of citizens. Secondly, in modern times, the intelligent citizen must be an active member of society, able to repay in the form of some useful service what he owes to it as a member of an organised community.

An education which produces drags and parasites—whether rich or poor—stands condemned. It not only impairs the productive capacity and efficiency of society but also engenders a dangerous and immoral mentality. This scheme is designed to produce workers, who will look upon all kinds of useful work—including manual labour, even scavenging—as honourable, and who will be both able and willing to stand on their own feet.

Such a close relationship of the work done at school to the work of the community will also enable the children to carry the outlook and attitudes acquired in the school environment into the wider world outside. Thus the new scheme which we are advocating will aim at giving the citizens of the future a keen sense of personal worth, dignity and efficiency, and will strengthen in them the desire for self-improvement and social service in a co-operative community.

In fine, the scheme envisages the idea of a co-operative community, in which the motive of social service will dominate all the activities of children during the plastic years of childhood and youth. Even during the period of school education, they will feel that they are directly and personally co-operating in the great experiment of national education.

The Self-Supporting Basis of the Scheme

It seems necessary to make a few remarks about the "self-supporting" aspect of the scheme, as this has occasioned considerable misunderstanding. We wish to make it quite clear that we consider the scheme of basic education outlined by the Wardha Conference and here elaborated, to be sound in itself. Even if it is not "self-supporting" in any sense, it should be accepted as a matter of sound educational policy and as an urgent measure of national reconstruction. It is fortunate, however, that this good education will also incidentally cover the major portion of its running expenses. We hope to show presently that within the scope prescribed by the Wardha Conference, it can do so to a considerable extent (see the Appendix) The Appendix gives the figures of the contribution to be made towards its own current expenditure by a school with the basic craft of spinning and weaving. (See p. 380).

So far as the craft was concerned we had little difficulty in making those calculations, as expert work in this line has been going on for the last seventeen years under Mahatma Gandhi's guidance. The wages in this case have been calculated on the basis of standard and fixed by the All-India Spinners' Association in Maharashtra. In the case of other crafts, calculation may be made on the basis of the prevailing market rates. Mahatmaji has definitely suggested that the State should guarantee to take over, at prices calculated as above, the product of the work done by its future citizens in school, a view which we heartily endorse. ".. every school can be made self-supporting, the condition being that the State takes over the manufactures of these schools" (*Harijan*, July 31, 1937).

Apart from its financial implications, we are of opinion that a measurable check will be useful in ensuring thoroughness and efficiency in teaching and in the work of the students. Without some such check, there is great danger of work becoming slack and losing all educative value. This is only too obvious from the experience of educationists who from time to time have introduced "manual training" or other "practical activities" in their schools.

But here we must sound a necessary note of warning. There is an obvious danger that in the working of this scheme the economic aspect may be stressed at the sacrifice of the cultural and educational objectives. Teachers may devote most of their attention and energy to extracting the maximum amount of labour from children, whilst neglecting the intellectual, social and moral implications and possibilities of craft training. This point must be constantly kept in mind in the training of teachers as well as in direction of the work of the supervisory staff and must colour all educational activity.

Section II. Objectives

It has not been possible, during the short time at our disposal, to prepare a detailed correlated programme of work for the whole period of seven years. However, we have tried to put down, under separate heads, the objectives of the new schools. In future each Provincial Board of Education must include an expert curriculum maker, who will be responsible for preparing the detailed correlated programme for the complete seven years course of studies. As a result of their valuable observations in the new schools, the teachers, working under competent supervision and guidance, will be able to supply the details which will serve as a basis for this work. We

are, however, attempting to make a correlated syllabus in broad outlines which will form an annexe to this report.

Main Outlines of the Seven Years' Course

1. *The Basic Craft* :

Such reasonable skill should be attained in the handicraft chosen, as would enable the pupil to pursue it as an occupation after finishing his full course.

The following may be chosen as basic crafts in various schools : (a) Spinning and weaving. (b) Carpentry. (c) Agriculture. (d) Fruit and vegetable gardening. (e) Leather work.

(f) Any other craft for which local and geographical conditions are favourable and which satisfies the conditions mentioned above (p. 367).

Even where an industry other than spinning and weaving or agriculture is the basic craft, the pupils will be expected to attain a minimum knowledge of carding and spinning with the takli, and a practical acquaintance of easy agricultural work in the local area.

II. Mother-Tongue

The proper teaching of the mother-tongue is the foundation of all education. Without the capacity to speak effectively and to read and write correctly and lucidly, no one can develop precision of thought, of clarity of ideas. Moreover, it is a means of introducing the child to the rich heritage of his people's ideas, emotions and aspirations, and can therefore be made a valuable means of social education, whilst also instilling right ethical and moral values. Also, it is a natural outlet for the expression of the child's aesthetic sense and appreciation, and if proper approach is adopted, the study of literature becomes a source of joy and creative appreciation. Mere specifically, by the end of seven years' course, the following objectives should be achieved :

1. The capacity to converse freely, naturally and confidently about the objects, people and happenings within the child's environment. This capacity should gradually develop into :
2. The capacity to speak lucidly, coherently and relevantly on any given topic of every-day interest.
3. The capacity to read silently, intelligently and with speed written passages of average difficulty. (This capacity should be developed at least to such an extent that the student may read newspapers, and magazines of every-day interest.)
4. The capacity to read aloud—clearly, expressively and with enjoyment—both prose and poetry. (The student should be able to discard the usual lifeless, monotonous and bored style of reading).
5. The capacity to use the list of contents and the index and to consult dictionaries and reference books, and generally to utilise the library as a source of information and enjoyment,
6. The capacity to write legibly, correctly, and with reasonable speed.
7. The capacity to describe in writing, in a simple and clear style, every-day happenings and occurrences, e. g., to make reports of meetings held in the village for some co-operative purposes.
8. The capacity to write personal letters and business communications of a simple kind.
9. An acquaintance with, and interest in, the writings of standard authors, through a study of their writings or extracts from them.

III. Mathematics

The objective is to develop in the pupil the capacity to solve speedily the ordinary number of geometrical problems arising in connection with his craft and with his home and community life. Pupils should also gain a knowledge of business practice and book-keeping.

We feel that these objectives can be attained by a knowledge of and adequate practice in :

The four simple rules ; the four compound rules ; fractions ; decimals ; the rule of three ; the use of the unitary method ; interest ; elements of mensuration : practical geometry, the rudiments of book-keeping.

The teaching should not be confined merely to the facts and operations of number. It should be closely co-ordinated with life situations arising out of the basic handicraft and out of the great variety of actual problems in the life of the

school and the community. Measurements of quantities and values in these connections would supply ample opportunity for the development of the reasoning capacities of the pupils.

IV. Social Studies

The objectives are :

I. To develop a broad human interest in the progress of mankind in general and of India in particular.

2. To develop in the pupil a proper understanding of his social and geographical environment , and to awaken the urge to improve it.

3. To inculcate the love of the motherland, reverence for its past and a belief in its future destiny as the home of a united co-operative society based on love, truth and justice.

4. To develop a sense of the rights and responsibilies of citizenship.

5 To develop the individual and social virtues which make a man a reliable associate and trusted neighbour.

6. To develop mutual respect for the world religions.

A course in history, in geography, in civics and in current events, combined with a reverential study of the different religions of the world showing how in essentials they meet in perfect harmony, will help to achieve these objectives. The study should begin with the child's own environment and its problems. His interest should be awakened in the manifold ways in which men supply their different wants. This should be made a starting point to arouse their curiosity about the life and work of men and women.

1. A simple outline of Indian history should be given. The chief landmarks in the development of the social and cultural life of the people should be stressed, and the gradual movement towards greater political and cultural unity be shown. Emphasis should be laid on the ideals of love, truth and justice, of co-operative endeavour, national solidarity, and the equality and brotherhood of man. The treatment of the subject should be chiefly biographical in the lower, and cultural and social in the upper grades. Care should be taken to prevent pride in the past from degenerating into an arrogant and exclusive nationalism. Stories of the great liberators of mankind and their victories or peace should find a prominent place in the curriculum. Emphasis should be laid on lessons drawn from life showing the superiority of non-violence in all its phases and its concomitant virtues over violence, fraud and deceit. The history of the Indian national awakening combined with a living appreciation of Indias's struggle for social, political and economic, should prepare the pupils to bear their share of the burden joyfully and to stand the strain and stress of the period of transition. Celebrations of national festivals and of the "National Week" should be a feature in the life of every school.

2. The pupil should become acquainted with the public utility services, the working of the panchayat and the co-operative society, the duties of the public servants the constitution of the District Board or Municipality, the use and significance of the vote, and with the growth and significance of representative institutions. Training under this head should be as realistic as possible and should be brought into close relationship with actual life. Self-governing institutions should be introduced in the school. The people should be kept in intelligent touch with important current events through the co-operative study of some paper, preferably brought out by the school community.

3. The course in social studies should also include a study of world geography in outline, with a fuller knowledge of India and its relations with other lands. It should consist of :

(a) Study of the plant, animal and human life in the home region and in other lands as controlled by geographical enviroment (stories, description, picture-study, practical observation and discussion, with constant reference to local facts and phenomena).

(b) Study and representation of weather phenomena ; (mainly outdoor world e.g. direct observation of the sure changes in the height of the noonday sun at different times of the year ; reading of the weather-vane ; thermometer and barometer ; methods of recording temperature and pressure ; records of rainy and dry days and of the rainfall ; prevailing wind directions ; duration of day and night in different months etc.)

(c) Map-study and map-making ; the world a globe ; study of local topography ; making of and study of plans of the neighbourhood ; recognition of conventional signs ; use of the atlas and its index.

(d) Study of the means of transport and communication correlated with industries and life.

(e) Study of occupations , local agriculture and industry (visits to fields and factories) ! economic self-sufficiency and inter-dependence of different regions ; types of agriculture and industry favoured by geographical environment; the principal industries of India.

A. General Science

The objectives are :

1. To give pupils an intelligent and appreciative outlook on nature.
2. To form in the pupils habits of accurate observation and of testing experience by experiment.
3. To enable them to understand the important scientific principles exemplified in

(a) The natural phenomena around. (b) In the application of science to the service of man.

4. To introduce them to the more important incidents in the lives of the great scientists whose sacrifices in the cause of truth make a powerful appeal to the growing mind.

The curriculum should include the following topics from various sciences.

A Nature Study

(a) A knowledge of plants, crops, animals and birds in the environment.

(b) A knowledge of the changes of seasons and their effect on the activity of plants, animals, birds and man.

c. A knowledge of crops in different seasons.

B. Botany

a. Different parts of plants and their functions.

b. Processes of germination, growth and propagation.

c. Work on the school garden and the fields around to give the pupils an understanding of the effects of differing conditions of moisture, heat and light, and of the different qualities of seeds and manures.

C. Zoology

A study of germs, insects, reptiles and birds as friends and foes of man.

D. Physiology

The human body, its organs and functions.

E. Hygiene

a. Personal hygiene ; cleanliness of teeth, tongue, nails, eyes, hair, nose, skin, clothes.
b. Cleanliness of the home and the village ; sanitation ; disposal of night-soil.
c. Pure air ; the function of trees in its purification ; proper breathing.
e. Food hygienic and unhygienic ; balanced diets.
f. First aid and simple remedies.
g. Common infections ; contagious diseases ; how to safeguard against them.
h. Purity of conduct as a preservative of health.

F. Physical Culture

Games, athletics, drill (Deshi games to be encouraged).

G. Chemistry

Of air, water, acids, alkalis and salts.

H. A Knowledge of the Stars

Showing direction and time at night.

VI. Drawing

The objectives are :

1. To train the eye in the observation and discrimination of forms and colours.
2. To develop the memory for forms.
3. To cultivate a knowledge of and appreciation for the beautiful in nature and in art.
4. To draw out the capacity for tasteful design and decoration.
5. To develop the capacity to make working drawings of objects to be constructed.

These objectives can be obtained by :

a. Drawings made by children to illustrate read or observed material.

b. Object and memory drawings, e. g , drawings of plants and of animal and human forms (correlated with work in general science, handicraft, etc).

3. Designing.
4. Scale drawing, graphs and pictorial graphs.

The work in drawing during the first four years should be correlated chiefly with work in reading and pictorial representation in nature study and the craft. During the last three years emphasis may be laid on design and decoration and mechanical drawing, so as to enable pupils to make correct working drawings.

VII. Music

The objective is to teach the pupils a number of beautiful songs and to cultivate in them a love for beautiful music. The child's natural sense of rhythm should be developed by teaching him to keep his own time by beating with the hand. Walking in time to a fixed rhythm can be a great aid in achieving this.

Care should be taken to select only the best and most inspiring songs, artistic interpretation of some healthy and elevating theme. Special emphasis should be placed on group or choral singing.

VIII. Hindustani

The object of including Hindustani as a compulsory subject in the school curriculum is to ensure that all the children educated in these national schools may have reasonable acquaintance with a common 'lingua franca'. As adult citizens they should be able to co-operate with their fellow-countrymen belonging to any part of the country. In teaching the language the teacher should in various ways quicken in the students the realisation that this language is the most important product of the cultural contact of the Hindus and Muslims in India. It is the repository—in its more advanced forms—of their best thoughts and aspirations. They should learn to take pride in its richness and vitality and should feel the desire to serve it devotedly.

In Hindustani-speaking areas this language will be the mother-tongue, but the students as well as the teachers will be required to learn both the scripts, so that they may read books written in Urdu as well as in Hindi. In non-Hindustani speaking areas, where the provincial language will be the mother-tongue, the study of Hindustani will be compulsory during the 5th and 6th years of school life, but the children will have the choice of learning either one or the other script. However, in the case of teachers, who have to deal with children of both kinds, knowledge of both the scripts is desirable.

At any rate, every public school must make adequate provision for the teaching of both scripts.

In general outlines, the syllabus of studies will be the same for boys and girls up to the 5th grade of the school. In grades 3 and 5 the syllabus in general science should be so modified as to include Domestic Science for girls. In grades 6 and 7 the girls will be allowed to take an advanced course in domestic science in place of the basic craft.

The All India Educational Conference

Calcutta—27th. to 30th. December 1937

"Education is not magic ; it is no use blaming it if it does not transform lead into gold in enormous quantities and with ample speed. It is one of the many factors including historical forces and conditions that shape a people's character and destiny. It is not the sole all-sufficing factor which should be held responsible for every defect in the nation"—in these remarkable words Mr *C. R Reddi*, Vice Chancellor of the Andhra University, defended the cause of learning against criticisms levelled to-day at the modern system of education in this country, when, on the **27th. December 1937**, he presided over the deliberations of the All-India Educational Conference which on that day commenced its session at the Senate House of the Calcutta University

"What I would like to point out to you is that our entire national life depends on the rapid spread of education among our masses. To whatever field of life we turn—of business, of industry, of health service, of national defence, or even of the higher cultural development, you will find that the vital force is ebbing away, owing to the drying up of the flow at the source, which after all is the human material of the country", observed Sir *Nilratan Sircar* is performing the inauguration of the Conference.

"Speaking of Bengal" said Mr *Sanat Kumar Roy Chowdhury*, Mayor of Calcutta and the Chairman of the Reception Committee, "there are clouds in the horizon of education which threaten to retard if not destroy the basis of sound education in the province. I mean the introduction of communalism in education and control of education by non-educationists."

The assemblage, large and distinguished, was worthy of the momentous occasion. Savants and educationists gathered from all parts of India and from beyond the seas to participate in the weighty deliberations that were expected to give a new orientation to India's present system of education.

The proceedings commenced with "Bande Mataram" song by a number of girls of Bharati Vidyalaya, the assemblage standing in reverential silence

Messages conveying good wishes and desiring success of the Conference from Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. B. N. Seal, the Hon'ble Mr B G. Kher, Sir Akbar Hydari, Mr. J. H. Parkinson. Education Commissioner with the Government of India, Mr. Syama Prosad Mukerjee and others were read at the meeting.

Mr. Reddi's Presidential Address

Criticism, observed Mr. *Reddi* in the course of his address, against the present system of education had been abroad as it always had been in the past. To day, in some places it was blowing as gentle breeze whereas in some parts of the country it was assuming the dimension of a storm. He did not know whether it was going to uproot anything. But he believed that after the first few shocks were over things would be found not very different from what they had been till now, and even they might be better in some respects.

Proceeding, Mr. *Reddi* wondered whether there was any system of education which was absolutely free from all defects. What Mr. Reddi wished to emphasise was that the educationists should welcome criticism pointing to the defects of the process and the achievements All these must be taken to heart in the right spirit and one must try to improve since educational life was matter of growth. The principle of life was man must either grow or decay He could not afford to stand still , for stagnancy meant decay and death People were going about consciously or subconsciously being told that everything in present education was bad and a new departure must be made and a new system should be established.

"To say that an educational system is a failure is at best a partial truth and, generally speaking worse than an untruth. On analysis it will mean that the society itself is a failure and not its educational organisation which is one amongst may factors that mould the character of the younger generations. It cannot be that the home, parental influence, the influence of society, culture, tradition, historical conditions, public life are all perfect and progressive and education is a failure. In such circumstances even a bad system of education will not result in miserable products

because the products will be the handworking of the society as a whole. And when the society is strong and vigorous the younger generation also will be strong and vigorous. Do our critics mean that in the Hindu society, for instance, all these other influences that I have referred above are healthy and good and because educational system is bad there has resulted, as one of my friends deplored just now, in a youth without character and in a people who are not real men and women? The proposition is only to be stated for its absurdity to become transparent.

"It was in 1870, the speaker proceeded, that compulsory elementary education was introduced in England but the English race was a mighty power on earth long before 1870. Education is not magic; it is no use blaming it if it does not transform lead into gold in enormous quantities and with ample speed. It is one of the many factors including historical forces and conditions that shape a people's character and destiny. It is not the sole all-sufficing factor which would be held responsible for every defects in the nation. For instance, if in your homes and parental calculations you set a high value on dowries, can you blame the professor of English literature who explained to his students all the romantic novels and poetry of the West but he failed to convert our young men and women into romantics of the western model instead of so many dowryseekers of our native pattern?"

Dealing with the Wardha educational scheme formulated by Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Reddi pointed out that the scheme contained four essential points namely (1) withdrawal of state support from University and higher education (2) living Universities and technological institutions to be organised by private corporations or the industrial firms concerned, (3) making elemenatary education up to the age of 14 compulsory and universal and in order to find the finance and teachers necessary to give it a directly industrial basic turn so that saleable commodities could be produced and thus education may be made self-supporting and (4) to conscript educated men and women so that they might serve as teachers for a stipulated period.

Mahatma Gandhi, the speaker incidentally remarked, was by no means fanatic about his ideas like most other people. He would only invite criticism but would encourage them. Whatever might be the defects of the scheme it could not be denied that it had been produced by one of the dynamic personalities of the world. When Mahatma Gandhi invited his opinion as to the Wardha scheme, Mr. Reddi pointed out to Mahatmaji that he was going to transplant "Ashrama" education in the place of the system of education set up by the modern civilised world. The speaker was glad to note that the scheme had in a large measure been modified to suit modern conditions as a result of criticism advanced by the educationists. It was true that Plato's "Republic" or Moore's "Utopia" could not be adopted in practical life. But who could deny the contribution they had made to human progress?

In the report of the Committee it had been clearly pointed out that the formation of a non-violent, and non-aggressive society was to be the ideal of education. People might ask themselves if such a society was possible. All historical developments, it had got to remembered, had tended towards the increase of the strength of the society. To become strong had been the aim in every society Consciously or unconsciously, production of power and development of strength had been the motive of all civilisation. Ideally it was no doubt very good: but how were people going to create a non-violent society? If desires were not limited, if men wanted to enjoy in an inordiate measure, if wants were not minimised, naturally there could be no non-violent society. If men minimised their wants, if their wants were satisfied easily, if they were to produce only what they could consume, naturally there could be no motive for aggression or competition which was prevelent in every sphere to-day. Throughout the original scheme there had been talk of doing away with science and applied sciences. In fact, exploitation to-day of one by another was carried through sciences. But the applied science could be made fruitful in another way, by employing it to the development of men, now being huset for purposes of aggression and destruction. If these could be put into practice a new age would be introduced putting an end to all violence and aggression. If might be that some of the advocates of the schemes might be able to introduce this new development in the world. For prophets came not to accept existing conditions but to create something new.

Proceeding, Mr. Reddi observed that the history of modern education in India would not fail to mention the lead that Bengal gave to the progress of education. It was Raja Ram Mohun Roy who first pointed out the necessity of scientific and

English education. It was a happy augury that attempts were being made to impart training in vernacular. But if the medium was to be in vernacular, let the matter be through the world of literature. It was Sir Ashutosh who gave Indians a real university in this country. Indians had every reason to be proud of men like Sir Ashutosh, Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose and Sir B. N. Seal.

So long as the University of Calcutta was a merely a degree giving centre Government liked it very much. But it fell into disfavour as soon as Sir Ashutosh began to introduce reforms and extend its activities.

Regarding controversies as to the proposed control of secondary education in Bengal, Mr. Reddi said that already that controversy was having repurcussion throughout India The only way, he humorously remarked, is to stop these bickerings regarding secondary education was to make education entirely a matter of secondary consideration.

Without intellectual leadership, Mr. C R Reddi concluded, no nationalism could flourish. It was the University alone that could supply the intellectual leadership. To put a stop to University education would be committing a suicide by the nation.

Second Day—Calcutta—28th. December 1937

The merits and demerits of the Wardha Educational scheme as set forth by Mahatma Gandhi formed the subject matter of an interesting discussion on the **28th. December** when at the Senate House under the presidency of Mr. C. R. Reddi, the Conference held its second day's session.

At the hand of its protagonists the scheme came in for unstinted praise and admiration while the opponents had nothing but unreserved condemnation and denunciation for it. Some of the speakers, however, followed a via media declaring that the time had not yet arrived when a verdict could be passed upon the project

"Mahatma Gandhi" said Principal *Saiydin* of Aligarh who initiated the decision, "has suggested a way of transforming the existing "book schools" into "work schools" thereby rescuing children from the intolerable boredom of a purely academic and passive education. Above all, the scheme has a profound psychological value inasmuch as it lifts educational problems of the country to an entirely new plane."

Mr. *Kuppuswami Ayenger* declared that any system of education whose basic idea was to train the people to a particular vocation could not form a foundation for future progress

Mr. *C. Chandrasekharam* thought that the time had not come when the present conference could pass a verdict on merits of the scheme It was necessary that the scheme should be studied in all its details when that would be forthcoming.

The discussion however came to a close without any conclusion being arrived at.

Fourth Day—Calcutta—30th. December 1937

The Conference concluded its deliberations on the **30th December**, Prof. P. Shesadri taking the chair in absence of Mr. C. R Reddi, President of the Conference.

As many as twenty-one resolutions were adopted, the most important of which were the adoption of mother tongue as the medium of instruction at all stages of education, exploration of possibilities of a more extensive use of Basic English in India, provision of films suitable for children and juveniles, organisation of an independent and national system of scouting and girl guiding, establishment of open air schools and starting of industrial colonies for the relief of educated unemployment.

Text of Resolutions

The following resolutions were adoped at the conference :—

This Conference places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the death of Sir J. C. Bose whose valuable contribution to Science enhanced Indian prestige before the civilised world and whose noble life was dedicated to the higher spirit of service.

This Conference expresses its grief at the loss the country has sustained by the premature death of Sir Syed Ross Massood, who rendered valuable services to the cause of Indian Education as Director of Public Instruction in the Nizam's Dominions and as Education Minister of Bhopal and Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University.

This Conference records with great regret the death of Mr. K. P. Jayswal, an eminent worker in the field of Indian History and Archæology whose researches made a valuable contribution to Oriental studies.

This Conference places on record its sense of loss at the death of Pandit H. N. Wanchoo of the Educational Service of the United Provinces, who was prominently associated with the All-Asia Educational Conference held at Benares in 1930.

This Conference requests the Government of India to arrange for an adequate representation of the All-India Federation of Educational Associations on the Central Advisory Board of Education.

This Conference requests the Central Advisory Board of Education to move the railway authorities to grant concession to educational workers travelling to attend educational conferences.

This Conference requests the Provincial and State Governments to grant facilities to teachers of non-Government educational institutions to enable them to stand for elections to the Legislatures, Municipal and District Boards, and Boards and Committees of Education.

This Conference is of opinion that Councils for the registration of qualified teachers should be started in provinces and States of India.

This Conference urges the adoption, as early as possible, of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction at all stages of education.

This Conference desires that the possibility of more extensive use of Basic English in India should be explored.

This Conference is of opinion that the governments of provinces and States should recognise the value of visual and rural education by granting facilities for the purchase of film apparatus and radio sets for schools.

This Conference is of opinion that there is urgent need for provision of films suitable for children and juveniles and requests the Government of India and the provincial Governments and the States to take step in this direction.

This Conference welcomes the recent move for having an independent organisation for India to have a national system of scouting and girl guiding with Indian names and forms which may be affiliated to the International Scouting Association.

This Conference requests the Provincial and State Governments to encourage educational tours both for teachers and pupils by creating special facilities regarding finances.

This Conference requests the Provincial and State Governments and Universities to ensure in recognised institutions that (a) no teacher is removed from service on a confidential report; (b) no teacher is denied the right to see a report the result of which has meant the teacher's removal from service, (c) no teacher is removed from service without the reason for such removal being given in writing; (d) no teacher is removed from service without provision for appeal to a duly constituted Arbitration Board No teacher is removed from service on a plea of increasing the value of the post to attract a better qualified teacher.

This Conference views with alarm the insecurity of tenure prevalent among the staff of non-government educational institutions and requests the governments of the provinces and the States and Universities to include in their Education Codes definite rules for appointment, removal from service and leave, to be obligatory on all recognised institutions.

This Conference urges upon the different provincial and State Education Departments to recognise the scope for open air schools wherever possible to encourage the starting of such in selected localities and to relax rules regarding buildings to allow non-official experiments to be conducted without handicaps.

This Conference expresses its grave concern at the backwardness of education among depressed classes and requests the provincial and State governments to sanction special grants for the spread of education among them.

In view of the fact that acute unemployment prevails throughout India among the educated classes and that graduates in all provinces are in a pitiable and miserable condition for lack of employment, this Conference urges strongly all Universities, intermediate Boards and private educational bodies to take steps and find means for starting industrial colonies as has been done by the Punjab Government. The Conference also requests other provincial governments to allot land to such unemployed graduates as may utilise it for agricultural or industrial purposes.

This Conference requests the delegates going to foreign countries and through direct correspondence to others to induce foreign universities, schools and institutions to exchange professors, headmasters and teachers for a period extending over a year or so. A committee formed in India may arrange such an exchange of teachers and professors whenever occasion may arise.

As Brahmacharı Training combines Physical, Moral and Spiritual training with a strong national background and as it has been found suitable for all grades of education, steps should be taken to introduce the movement on as wide a scale as possible, and efforts be made to bring it into line with the proposed national organisation in India and recommends this in all parts of India.

The New Education fellowship Conference

Calcutta—29th. December 1937

The New Education Fellowship Conference met on the **29th. December** under the auspices of the All-India Education Conference at the Senate House, Calcutta. The hon. Mr. Justice *C. C. Biswas* presiding said Education to day fails to develop the whole man ; it trims the wick of intellect, but does not kindle the lamp of soul. The result is a mal-adjustment, which the New Education Fellowship attempts to correct and reform. It views education as a process of development."

Rector L. Zilliacus, leader of the New Fellowship Delegation, addressing the conference explained that the Fellowship, founnded in 1915 in the dark days of the War, had now attracted adherents throughout the world.

Dr Tagore's Message

Dr. *Rabindranath Tagore* sent the following message to the New Education Fellowship Conference :

'Though my frail health deprives me of the privilege of being present in the midst of this distinguished gathering, I have great pleasure in welcoming you all on this occasion, which is distinguished by the presence of our guests from overseas. I am particularly happy to note the international character of this conference for though each country may have its particular problems claiming particular solutions, true education, like all great arts, must have its basis in principles that condition human development everywhere. It may be my bias as an artist, but education seems to me essentially an art whose problem we solve not by discussing systems but by discovering creative sources of inspiration. When this source is a human one it dwells in a teacher who is ever a student and, therefore, through whom a perennial intellectual eagerness acts as a dynamic force spreading in its surroundings a disinterested impulse for knowledge.

'Those who have garnered for good their stock-in-trade as school masters and shut their minds against the growing harvest of truth can only reproduce their lessons as gramophone records, repeating with dull accuracy stale passages from second-hand stores. They burden the minds but seldom nourish it. Teachers should be ideal comrades of those whom they teach and through the course of teaching their own minds should be stirred in sympathy with the stirrings of the young minds. The joy of imbibing a lesson oneself ought to find its true expression in infusing it in others. When we see such a living enthusiasm lacking in those who act as guides to their pupils, who are ready to raise to them ruling rods from a distance but not offer them the helping hand by their side, as too often is the case, they should be reminded that they have chosen a wrong vocation and should for the sake of humanity change it without delay for that of a jail warder. A genuine sympathy and respect for the students create an atmosphere of freedom in the classes which is indispensable to the commerce of culture which is named education.

'Another stream of inspiration ever flowing towards us comes from the heart of mother Nature where she is generous in her gift of light and sky, in the colourful

pageantry of her seasons. I can never forget the misery which I suffered as a boy when I was daily deprived of human sympathy within the school walls and Nature's ministration of beauty around them. Young minds gradually forget their need of these vitamines of life and are taught to rely upon some substitute fare of lessons considered to be principal elements in the muscle building of the intellect. I believe that it is imperatively necessary that all important educational institutions should be founded in those places where Nature reveals her eternal majesty of beauty and grandeur according to which our places of pilgrimage have generally been chosen in India. Consecration of our life waits to be received from Nature's own hand and it should accompany our training of heart, mind and imagination, a training which is not only for the production of timber of a high market value, if mind could be compared to a tree, but for exhibiting the wealth of its flowers which contributes to the joy of creation, often without our noticing it.

'Another necessary factor of education is the environment of national mind. But unfortunately we have not had the opportunity of cultivating it in India for over a century and such a privation can never be compensated for by the establishment of law and order, which our Government has so often boasted of, and which is merely an imposition from outside, superficial in its genuineness. In the olden days in India, there was a uniformity of culture, having its guardians and centres of distribution in different places which may be called university towns. Like as in the organ of the heart, the life-blood of the common culture was generated and kept pure in those places where great scholars gathered and owned their sacred responsibility to the society to offer their learning freely to those who came to claim it.

'To-day our few universities are like oases in the heart of a vast desert of illiteracy, whose gifts are for a few, producing a language and a mental diet that remain foreign to the multitude. Such a meagre education, product of very narrow reservation plots, often has reactionary symptoms on the nature of those who are classed as the educated, the strong gravitational pull of their surroundings violently dragging them back into the dark cell of mediaeval unreason. Such an education can never attain its depth of reality and when our foreign critics laugh at some manifestion of our imperfection, very often turning it into a propaganda for humiliating us before the world, they seem to be blissfully ignorant of their own responsibility for such a tragically stupid result.

'Nor may we underrate the great influence exercised on the child's mind by the values that prevail in the society in which he is born and brought up. If these values be perverted, no sort or amount of formal education can save the child from their destructive effect. For these values affect the mind as subtly and surely as the physical climate on the body. Good education of children is not possible unless good ideals govern the society. Methods of education may be modern and scientific, but they will only chain and debase the mind more effectively if the purposes they serve are ignoble. Educationists, therefore, must remain more or less helpless in an age where collective greed is glorified as patriotism and inhuman butchery is made the measure of heroism.

'I have taken the liberty of drawing your attention to the universal principles that must govern the value of education as an art and determine its success for good or ill. As regards the particular problems that relate to this country I leave them for your mature deliberations which I shall read with great pleasure. My own ideas regarding these problems I have emphasized so often before my countrymen that I am reluctant to reiterate what have come to be regarded as mere platitudes. And platitude, indeed, all ideas tend to become, unless worked out in some living form. I am therefore glad that some of you will be coming after the conference to our Ashrama at Santiniketan, where I may be able to show you how I have struggled for the last thirty years to create for our children an appropriate atmosphere, giving it the principal place in our programme of teaching For atmosphere must be for developing the sensitiveness of soul, for affording mind its true freedom of sympathy.

'Now that Mahatma Gandhi has taken up the cause of mass education in earnest we may be sure of great results in the near future. Already great interest has been roused in the country and controversy provoked over the question whether education can be made self-supporting. Before you too are likewise provoked in violent agreement or disagreement with the proposal, I would remind you that Gandhiji's genius is essentially practical, which means that his practice is immeasurably superior to his theory. As the scheme stands on paper, it seems to assume

that material utility, rather than development of personality, is the end of education, in the true sense of the word may be still available for a chosen few who can afford to pay for it, the utmost that the masses can have is to be trained to view the world they live in the perspective of the particular craft they are to employ for their livelihood. It is true that as things are, even that is much more than what the masses are actually getting but it is nevertheless unfortunate that, even in our ideal scheme, education should be doled out in insufficient rations to the poor, while the feast remains reserved for the rich. I cannot congratulate a society or a nation that calmly excluded play from the curriculum of the majority of its children's education and gives in its stead a vested interest to the teachers in the market value of the pupils' labour. But these defects seem such only on paper, for no man loves the children of the poor more than the Mahatma. We may be sure that when the scheme is actually worked out by him we shall discover in it only one more testimony to the genius of this practical sage whose deeds surpass his words.'

The All India Muslim Students' Conference

Calcutta—27th. and 28th. December 1937

Mr. Kabir's Presidential Address

"Without economic and social freedom, political liberty has little content. Yet on the other hand, political liberty must have a basis of economic and social freedom," observed Prof *Humayun Kabir*, presiding over the All-India Muslim Students' Conference held in Calcutta on the **27th. December 1937.** He added that political liberty sought its fulfilment in economic equality and these jointly led to a realisation of social justice and freedom.

There was no denying, Mr. Kabir continued, that the history of the last 100 or 150 years was for Indian Mussalmans a history of degradation and deterioration. The policy of utter non-co-operation which Muslim India followed was no doubt natural and perhaps even unavoidable, but it was unwise and the heritage of self-centred defeatism which it had left behind was fraught with the gravest consequences for the political fate, not only of Indian Muslims but of India as a whole.

Mr. Kabir emphasised the futility of pacts and treaties between different communities and doubted if they guaranteed the security of the Mussalmans. India formed only a part of the world system and must, therefore, react to every Government in the world. Mr. Kabir alluded at length to the unemployment and poverty prevalent all over the country, drew a contrast between the conditions here and in England and Germany and suggested a thorough revision of the principles on which society was based.

Concluding, Mr. Kabir remarked that the struggle for liberty was only a first step in that endeavour and that the first step should not be taken till there was one common solidarity and one common brotherhood.

Opposing the formation of a separate Muslim organisation, namely, the All India Muslim Students' Federation, over which Mr. M. A. Jinnah is presiding to-day, Mr. Kabir said that a political leader of the capacity and individual courage of Mr. Jinnah should not care to accept for the community the rough and tumble of free competition but must for ever advise it to avoid the political struggle till it had first become strong. "Even if we accept their general premises and their desire for the protection of the special interests of our community, the methods which they advocate are not suited to those ends. In fact, they are bound to lead to a defeat of the purposes which they propose."

The student community in the country, Mr. Kabir continued, was, therefore faced with two alternatives, namely, the satisfaction of the self-interest of a few individuals through communal organisations and pacts or an endeavour to realise our common humanity in an attempt to reconstruct society in the interest of the masses who till now, in history, had always been deluded and oppressed. The Muslim

students to-day must stand shoulder to shoulder with their brothers in other countries and communities, solving the common problems of the world.

Resolution

The Conference passed a resolution, declaring that it was detrimental to the interests of Muslim students as well as to the student community in general to organise themselves on communal lines and expressing the opinion that it was through an All-India student body, embracing Hindus, Muslims and other communities that the Student Movement could best be conducted.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—28th. December 1937

The Conference concluded its deliberations after adopting several interesting resolutions:

(1) Urging the removal of repressive laws at present in force in India;

(2) demanding reform of the system of examinations whereby persons who fail in one subject may appear in that subject alone at a special examination held at the beginning of the next session;

(3) welcoming the move for Hindu-Muslim unity inaugurated by the Nawab of Murshidabad;

(4) requesting the authorities of the Aligarh University to change the present University monogram which contains the symbol of British imperialism and replace it by one which may be more conducive to the growth of self-respect and nationalism among the students of the University;

(5) urging the Calcutta University authorities to change the present university monogram since it is unacceptable to a section of the countrymen;

(6) emphatically protesting against the perpetuation of the supposed Black Hole tragedy and demanding its immediate removal to the Museum and

(7) urging upon all the Provincial Governments to issue immediate instructions that in view of the fact that the story of the Black Hole tragedy is a mere invention of the British historians in the interest of imperialism, all the text-books in primary and secondary schools be revised and history books be re-written from a progressive and national point of view.

The All India Muslim Students' Federation

1st. Session—Calcutta—27th. & 28th. December 1937

The Opening Speech

The first session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation commenced in Calcutta on the **27th. December 1937.**

Syed Abbul Aziz, ex-Minister of Bihar, opening the session, confessed he was most unwilling either to preside or to inaugurate the Conference. His reluctance was not due to lack of sympathy for students or indifference to public interests. He doubted the wisdom and the necessity of having an organisation for Muslim students only and the prospect of success of their scheme. He still doubted the latter. He, however, realised that students could not escape the environment in which they lived. In this chaotic condition of religious, political, social and economic life, Muslim youths had not begun to bestir themselves a minute too soon. Many problems cried out for solution. Mr. Aziz urged to try to remedy the back-wardness of their community and co-operate with others in all matters calculated to advance the prosperity and happiness of the people generally.

Mr. Haq's Address

The Premier Mr. *Faxlul Huq*, delivering personally his message to the Federation, referred to his recent tour of Eastern Bengal districts and said he was practically boycotted by representatives of the press, whereas Ministers in Congress provinces

obtained the widest publicity. If reports of his activity at all appeared, they were, he said, distorted and misleading accounts. "This propaganda is carried on simply for the reason he was a Muslim". It was communalism of the worst type, he said adding: "I have got a stern rod for those who preach communalism and disturb the peace of the country". Mr. *Huq* advised the delegates to avoid all separatist tendencies. They were surrounded by enemies on all sides he said, and urged that they must be ready for a fight which he foresaw.

Mr. Jinnah's Presidential Address

Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*, who presided, at the outset, made it clear why he accepted the presidentship of the Federation. He added that there was no other course open to them than that they should organise their community and do every thing in their power to raise their people economically, socially and educationally to fight for their political rights.

Mr Jinnah described the circumstances leading to the formation of a separate Muslim student organisation. He was astonished to be informed by some Muslim students that they had been altogether excluded from being office-bearers on the executive of the Federation. This, Mr. Jinnah said, appeared to them to be perplexing.

Under the present conditions, Mr. Jinnah went on, it was difficult for two communities to work in co-operation, harmony, and unity in all matters. It was vicious to dub a man as communalist. If communalism meant that he wanted Muslims to occupy their rightful place in the Government of the country then he was a communalist. Concluding, he said : "While we want to raise ourselves to the highest stature, our hands of co-operation for the good of the country are always fully stretched, but on equal terms. We are not going to be subdued or be camp followers or a subject race of the Hindu Raj." "The Congress High Command must be brought to their senses".

Mr. Jinnah averred that he had not changed in the slightest degree since 1913 when he affirmed that in any constitution that might be framed for the government of the country and by whomsoever framed, there should be adequate safeguards for the rights and interests of Muslims because they were in a minority and it was on that basis that the Lucknow Pact was brought about in 1916 This Pact was part and parcel of both the Congress and the Muslim League and on the basis of it various Unity Conferences were called and other efforts made to find an agreed formula for the purpose of safeguarding the rights and interests of all minorities in India. This went on until the High Command of the Congress, especially during the last five or six years discarded this basic and fundamental item from its policy and programme and took up an attitude that there was no such thing as a minority question at all. He added that one of the fundamental and vital differences between the League and the Congress was that the former not only believed that there was such a thing as a minority question in India but also felt that it was a matter of life and death for the Muslims

The Federation passed a resolution declaring that it stood for the full independence of India under a democratic and federal form of government, composed of autunomous Provinces and States in India, and with adequate sefeguards for protecting the rights of Muslims and other minority communities.

Mr. Jinnah thought that Muslims rightly desired, if they were not prepared to destroy everything that they considered precious, that as a minority they must insist that there must be safeguards to the fullest extent in any constitution which might be adopted hereafter and they agreed that India should be a fully independent and self-governing nation. Many Hindu friends, Mr. Jinnah added, who talked of nationalism, freedom and independence excluded Mahomedans from them. "That is the fundamental and vital difference between the Congress High Command and the Muslim League."

Mr. Jinnah believed that many Hindus agreed with him fully and wholeheartedly but at the present moment their voice was either silenced or drowned and it was merely a cry in the wilderness. "Ours is a just position, Mr. Jinnah maintained, "and if we are united, we have nothing to fear. If we are united, I feel confident that a large body of Hindus will agree with us that the Congress High Command must be brought to their senses. The struggle they are carrying could not be more effective as long as they did not, in the first instance, concentrate and apply their energy and attention on the solution of the minority problem. All talk of the absence of that settlement is bunkum. In order to make Hindus understand the Muslims, the

first thing the Muslims should do is to win self-respect for them by doing the spade work for the advancement of their community. Economically, socially and educationally the condition of the Muslim villager is heart-rending but there is none to come to his rescue." Even the Congress which called itself national did not bother about the Muslim masses until late. They had started what they called Muslim Mass Contact, which really was "massacre contact" For all this there must be Muslim workers who would by their selfless devotion build the foundation of a great society.

Mr. Jinnah concluded by saying that one great difficulty in achieving an inter-communal settlement lay in the fact that till now neither Mahatma Gandhi nor the Congress nor the Hindu Mahasabha had agreed to any single demand of the Muslims. "In the absence of mutual agrement of these points what does an exparte offer on the part of individual members of the Congress High Command avail so long as the Congress is not in possession of the sovereign power ?"

Resolutions

Miss Georgina Hazarika (Assam) moved : "This session of the All-India Muslim Students' Conference realising the necessity for education amongst Muslims girls recommends to the authorities concerned to get co-education introduced in all institutions for primary, post graduate and technical studies". The resolution was rejected by 84 against 70 votes.

By another resolution the Conference condemned the propaganda carried on by the so-called All-India Students' Federation against the Muslim University by appointing an unauthorised commission and protested against the activities of Sir Wazir Hasan and others in the same connection.

Resolutions were also adopted urging the propagation of Islamic education and ideals, starting an English daily under the supervision of Mr. Jinnah, condemning the use of 'Sri' and the lotus on the Calcutta University monogram and requesting the University authorities to remove the same.

The All Bengal Students' Federation

1st. Session—Calcutta—26th. & 27th. December 1937

The utility of the students' movement for attaining freedom of the country, the necessity for the introduction of compulsory free primary education, representation of students in the universities and reduction of tuition and examination fees were stressed by various speakers at the annual conference of the All-Bengal Students Federation which commenced its session at the Albert Hall, Calcutta on the **26th. December 1937**, Mr. *Niharendu Dutta-Majumdar*, M. L. A., presided over the Conference.

Mr. *Badaruddin*, a representative of the Aligarh students, addressing the meeting referred to the All-India Muslim Students Federation which is to take place to-day under the presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah. He said that delegates from Aligarh, Lucknow, Delhi and other places who had been opposed to the formation of this organisation were not going to be allowed to attend the "show" which the communally minded people are staging to-morrow under the presidentship of Mr. Jinnah". The speaker assured the Bengal students that the majority of Muslim students of of Aligarh and other universities were behind the All-India Students' Federation and were opposed to the formation of a separate organisation for Muslim students.

The Presidential Address

Mr. *Dutta Majumdar* in course of his speech said :

We are all interested in education in our country, but do we not find that our masses shall never have free access to the region of the mind till they can assert themselves in our national life ? Are we such innocents as to believe that financial and administrative difficulties explain why education is being denied to them ? Do we

not know that in England, for exomple, the extension of the franchise was the greatest single factor in the remarkable enlargement of educational opportunities from the latter part of the 19th century onwards, and that behind that extension was the story of stupendous effort and organisation on the part of the working classes ? The class in power has always proceeded on the principle that ignorance on the part of the masses strengthen its regime and that when education must be given, it should be such as is least likely to injure its foundations. In the most advanced capitalist countries, education for the masses—and what education it is !—ends at fourteen, aud so is capitalism insured against inconvenient attack. They fear that once the masses get the keys to knowledge, they will rush to take possession of the keys of power. No wonder our masters have been so purposefully niggardly in making educational opportunities available to our people.

How regrettable it is that legislation so hopelessly reactionary as the proposed Secondary Education Bill is being opposed by most people who have expressed themselves on the point from considerations of a wrong angle distorted by communal. The Bill purports to give members of a particular community a large representation on the proposed Board. The interests, after all—educational or otherwise—of all communities are the same. Why must we confuse issues by giving the impression that what is resented most of all is the amount of Muslim representation on the Board ? The thing is that in the first Secondary education, more subservient place the Bill proposes to make than it is at present, to the policy of a Government which, even if we ignore its present membership which is reactionary to the extreme, has to work necessarily within the limitation of a constitution which we are out to reject. And in the second place, the Bill aims at a diminution of the already scandalously niggardly facilities for secondary education available in the province. The students also should be encouraged to agitate that they should, as in the Scandinavian countries, have representation on any Board that may be constituted. That these points are not developed and emphasised very much more than the fact that our educationists are in the main completely devoid of a social sense and incapable of retating educational questions to the burning social and economic problems of the day.

Education is our birthright : it has access to the region of the mind. It must be free and unhampered but capitalism has made it the privilege of the few. It would be appealling if statistics were collected as to the number of suicides committed by despairing young students unable to pay their tution fee. Thousands upon thousands of students, now that the University examinations are approaching, have to find, Heaven knows how, the fees which have got to be paid before they can appear. And all this for the sake of an education which is utterly unrelated to life, which drills platitude into young minds and throws them relentlessly into a competitive struggle for existence where the scales are weighted enormously against them. These are but a few of the many concrete problems which you must agitate, and you can, I am sure, confidently expect the help and sympathy of all who should stand by you when you demand decent people Every one, besides, real culture freedom, when you point out how imperialism, conscious of its peril, bans books and periodicals, and that most tremendous event in history, imperialism, torn by its own inner contradictions and the insoluble antagonism of rival Power groups, cannot long resist the onward march of the people.

And it is with the people—the wide masses of the people—that the students must participate in their great struggle for freedom and for the socialism against the infamous brigands who have shown their dirty paws in Abyssinia, in Spain and in China, and are trying to strangle resurgent movements in different parts of the world. The students must recognise that working class has now become the guardians of culture—for, fundamentally, those who will support the drastic changes necessary for the good life are precisely those who think they will gain by it ; that is to say, the working class and those people who have come to the conclusion that only socialism can satisfy the demands which civilised man ought to and can make of life. The force which alone can bring about the change must be, in the last resort, the organised working class. Students must not look on, especially at present, and must unite with the masses, from whichever quarter the attacks on working class organisation and solidarity may come.

Resolutions

The Conference concluded on the **27th. December** amidst tremendous enthusiasm and cheerings. The Conference passed a number of resolutions regarding almost all the affairs either Indian or International which affect the students community of the world

as a whole. The first resolution which was moved from the chair was a condolence resolution over the deaths of Dhanesh Bhattacharyya, Fani Nandi, Sir J. C. Bose, K. P. Jayaswal, J. Prasad and V. Varma. Of these the first two were political prisoners of Alipore Central Jail.

On behalf of the B. P. S. F. four long resolutions regarding (1) International problem, (2) Problem of India and Bengal, (3) Student movement and mass education and (4) Programme of the student movement, were passed.

Non-official resolutions regarding civil liberties in India, on the India Act, 1935, Civil Liberties in Chandannagar, demanding the release of detenues and political prisoners, disapproving Bratachari and Scout movement, condemning the communalism and demanding private examination in higher education, were also adopted.

Bengal students received with their sincere thanks the presentation of two flags and some pictures made by the students of China.

The Bombay Presidency Students' Conference

Poona—24th. & 25th. December 1937

The session of the Bombay Presidency Students' Conference commenceed a Poona on the **24th. December**, Mr. *Zaheer* presiding.

Nearly 150 delegates attended from all districts of the presidency. The proceedings were peaceful, the seceders being content with distributing hand-bills regarding the representative character of the Conference and not demonstrating in any other way. Messages were received from Mr. Nehru, the Bombay Ministers and others wishing the Conference success. Mr Jawaharlal Nehru in his message appealed for a united front among students and deprecated attempts to introduce the communal spirit in the students' movement.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of *Vande Mataram* and hoisting of the tri-colour flag. Mr. *V. G. Pathak* welcomed the delegates.

Senapati Bapat, in his inaugural address, expressed confidence in the ultimate victory of their cause, urged the students to cultivate a spirit of uncompromising resistence to the evil of every kind and exhorted them to take up service of the motherland as their first and foremost duty. He advised them to Moscow, its plans, and its performances in every field of human activity.

Mr. *Zaheer* was warmly cheered when he spoke on the miseries of the country under imperialism. He said mental bondage was the result of the present system of education. Mr. Zaheer spoke at length on the world situation, on Nazi Germany, Spain and Sino-Japanese war, and said imperialism was the root of all evil. Concluding, he spoke on the need to fight the imposition of the Federation by organising a united front. Speaking on the new Soviet Constitution under which every citizen was guaranteed work, rest and education he exhorted India to strive for the establishment of such a constitution.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—25th. December 1937

Strong criticism of the Congress Ministries was made by some of the speakers at the Conference, which resumed its session on the **25th. December** at the Tilak Mandir, Mr. *Zaheer* presiding.

The Conference unanimously passed resolutions demanding the restoration of civil liberties and urging the Congress Ministries not to continue to use sections of the Indian Penal Code, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and the Press Act but to repeal them.

The *President* disagreed with the remarks made by one speaker and said that the situation had greatly improved in the country after the Congress had taken office.

Miss *Kamala Tulpule* moved the anti-war resolution, which was passed.

The Conference ratified the revised constitution of the Students' Federation and adopted twelve fundamental demands which will be forwarded to the Bombay

Premier urging legislation to democratise the University and guarantee freedom to students.

The Conference concluded after adopting thirty resolutions. One resolution strongly disapproved the Wardha scheme of vocational training. Many speakers described it as unsuitable, unsystematic and reactionary and opined it did not respond to the needs of the times and pointed out that it meant going back to Feudalism and Mediævalism.

Another resolution condemned Japanese aggression, congratulated Chinese students and urged boycott of Japanese goods.

Other resolutions urged boycott of the Coronation, opposed the Federation, demanded the establishment of universities on a linguistic basis, demanded the release of Communist leaders now in U. P. Jail, and demanded repeal of the Arms Act.

The U. P. Students' Conference

1st. Session—Cawnpur—8th. November 1937

The Presidential Address

Presiding over the First U P. Provincial Students' Conference held at Cawnpore on the **8th November 1937**, Mrs *Kamaladevi Chattopadhaya* said that in this province the students' organisation had taken deep roots and that students had also shown their consciousness and their solidarity. It was in the United Provinces that the All India Students' Federation was born. She referred to a number of strikes, notably at Cawnpore, Fyzabad and Lucknow and said she was glad that in most of the strikes the demands of the students were conceded by the College authorities.

Speaking on strike she said .—'Much has been made of these strikes to prevent the students in an unfavourable light and although no same individual would want to encourage strikes for the sheer fun of it, the rights of the students must be recognised. In the present society it is only the rights of those in power which are admitted, more out of fear than out of a sense of justice. And the students must have some means of getting grievances redressed if normal means prove unavailing.

Mrs *Kamaladevi Chattopadhaya* dwelt at length on education and said :—

"Education all the world over except perhaps in a country like Soviet Russia, reflects the characteristics of the society as a whole Education after all cannot be divorced from life, from our day to day existence and struggle. When it is, it becomes unreal as it is in our country to the larger extent. Because education here can neither express the rational genius for feeding the national wants

"This education was originally designed to meet the needs of a new foreign administration, which was seeking to establish its grip over this country A nation subjected, humiliated, opposed and exploited, can never rise to its full intellectual or creative genius The real strength of the nation lies in its creative faculty and scope. This has been successfully killed in India. Our text-books are merely stale afterthoughts of retired school masters who turn to compiling text-books as a lucrative means of supplementing their meagre pensions There are two standing problems that face students' unemployment and an unsatisfactory system of education. In a way the latter has a close bearing upon the former for the two are allied to each other. Most people are mis-fits in life for they do not find their true vocation in life, because our social and economic life is not rationally and scientifically planned. Our equipment is hapazard and has no relationship to our natural gifts and talents nor to our ambitions for the future. A boy trained as an engineer turns to film acting, a barrister becomes an insurance agent and a singer turns a clerk. This is not only a colossal waste of time and energy but ruthless destruction of rare and valuable gift and creative force.

"Unless you break through this stratas, you will be aimless wanderers that you are to-day. You should not tolerate this outrage, this continuous victimisation of

fresh budding lives. It is through an efficient organisation that you can make yourself and your demands felt. For this purpose a strong united students' organisation is very essential."

The President said that she realised the many difficulties which lie in the path of the students. In this province there was still a Government circular, no doubt a relic from the past, banning students from participating in politics. It was both regrettable and surprising that such an order should still be allowed to remain in spite of a Congress Ministry. She hoped it would soon go, for it was the right of the youngmen and women to participate in politics. No one, however high or mighty, could deny them that right. It was the privilege of youth to give new ideals, new theories, new ideologies to society. The youth had a clean and clear vision and a right sense of values and proportions.

Mrs. Chattopadhyaya paid tributes to the students of the Aligarh University "who are facing to-day ceaseless persecutions for the sake of nationalism and national unity." She welcomed the appointment of an Enquiry Committee under the distinguished Chairmanship of Sir Syed Wazir Hussan to enquire into the refusal of admissions for three of their comrades in the next higher classes in the name of discipline.

Concluding she said :—"Let us assure the brave students of Aligarh that not only the student world of India but the entire nationalist India is behind them. Students must remember that complete unity and solidarity in their own ranks is essential above all things, for the future leadership of the country lies in their hands. If they are to fulfil this role, they must destroy putrefied ideas which poison our society and create a new and fresh atmosphere in which there shall be no place or room for such unnatural divisions or distinctions and a united society based on just and harmonious foundation shall arise."

THE CONVOCATION ADDRESSES

The Bombay University Convocation

The following is the text of the address delivered by Mr. *Syamaprasad Mukherjee*, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, at the Annual Convocation of the University of Bombay held on the **17th. August 1937**.—

Let me convey to the authorities of your university my sincere thanks for the honour they have done me in asking me to address your Annual Convocation. I bring to you the good wishes of my own university and I hope that in the years to come there will be established a closer contact and co-operation between your university and mine, representing the culture and thought of two of India's great provinces which, each in its own way, have contributed in no small measure towards the advancement of the best interests of the country. I recall with gratitude that our first great benefactor was a merchant prince of Bombay, Premchand Roychand, whose generosity laid the foundations for our activities in pursuit of higher learning and research.

In recent years occasions like the present one have been utilised with remarkable zeal for discussing problems of educational reconstruction in India. I am inclined to think that public attention has been sufficiently stirred by such utterances and by the publication of numerous reports, pamphlets and addresses. And the time has now come for initiating a new policy of education, suited to our needs and aspirations and consistent with the best traditions of our past That the aim and outlook of Indian universities should be altered in many respects in the light of our changing conditions is acknowledged by all schools of thought. The future policy in respect of Indian universities must however be one of progressive expansion and not of short-sighted curtailment

Those who advocate restriction either of a direct or an indirect nature, base their suggessions on two main grounds They argue that a large number of university men do not find suitable employment for want of either opportunities or necessary training; further, that the universities admit many into their portals who are not fit to receive higher education. Even assuming the criticism to be partially correct, the remedy obviously is not artificial restriction of the number of university students, but the provision of sounder preliminary training, the introduction of an improved system of education, varied and diversified in character, the creation of fresh opportunities for work and the opening of new avenues of employment to absorb the constructive energies of the youths of the country. Surely, the existence of 17 universities with a little above a lac of students receiving training under their influence is not an alarmingly large number for a country like India which has a population of more than 200 millions. Instead of merely criticising the policy pursued by the universities let our critics help in introducing a new era of constructive efforts towards the establishment of special institutions and departments, technical, industrial, agricultural and commercial, for imparting a thorough training to the youths for varied occupations in life and for national service.

Let me however emphasise that the mere production of such trained youths will not solve the problem, that it will be the bounden duty of the State and other authorities so to readjust and modify their policies affecting the economic and political conditions of society as fully to utilise their services in a useful productive manner. Such policy of educational reconstruction, enunciated and carried out solely for the advancement of India's interests, requires a very large expenditure of money from the public exchequer. It is futile merely to talk of defects and shortcomings, of ill-equipped schools, colleges and of universities with their ill-trained alumni. No reforms of a far-reaching character are possible so long as out of the total revenues of British India only 5 per cent goes to education, 34 per cent. being reserved for defence, for police and jails. It is to be hoped that with the inauguration of the new constitutional changes, education and other nation-building departments will receive their legitimate shares out of the revenues of the country.

The universities in India to-day are threatened with attacks from two classes of

critics. One, as I have said, urges artificial reduction in their number and in the sphere of their influence, justifying its policy on the plea of academic efficiency though some of its champions are consciously or unconsciously impelled by the fear that education may break down the barriers of superstition and slavery and lead men along the path of equality, liberty and progress. The other, often unthinking and short-sighted, regards higher education as an unnecessary luxury benefiting a comparatively small number of people and of doubtful value to the largest interests of the nation.

We have to guard against both these classes. We must boldly assert and prove that a university, if properly conducted, can be the home of progressive thought and culture; it can be the mouthpiece of national hopes and aspirations; it can be the recognised medium for conserving and advancing the bounds of knowledge, and for preserving and raising the intellectual life and thought of a nation, breathing an atmosphere of freedom and truth, drawing together men and women of all castes and creeds, inspired by a zeal for devoted and unselfish service. Indeed, there should be no question of conflict between the different stages of education, primary, secondary and university; and each should receive the unstinted support of the State and the public.

Students of the university, let me now address a few words to you direct and through you to others who are still pursuing their studies. You are about to enter the arena of life and whatever trials and responsibilities you might have had to face in the past are nothing in comparison with what await you in the days to come. It may be that some of you will achieve success from a worldly point of view and attain fame and wealth in your respective professions; there may be others amongst you who may pursue the path of scholarship and learning or follow other walks of life, beneficial to society but not highly lucrative; there may be still others who may have to spend their days in comparative obscurity or may not attain worldly success at all. Some of you will become leaders and issue commands, others will learn to carry them out, all acting for the common welfare.

But whatever may be your lot in future, are you carrying away with you any special traditions, do you feel inspired by any ideals, which will mark you out as men and women different from those who have not passed through the doors of the universities? Apart from imbibing information and knowledge in the special subjects of your study, do you not regard yourselves as messengers of a new hope, faith and courage, which it will be your duty to instil into others to whom the gates of knowledge yet remain closed? Inspiration comes not from books and study alone. Your determination to serve the cause of your people cannot come merely from reading stories of similar efforts made in other countries. Your faith in truth, simplicity in life and uprightness of character and conduct is not to be derived from any dry and academic theories. Your striving after intellectual supremacy or your exertion in the cause of economic and political freedom is not of men with no history or civilisation of their own.

Has not your own province for centuries past been a scene of activities of eminent persons, whose names are remembered with gratitude and affection throughout the country, names which will never be blotted out from the memory of any self-respecting Indian? They stand out as illustrious workers in diverse fields of activity, in the pursuit of culture and knowledge, in the study of literature and languages, in art and architecture, in social, educational and humanitarian work, in commerce and industry and last but not least in the great movement for India's struggle for the attainment of *Swaraj*. If Sivaji coined the expression *Swarajya* three hundred years ago, Bal Gangadhar Tilak brought it back to the minds of the sleeping millions of modern India and roused their energies to constructive work which has had far-reaching effects on the destinies of our country. Let us pay our unstinted homage to and draw inspiration from such names as Dadabhai Naroji, Pherozshah Mehta and Gokhale; Agharkar, Namjoshi and Apte; Telang, Bhandarkar and Bhagwanlal Indraji; Ranade, Wacha and Chandavarkar, Mandlik and Badruddin Tyabji; Rajwade and Chiplunkar; Jamshedji Tata and Jijibhoy, Wadia and Thackersey, names, taken at random, of persons who are no longer in the land of the living, names which recall loyalty to duty, persistent constructive activities, fearless advocacy of truth and justice, steadfast devotion to culture and scholarship, honesty and sincerity of purpose, sufferings and triumphs in the cause of national progress and prosperity. Of these living, the name of Mahatma Gandhi naturally comes uppermost in our minds as one whose greatness and goodness have given India a new position in the eyes of the world.

Traditions such as these should fill you with both pride and responsibility. Of what practical value will these traditions be if you do not mould your own lives and activities in accordance with the ideals of your chosen hero? What will these traditions be worth if you do not link them with the changing needs and aspirations of society and hold them in correct perspective before the people at large who do not always know what their true heritage is?

You have drunk-deep at the springs of Western knowledge. While you will not hesitate to absorb for your benefit and for the national good the best elements in Western culture and thought, you will not in any case permit the destruction of the vital elements of your own civilisation. As true sons and daughters of Bombay, you will of course strive for the increasing greatness of your presidency and be loyal to her in thought and action, but never disown your allegiance to the spirit of your beloved Motherland and whenever the occasion needs it, do not hesitate to proclaim yourselves as Indians first and anything else next. One feels distressed to find the recent growth of communal and provincial feelings, which unless checked are bound to retard the progress of true Indian nationalism. I need not enquire into the origin of these differences, but it is true that if the idea of Indian unity is to grow permanently, it can do so mainly by the determined efforts of the youth of the nation. And who else can sound this call to unity than you who are entering into the fields of public activity after a full intellectual preparation, ready to face the struggles of life?

Let us unreservedly stand by our conviction that whatever our detractors may say, Indian universities are bound to play a large and noble part in the emergence of a new India which will be the mistress of her own destinies, the proud inheritor of an ancient civilisation, rebuilt and reshaped with the changing requirements of the age. Let us stand united to make our universities centres of culture and independent thought, nurseries of honest and open-minded teachers and scholars pursuing and advancing knowledge, from which will go forth manly and useful citizens, brave and self-reliant, patriotic and fear-minded, capable of making sacrifices and judging issues and problems critically and fearlessly. Let the Indian universities mould their activities in full remembrance of the fact that the progress of nation, if steadily maintained, can alone prevent degeneration, that there must be new life and purpose or there will be weakness and decay. At this crisis in the history of human civilisation when cherished doctrines of liberty and democracy are often discarded and freedom of thought and opinion suppressed, let Indian universities and their sons and daughters proclaim the noblest ideals of Indian teachings and thought, which may once again secure for her that supremacy in the world of intellect which is truly her birthright. And let the Indian universities prove to the world that India can achieve this simultaneously with a progressive and systematic pursuit of Western knowledge itself. Let the Indian universities be the worthy participators in a constant movement towards a higher and nobler civilisation, a civilisation that will make its conquests without resort to war or oppression and achieve its greatest victories pursuing the paths of peace and justice.

Friends and fellow-graduates, let a fervent prayer go forth from every member of this assembly in the soul-stirring words of Rabindranath Tagore that we may face our duties and responsibilities with courage and fortitude and make our contributions, however humble, to the cause of national welfare.

Let honour come to me from Thee
Through a call to some desperate task
In the pride of poignant suffering.

Lull me not into languid dreams,
Shake me out of this cringing in the dust
Out of the fetters that shackle our mind,
Make futile our destiny,

Out of the unreason that bends our dignity down
Under the indiscriminate feet of dictators,
Shatter this age-long shame of ours
and raise our head
Into the boundless sky,
Into the generous light,
Into the air of freedom.

The Dacca Univerity Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by *Dr. R. C. Majumdar*, Vice-Chancellor, at the Annual Convocation of the University of Dacca held on the **14th. July 1937** :—

On this solemn occasion, I would, first of all, tender through Your Excellency, to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and express on behalf of the University of Dacca, our sincerest devotion and reverence to the throne.

Your Excellency, it is my proud privilege and most pleasant duty again to welcome you to preside over the annual Convocation of the University ; but our feelings of pleasure are mingled with a sense of sadness at the thought that this is the last occasion on which Your Excellency would grace this most important function of the University. Your Excellency has always taken a keen personal interest in all that concerns the well-being of the University, and to Your Excellency the authorities of this institution have always looked for inspiration and guidance with the sure knowledge that they would receive from you all the help, sympathy and support which they required. The brief remainder of Your Excellency's already brilliant term of office is likely to be crowded with numerous events of far-reaching importance in the history of educational developments in Bengal. There are reasons to believe that before Your Excellency lays down the reins of office, the finances of the two Universities of the Province will have been stabilised on a satisfactory basis, and legislation initiated for reforming the Primary, Secondary and University Education in Bengal. These achievements, although great themselves, would form only a small part of those manifold services for which Your Excellency's name will be treasured for ever by the educated community of Bengal. Your Excellency has earned the heart-felt love and esteem of all by your zeal and labours for the welfare of the educated unemployed of the Province and by the well-conceived plans and projects which, at Your Excellency's inspiration, the Government of Bengal have set on foot for opening up new avenues of employment for them. This University deeply values all that Your Excellency has done for educational reform in general and the welfare of this University in particular. It has expressed this feeling of grateful appreciation by conferring upon Your Excellency the highest honour which it had in its power to give. To day on the eve of Your Excellency's departure, I humbly convey, on behalf of the members of this University, our deepest regards and most sincere thankfulness to Your Excellency

I would also welcome on behalf of the University the guests who are present here to-day and express our thanks to them for the great interest they have shown in the work of the University by attending this function.

Before I proceed further I must refer to the heavy toll that death has taken in our ranks during the preceding year. The University has sustained great loss by the death of Rai Bahadur Sasanka Comar Ghose, Khan Bahadur Kazi Zahirul Huq, Mr. Abul Kasem, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Daliluddin Ahmad and Mr. Labanya Mohan Das. Rai Bahadur Sasanka Comar Ghose served as the Treasurer of the University on three occasions for a total period of six years. He was also the Legal Adviser of the University and a Life-member of the University Court. He rendered very long and distinguished services to the University in various capacities, and his sage advice and counsel were of the greatest value to the University. His death has been a great loss not only to the University, but also to the town of Dacca. Khan Bahadur Kazi Zahirul Huq was associated with the University as a member of the Court and as a member of the Executive Council since 1924. He occupied a prominent position in the public life of Dacca, and rendered very valuable services to the University. Mr. Abul Kasem had been a member of the Court since 1937. He was a prominent figure in the public life of Bengal, and was a recognised leader of the Muslim Community. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Daliluddin Ahmad was associated with a large number of public institutions. He was an efficient Government servant and a valuable and esteemed member of the Court since 1930. Mr. Labanya Mohan Das was a brilliant student of this University and served as a Lecturer in the Department of Physics for over ten years. The death of five

such eminent constituents, within the brief period of one year, means a terrible loss to the University, and I offer, on behalf of the University, our heart-felt condolences to their bereaved families.

Two years ago Your Excellency remarked in your Convocation address that the Dacca University might at some future date attempt to claim that membership of its Court should be a *sine qua non* for appointment to the post of Minister for Education. The grounds for urging such a claim have been further strengthened by the appointment to that exalted office of the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, who was not only a member of the Court, but was also a member of the first Executive Council of this University. Indeed it has been a matter for great pride and satisfaction to the University that no less than four of Your Excellency's Ministers were members of the Court of this University, and three of them were closely associated with its detailed administration as members of the Executive Council. The University feels assured that it will receive from your Cabinet the encouragement and support to which it has a rightful claim and, further, that the intimate knowledge of its affairs will enable your Ministers to offer valuable advice and sympathetic guidance to this University in all critical moments of its history.

I may further mention in this connection that no less than eight graduates of this University have been elected as members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly. For the first time a graduate of this University has been elected as its representative in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. Mr. Fazlur Rahman who has won this coveted distinction has been long associated with this University—first, as a member of the Court and of the Executive Council. He has always taken a keen interest in the affairs of the University and has served it loyally with great zeal and devotion While offering felicitation to him on his success at the election, I hope and trust that he will prove true to the responsible position he occupies to-day, and will always seek to advance the welfare of the University by utilising the opportunities which Providence has placed in his hands.

It is usual on this occasion to mention important changes in the staff during the preceding year. The most important and notable event in this connection is the resignation by Dr A. F Rahman of his office of Vice-Chancellor. While the University felicitates him on his elevation to the high and honourable position of a Member of the Public Service Commission, it regards his departure as a great loss. Dr. Rahman rendered conspicuous services to the University at its inception as the Provost of the Salimullah Muslim Hall and Reader in History. He was there fully conversant with the affairs of the University when he returned to it as its Vice-Chancellor in July 1934 During the period of two years and a half that he was here, he served the University with a rare devotion, ability and singleness of purpose He rendered valuable services to the University. and by his charming personality and wise counsal and advice helped to solve many a complicated problem that faced the University from time to time. His urbanity of manners and deep solicitude for the interest of the students made him popular figure not only in the University but in the whole of Dacca. In appreciation of the loyal and devoted services of Dr Rahman to the University of Dacca, the University has conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, and it gives me great pleasure to find that Dr. Rahaman is here present to-day to accept this honour from Your Excelleney's hands. I hope Dr. Rahman will achieve still higher distinctions in life, and we shall all watch his future career with unfailing interest.

The Treasurer, Mr. K. Shahabuddin, C B. E, has been reappointed to his office for another year from the 1st of January last and he also acted as Vice-Chancellor during the absence on leave of Dr. A F. Rahman for the period of a month. On behalf of the University I thank Mr. Shahabuddin for this loyal and valued services and congratulate him most warmly on the honour which he has just received from His Majesty the King-Emperor. The appreciation by Government of his public services and outstanding ability has given great satisfaction to every member of the University.

Four members of the University staff retired from service during the year. Rai Sahib Manoranjan Mitra, Head of the Department of Education, and Principal, Training College, Dacca, was connected with the College for a good many years and rendered very valuable Services both as Principal of the Training College, Dacca, and Principal, David Hare Training College, Calcutta. Maulana Saadatullah Israiley, Lecturer in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, served the Department

loyally for over 12 years and rendered valuable service to the University. Pundit Guruprasanna Bhattacharyya served as a Lecturer in the Department of Sanskrit for sixteen years and his great erudition and learning were a valuable asset to the University. Mr. Charu Chandra Banerjee served as a Lecturer in the Department of Bengali since 1924, and brought distinction upon the University by his reputation as a literateur. On account of his great eminence in the domain of Bengali Literature and his distinguished services to the University, he was granted an extension of service for a period of two years after he had attained the normal age of retirement. The retirement of Mr. Banerjee with effect from 1st July 1937, has been a great and almost irreparable loss to the University.

There have been some important changes in the teaching cadre of the University. Two Professorships have been created—one in the Department of English, and another in the Department of Economics and Politics—and filled up respectively by the appointment of Khan Bahadur Captain Dr. M. Hasan B. A. D. PHIL. (OXON.), M. A. (Cal) and Dr. H. L. Dey M. A. (CAL.) D SC. (LOND) The University has also reinstituted the Professorship in Sanskrit which was abolished after the retirement of Mahamohopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Shastri in the year 1924. I may recall in this connection that when the Chair in Sanskrit was abolished, the then Chancellor, Lord Lytton, issued an appeal inviting funds for reinstituting the post. In response to this appeal a sum of Rs. 19,000 was collected and the amount is now in the hands of Your Excellency. The University hopes that with the reinstitution of the Professorship the amount will be placed at the disposal of the University. The University has also created a Readership in Bengali, and, in view of the increasing importance of the subject, it has been proposed to create a separate Department of Bengali Another notable change in the administration staff of the University is the appointment of Mr. H. D. Bhattacharyya, M. A. as the Provost of Jagannath Hall. I may also refer to the the creation of the post of a third House Tutor of the Salimullah Muslim Hall with a view to improving the arrangements for imparting regular religious instruction to the Muslim students It has also been possible to appoint a woman teacher in the Department of English and with her help to reopen the Women's Hostel which was abolished a year ago. Other changes in the staff have been noted in the Annual Report to which I would also refer for a detailed account of the various activities of the University.

The number of admissions during the last session have been fairly satisfactory, being 597 including 53 women students as against 577 in the previous session. The success of our students in the various University and Public examinations, the record of activities of the different academic societies of the University and the volume and quality of research work by the staff and students, all go to show that the academic standard of the University has been ably maintained Khan Bahadur Captain M. Hasan, Professor of English has obtained the D. Phil Degree of Oxford. The University of London has awarded the Degree of Ph. D. to Mr Amiya Kumar Das Gupta and Mr Sirajul Huq, both of whom are old students, and now teachers of this University and two of our students Prakas Chandra Lahiri and Bhupendra Nath Mitra have won the Doctorate Degrees of this University on the basis of the theses submitted by them. Dr. T. Vijayaraghavan delivered lectures in a large number of American Universities as their visiting Lecturer for 1936. It is gratifying to note that the value of research work carried on in the section of Agricultural Chemistry has been recognised by eminent authorities and recently the Government of Burma applied to this University for a loan of the services of its Agricultural Research Chemist Dr. A. T. Sen for a period of three years with a view to appointing him as the Agricultural Chemist and utilising his services for reorganising its Agricultural Department.

Indeed the success of the researches in Agricultural Chemistry and the connected Sciences, particularly Bio-Chemistry, which are at present primarily financed by the Government of India, has fully justified our claim for the establishment of a well-equipped Faculty of Agriculture. In your Convocation Address of 1935 Your Excellency was pleased to appreciate our work and to express the deep interest of your Government in the proposal to establish a Faculty of Agriculture. The Hon'ble Minister for Agriculture and Industries is personally conversant with the local conditions and the legitimate aspirations of the University for an expansion in this direction, and no argument of mine is needed to convince him of the urgency and importance of the measure. The soil being so favourable the University can reasonably expect an early fruition of this long deferred scheme.

Another big scheme of expansion to which the University has committed itself is the establishment of a Medical College in Dacca. Two years ago the Vice-Chancellor mentioned in his Convocation Address that the Executors of the Will of the late Babu Jagamohan Pal had agreed to place at the disposal of the University a sum of four lacs, for the establishment of a medical college at Dacca. The Executors has now paid to the University the entire sum of four lacs, the last instalment being paid less than two months ago The Academic and Executive Councils of the University carefully considered the whole matter and drew up a scheme in the light of the expert advice of the Civil Surgeon and several other leading medical practitioners of Dacca. I had also the privilege of informally discussing the scheme with the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge and the Surgeon-General. The scheme would again be considered by the University in the light of their suggestions and criticisms, and we hope to place our definite proposal formally before the Government within a short period. Your Excellency was pleased to assure us two years ago "that when the scheme for the Medical College reaches Government it will receive sympathetic consideration on its merits." The University is fully conscious of the value of this assurance and hopes that their scheme would receive ere long the full support of the Government. I may add in this connection that in proposing the establishment of an Agricultural and a Medical College, the University merely wishes to implement the policy of the framers of the Dacca University Act, for section 22 of this Act lays down that the Dacca University shall include the Faculties of Arts, Science, Law, Medicine and Agriculture.

Besides the creation of two new Faculties, the University comtemplates to expand its activities in several other directions within the existing frame-work. In the Faculties of Arts, it proposes to create an independent department for developing the study of Politics whose growing importance is now generally recognised. In addition it seeks to provide for teaching in Statistics and Geography—two important subjects which have hitherto received but scant attention in this Province. In the Faculty of Science we have just opened two new courses in Physiology and Soil Sciences in the Department of Chemistry, and propose to introduce a higher course of teaching in Wireless in the Department of Physics. It is also contemplated to institute a Readership in Bio-Chemistry. In selecting these new lines of development the University has kept in view not only the academic importance of the subjects chosen but also their importance from the point of view of public utility.

These expansions are, of course, dependent upon the financial help of the Government. The University has applied to your Excellency's Government for further financial assistance, in order to maintain its present activities and to enable it to carry out the schemes of expansion outlined above. The Government deputed Dr. W. A Jenkins as a special officer to inquire into the affairs of the University, and he made a thorough investigation into our present organisation and financial condition. Dr. Jenkins has submitted his recommendations, and a Deputation of the University consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, the Treasurer, and two representatives of the Executive Council, viz., Dr. J. C. Ghosh and Mr. F. Rahman were granted the privilege of personally discussing the matter with the Hon'ble Minister for Education I take this opportunity of expressing the thanks of the University to the Hon'ble Minister for his courteous and sympathetic attitude towards the Deputation, and while we are anxiously awaiting the final decision of the Government regarding our application for further financial assistance, I feel sure that our representations would receive due weight, and our prayer for a suitable annual grant, in addition to the present statutory grant, would be favourably considered.

But while we naturally expect the Government to come to our aid, I take this opportunity of making an appeal to the public of Bengal to regard this University as a suitable object for their donations and bequests. In all ages and countries Universities and seats of learning of that character have flourished mainly on private endowments. A University is after all the greatest cultural asset of a civilised nation. As Lord Haldane truly remarked: "It is in Universities that the soul of a people mirrors itself." The necessity of providing ways and means for increasing the efficiency of a seat of national culture should make a strong appeal not only to pious generosity but even to the most elementary sense of public duty. The noble example set by the late Jagamohan Pal would I hope be followed by others in due course. May I suggest in this connection that the vigorous and flourishing Old Boys' Associations that have grown up in each of the three Halls, and which all well-wishers of the University should hail as valuable connecting links between it

and the outside world, should make an earnest and concentrated effort to secure endowments for the University from the numerous well-placed and affluent members and patrons of those Associations ?

While I am on this subject it is gratifying to refer to a generous donation recently received. A teacher of the University, who chooses to remain anonymous, has founded two post-graduate scholar-ships of the value of Rs. 20 each per mensem in the Department of History for a period of eight years, and called them after Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Dr. A. F. Rahman. The donation has been thankfully received by the University. The amount of money involved is no doubt small, but the spirit behind the donation is worthy of emulation by people more favoured by fortune. Quite recently Choudhury L. A. Siddiky, Zemindar of Baliadi, has offered nine stipends for students of the Salimullah Muslim Hall of the total value of Rs. 600 per year. On behalf of the University I thank him very cordially and hope that although these stipends have been at present offered for one year, they will be renewed in future.

It also gives me great pleasure to offer the thanks of the University to Sir P. C. Roy, for his generous donation of Rs. 1,000 for the publication of the projected History of Bengal. We are also grateful to the Government of Bengal for a special grant of Rs. 1,000 for the same purpose I am happy to be able to say that thanks to the zeal and untiring efforts of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and of the numerous scholars who are engaged in writing the different chapters of the History, work is progressing very satisfactorily.

Before I conclude, I should like to refer to one important question which vitally affects the future well-being of this University. This is the proposed legislation for the establishment of a Board for the control of Secondary Education in Bengal. A draft of the Bill was sent to this University for opinion just after the commencement of the Summer Vacation and it has not yet been possible to send to the Government the considered opinion of this University. The question is not, however, a new one and on more than one occasion in the past it was very carefully considered by the Academic and Executive Councils. The opinion of these bodies was very ably summed up by the Vice-Chancellor in his Convocation Address of 1938 (pages 6 to 9). The University advocated the creation of a strong Board, constituted on the lines of the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission. and vested with full powers in regard to the Final High School and Special Islamic Matriculation and Intermediate Examinations, prescription of syllabuses and curricula, the inspection and recognition of high schools, and the administration of funds for the maintenance of high schools. The University expressed a strong conviction that no real improvement in Secondary Education could be effected if the powers enumerated above were not exercised by single authority. As the draft Bill has not yet been publicly notified I refrain from expressing any opinion on the same, but may I appeal to your Excellency, as Chancellor of the University, and also to the Hon'ble Minister for Education, who is happily present in our midst to-day, to see to it that before launching the new measure, the Government of Bengal give due weight to the considered views of this University ?

Another aspect of the same question, with which this University is more immediately concerned, is the position of the Intermediate Colleges in Dacca after the creation of the proposed All-Bengal Secondary Board. The considered views of the University on this question were also summed up by the Vice-Chancellor in the Convocation Address referred to above. As this University is even more vitally concerned with this question than with that of the Secondary Board, it can legitimately claim that the action of the Government should be based mainly on the recommendations of this University.

I would now address a few words to the students who have assembled here to-day to receive their Degrees. I congratulate you all on your success in University Examitions, and to those among you who have finished the University course, I wish a happy life and prosperous career. But whatever position you occupy in future, you try to live the life worthy of a Graduate of this University. The ideal of a University is not only to advance knowledge, but to produce an elite in thought and leadership. The character of this University will be determined not only by the extent to which it has advanced knowledge but also by the type of man it has been able to produce. On your future bearing and conduct, therefore, depends, to a very large extent the good name and reputation of the University. You should have derived from the University not only an intellectual training but a new conception of life.

For University Education carries with it not only a mode of thinking but a way of living and the latter includes all that is really good and noble in the community at large. The University therefore expects that you should prove yourself worthy of its Degrees by adopting the universally accepted principles of humanity as the sole guide in your life, and by developing personality, will power, courtesy, goodness and all those indefinable charms, graces, and refinements of character which go to make up a gentleman. The real success of your University career will be measured by the extent to which you have imbibed these personal virtues along with the knowledge you have acquired.

In the matter of success of this or of any kind, I would remind you that it is a universal rule in life and nature that you never get more out of anything than you put into it. The University can only place before you ideals and opportunities, and it is for you to imbibe the one and utilise the other.

Some of you perhaps feel to-day, not without regret, that you have not made the best use of your time while you were here. Unavailing though it is to a large extent, even such regret is not without its value. For your future life would hold out further opportunities for you, and your present regrets may make you wiser in your action during the years of struggle that lie before you. None of you, I am sure, is under the illusion that the future path of the University graduate is strewn with roses. I know full well that the grim prospect of unemployment haunts the brain of every young man the moment he finishes his University education. He feels like a forlorn sailor in an uncharted sea, not knowing whither to turn in order to reach the shore. I realise how this dark shadow creeps upon the fair faces of our young hopefuls, and how this shadow is lengthened as each year of failure succeeds another. It warps their judgment, and in their sheer despair they loose all faith in the value of the education they received from the University. Indeed things have come to such a pass, that the value of a University is now being measured in terms of its ability to find employment for its graduates. You must try to realise, however, that no age or country has recognised the true function of the University to be that of an employment bureau. His Excellency Lord Lytton very clearly emphasised it in his first Convocation Address to the students of the University: "If this place is to become a great and famous University", said His Excellency, "you must recognise that a University is a seat of learning and not a mere employment agency" Wise words these, and however unpalatable, nay almost cruel, they might at first sound in your ears, the more you think about them the more you will appreciate their worth. I hope, I shall not be misunderstood. I maintain fully that you have every right to secure as much material advantage from your University studies as you can, and I assure you that the University will do its best in helping you to secure employment. But you should not think that the main use of the University, so far as you are concerned, is to obtain a degree for securing a job. The true object and ideal of a University is intellectual culture in the highest and widest sense. But such culture, truly conceived, seldom fails to be of use in securing material advantages. On this point, the oft-quoted saying of Cardinal Newman would bear repetition. "The man", he said, "who has learned to think and to reason and to compare and to discriminate and to analyse, who has refined his taste, and formed his judgment and sharpened his mental vision, will not indeed at once be a lawyer, a statesman, a physician, an engineer, or a man of business, etc., but he will be placed in that state of intellect in which he can take up any one of these sciences or callings with an ease, a grace, a versatility and a success to which another is a stranger. In this sense then mental culture is emphatically useful."

These wise words give a real insight into the value of University education. If you remember them they will help you in fighting the battles of life, as you will be fortified by a sure knowledge of the immense power and value of the education you have received here. However gloomy the future prospect may be, you must not lose heart. As a means of sustaining your hope, courage, and strength, I would remind you that amongthe men who have achieved brilliant success in life there were many who startedwith far worse equipment and had to face far graver perils and disppointments than you. With these words I bid you farewell in the hope that you may attain conspicuous success in life and that this may redound to the credit of your alma mater.

The Agra University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by *Sir Kailas Haskar*, at the tenth Annual Convocation of the University of Agra, held on the **20th. November 1937** :—

Fifty years ago, as a school boy, very keen to enlarge my English vocabulary, I revelled in Roget's Thesaurus and, in order to understand the shades of meanings which particular words had acquired, I delved into Trench's 'Degradation and Elevation of words'.

The former, a treasure-house of synonyms and antonyms, focussed allied words and their opposites but did not differentiate between members of either group for purposes of apposite use or accurate employment, the latter, rather a compendium, described how, in the course of evolution by usage, certain words had lost their original meaning and had gained capital appreciation or, conversely, had acquired a sense derogatory, ironical, or reproachful far removed from their original signification. Whatever be the causes that give a twist to the root meaning of words, one thing is certain, that very often a change in social standards invests innocent and attractive words with odious and contemptuous import. Two such words are 'formal' and 'convention' and their derivatives, 'formality' and 'conventional.' Originally graceful and exact in their acceptation, to these words, in the present times, have come to be attached implications that reflect the temper of the age Anything that is ceremonial is at present regarded as almost barbarous. What is formal is at least unnecessary. what is conventional is definitely insincere.' I suggest that these parasitic implications betoken the decay of manners. We must regard all ceremonies with the reverence due to history or age-long tradition we must permit all formalities to retain the aroma of dignified social conduct and we must not rob pretty conventions of their intrinsic delicate grace.

If I say that I felt myself highly honoured by the Vice-Chancellor's proposal that I should address this Convocation and I felt considerable diffidence in accepting that flattering invitation, I must not be thought to be speaking the language of convention. I must be believed if only that you may be inclined to listen to what I have to say. You must believe that I contemplated with pride the prospect of holding this platform, to believe that I decided to give you of my best. You must believe that I took my responsibility seriously if you are to appreciate that I made up my mind to echo no slogans.

A Convocation Address needs a suitable theme, usually a serious theme, though in addresses to student bodies a Barrie could get away with sentimentalities and a Birkenhead with cynicisms What possible theme could I choose for this occasion ? I consulted my friends with little result. One suggested as a subject—Education. I doubt if he meant it seriously, but in any case it was a hopeless suggestion. It is 35 years since I gave up teaching in a second grade College and became a brand plucked from the learning. Another friend was indirectly more helpful. He proposed that I should take as my text 'India's Golden Age'. Well, I am sceptical about Golden Ages and think it a minor tragedy that Anthropology is not a serious study in every University in India If it were, we should have fewer of our intellectuals with their eyes on an imagined Golden Past and their backs to a far from Golden Future, a future which no such tergiversation, however, can avoid But it occurred to me that I might talk of the present day as I see it, talk of the Indian world into which so many of you graduates, having reached your educational majority, are now about to enter.

It is practically 41 years to a day since I acquired the title to affect a cap and gown. My education, such as it was, had been a somewhat cloistered one, but in those days how much we overrated the power of education ! We gave little thought to environment and none at all to heredity, which was an odd thing in this our sun-soaked, caste-ridden land. Of the battle that had been joined in Europe between the followers of Lamark and Weismann we raw graduates at least knew nothing, and I doubt if our professors knew much more. For essay purposes we would platitudinise about Darwin and the survival of the fittest without understanding the implications of the theories as expounded somewhat dully by himself or more

brilliantly by Huxley and Romanes. In vain we tried to write like Macaulay and to perorate like Gladstone. Idolatrously many of us took Herbert Spencer as our apostle of synthetic philosophy. We would utterly have refused to believe the conclusions stressed in the Presidential Address to this year's British Association meeting that thought is not evolutionary, that while "hidden powers within us are inherited the results of their development are not..... ... .and that there is no easing of the burden with the passage of time" Was this any wonder? I doubt if at the time any one of those who in India instructed us in Western Philosophy was an observing Naturalist.

For about two weeks in the year, in these days immediately before, during and just after the meetings of the Congress, some of us were keen politicians, but for the rest of the time, though we could glibly quote the hackneyed shibboleths of Liberalism, India to most of us was a geographical expression rather than a potential political entity.

I have inflicted on you these reminiscences of four decades ago to show how utterly unready we were to face life, as we found it then, though, puffed up with pride at our graduation, we did not immediately recognise the fact.

Doubtless, you graduates of the Agra University in 1937, this year of grace, though still not of light, have far higher academic attainments than we possessed in 1896 yet life at that date was easier for us than it can be for you to day When I say easier, I am not referring to the economic problem of finding a job and making a livelihood, though it it true that the impact of modern economic forces upon our medieval social system was not then so shattering as it is now a days.

But life was easier for us mainly because we had not so many problems to face, problems—many of them world problems—which India's intelligentsia must face bravely if our great country is soon to rise to a full and complete nationhood.

Just as forty years ago we could not afford to ignore All-India problems, however caste-ridden or Province-ridden we were despite our vaunted education, so you to day can only at your peril ignore world problems. You cannot disregard them in spite of the fact that problems peculiar to your own country are daily increasing in number and complexity

It is to be hoped that your life at College has made you tolerant in communal matters, that it has freed you from the grossest superstitions of custom and religion and has caused you to jettison your immaculacy complex when dealing with your fellow man, the Harijan If it has not done all that, then frankly you are unfit to tackle any social, economic or political problem in the land of your birth, let alone any matter that affects you indirectly as an enfranchised citizen of the world.

You are proud no doubt of your glorious heritage, you are anxious to prove your selves good nationalists But you cannot be effective nationalists, unless you can think internationally. The inter-knitting of the different countries of the world compels such a frame of mind And to think internationally demands a readiness for intellectual adventure to a degree which few of my generation ever thought of displaying after their graduation Intellectual adventure will do much to free you from a danger of which Lord Haldane once warned the students of Edinburgh University, the danger of a too morbid concentration on our private concerns, "a concentration that is apt to result in self-consciousness which may amount to egotism and impair our strength, and which can turn each of us into the man, as Wordsworth tells us.

"Whose eye
Is ever on himself doth look on one,
The least of Nature's works,—one who might move
The wise man to that scorn which wisdom holds
Unlawful ever."

Such self-consciousness is a far greater danger than vanity. Vain we all are in some degree and after some fashion Bertrand Russell is right when he says, "do not attempt to live without vanity since this is impossible, but choose the right audience from which to seek admiration." What kills the demon of self-consciousness as surely as quinine claims to kill the malarial parasite is a sense of proportion—and if your education hitherto has been of any use, you should have acquired that sense to a considerable degree. Now the outward and visible sign of the sense of proportion is a sense of humour which Thomas Hardy has shrewdly called "the philosophy of the unbeaten" and, we may add, of the unbeatable.

Few of us, I am afraid, can ever hope to attain to so all-round a sense of proportion as is preached by Kipling in his now hackneyed but, none-the less, fine poem "IF"

Such supermen as his 'if-men' though we can hardly be, we still must keep our heads, not only if our country is to rise to full nationhood but also if civilisation itself is not to disappear.

Youth is ever quick with words. Not for anything would I discourage in you the urge to put the world right, to form and reform according to your vision, the conditions in which men are living But let me warn you of one pitfall at least which lies in the path of youth at all times, and which is more dangerous to-day than it was when I was young. I mean the alluring fallacy that you can change anything in this world simply by saying that it ought to be changed. Young men are apt to foregather in order to deplore the shortcomings of their fellow men, the mistakes of governments, or the malformations of society. Having found our injustice and decided that justice be done, they are more likely than not to go home and indict the powers of the land for not immediately accepting their advice. That road leads nowhere ; that habit makes for discontent of the soul and confusion of the mind; and our country will not be advanced, the conditions of our life not be bettered by fine talk unaccompanied by hard work. There come to my mind the wise words of Germanys' greatest poet, Geothe:

"Close to each other live our thoughts,
But matter dwells in space with sharp corners."

In these tempestuous latter days, science has conferred many material blessings upon mankind, but it has contributed little to the art of government or to the knowledge of the nature and conditions of civilisation. In a leader in the "Observer" a few weeks since I came across a paragraph which expressed what I want to say :—

"Psychologists may tell us how to influence our fellow men and medical science may tell us how to keep alive, but to what end and in what manner are we to live? By what star are we to set our course? What kind of society, in short, produces the highest civilisation and what are the conditions for the survival of such civilisation when it is attained? . The nature of civilisation is a problem which calls, above all others, for bold enquiry conducted in the scientific spirit and with scientific knowledge."

This, in one sentence, means that the world's greatest need to-day is a philosophy of life evolved from a synthesis of all the knowledge gained in the course of Ages. It means that in the modern world, more than ever, we want thinkers

Whatever the cause or causes, there is very little probing done in the present age. This is an age of Feeling—not of Discernment , of Emotion—not Cogitation. We live on our nerves, not by our intellect : we live for thrilling sensations and have lost the faculty required to construct a scale of values. It is this shortcoming which has made advertisement, publicity, and propaganda the most effective means of moulding the social mind and conscience and of destroying individuality. It is this drawback which has given birth to the phrase 'mass psychology' and placed us at the mercy of charlatans, impostors, and exploiters.

".....Man who man would be
Must rule the empire of himself....."

We need to cultivate the habit of original and independent thought, i.e, of thinking things out for ourselves. This should come naturally to the sons of a soil which produced logicians and metaphysicians—*Sufis* and *Vedantists*.

I believe that the habit of mind which I commend to you will help to solve many of the vexed problems with which our country is confronted to-day and thus to weld together the "congeries of people" which is India, in Lord Morley's phrase. Take, for example, the communal tangle. A little reflection will make it clear that the division of the people, by religion, into opposing communities when all communities have a common objective is inconsistent with that objective, which is the attainment of national solidarity. The most pronounced existing division in the country is the more incomprehensible when of old the philosophers of both communities were inspired to preach the following doctrines.

How many appeals have not been made since the time when I first became aware of political problems for bridging the gulf which is keeping our people apart and helpless ; but though some progress has been achieved from time to time, the wound is but thinly covered with new skin which is only too apt to break with the slightest tension. It is an anxious thought that, if the two principal communities cannot even sink their differences at a time when they are side by side for the common ideal of an India that would stand free and proud

among the great nations of the world, how can we hope that they will stand together once the whip of a common discontent has been removed ? Nor should we forget for a moment that our people is still partitioned into thousands of watertight compartments by the stone-wall of custom founded upon fanoied religious authority. Here, I suggest, is a field for the exercise of your idealism, for the display of your natural resentment against compulsion and injustice, and for the concentration of your labour in the service of India, if you desire her to be a free and united country The belief that the political life of a country can be regenerated without fundamental changes in its economic and social structure is pure moonshine Politics may be described as the peak of the national pyramid, perhaps better still as the visible part of an ice-berg of which four-fifths is always under the surface of the water. Caste and custom, framing and trading, health and hygiene, the hull of family and hold of society,—these are the submerged parts of the national vessel, and their condition must determine the course by which the political bark must voyage. If you desire to make port, all these parts must be made sea-worthy—the barnacles must be scraped, the caulking attended to, indeed a complete re-conditioning effected.

Let me now turn from the concept of national solidarity to the forms of national government.

I have no horror of Democracy, as I have of the Totalitarian or the Communistic State, despite the claim of the Totalitarian State to reconcile personal liberty with corporate happiness and despite the claim of the Communistic State to bring about paradise on Earth, without the need of dying first to attain it But if democracy is to survive long enough for India to become a democratic nation, democracy must organise itself in each country nearly as thoroughly as the rival systems of government, those political terminaries and bee-hives, have already organised themselves. Fascism, Nazism, and Communism I regard as governments by excitement. The promised good time to be had by all is coming presently, but it always remains round the corner, out of grasp Such systems impose crushing duties on the individual and are contemptuous of his rights.

The weakness of democracy lies in its perpetual clamour for rights and its too easy neglect of the duties of citizens. It would be a tragedy in India, this land of "*Farz*" and "*Dharma*" if the new wine of democracy made us oblivious of our duties If it did, the future would be black for us, however soon we may become full masters in our national house

I want now to offer some unpleasant observations on nationality and nationalism, not because I necessarily agree with them all, but merely to show how, even if a good thing, nationalism may be often abused. I have forgotton the various sources from which these comments come but I fancy several of them may have been put into my mind by reading Dean Inge.

Here is the first —

Nations resemble the lower animals rather than men in that they are guided by instinct rather than by reason , on the other hand, they resemble men rather than the lower animals in that they are amenable to propaganda Mankind likes to be thought at rather than to think, for thinking involves work which may have to be its own rewards. Hence nations are so amenable to propaganda

According to some thinkers, nationalism is a morbid state, if not a disease. It has been compared to cancer as it is a comparatively new disease and, like cancer, is spreading very rapidly . also, hitherto, no certain antidote or cure for it has yet been discovered. Each day more and more persons in a community develop the symptoms and become 'nation-conscious'.

Nationalism, so some have said, is a dope The idea of nationalism rises as formal religion declines It enslaves man's mind just as much as dogmatic religion can do , it develops a ritual, as did religion, and so is corporately popular.

Again, nationalism has been described, I think it was by Lord Melbourne, as a dark horse by Sentimentality out of Racial Vanity which is congenitally incapable of running straight. This metaphor may remind us of another one, namely, that the Almighty is a wonderful handicapper. He determines the weights for nations no less than for individuals

The concept of nationality as a form of organisation for a large and diversified country is still in its infancy. The history of Europe, for example, is dominated for over a thousand years by the destinies of vast Federations comprising many nations and tribes with their own languages, leaders, and social laws: the Roman

Empire was followed by the Holy Roman Empire, which after lingering for a century came to an end only in 1804. It was the emergence, in the 18th century, of two strong separate nations in the West, England and France, which introduced in the European thought for the first time the ideal of the nation-state; and it was not until after the failure of Napoleon's attempt to unite the Continent once again that the ideal spread to Central and Eastern Europe. Therefore, in our struggles to make India a united nation we are hitching our wagon to a star of recent discovery: one which has landed Europe into an uncomfortable *cul de sac* from which it has vainly sought to extricate itself by successive wars. The ideal of nationality has been responsible, among many other things, for the failure of the League of Nations, which was an attempt to provide a machinery of conciliation and arbitration for the nations of the world, but which broke down in the first trial run because it had no power to deal with sovereign states. It is now widely felt in Europe that no lasting machinery of peace can be constructed unless and until nations are ready to give up some part of their sovereignty to a super-national authority In other words, European thought is slowly turning away from the concept of sovereign nationality, which has been found to encourage wars, to one of larger entities—at the very moment when we in India are just inscribing it upon our banners.

Ethnology proves that no nation is racially pure in descent. history teaches that no nation can claim to have clean hands and a pure heart Some cynic has said that it is a pity there is no such thing as a Borstal system for young nations and added that if the average standard of private morality was as low as that of every old nation, nine-tenths of each nation would be in gaol!

Philosophy can argue as to whether or no conscience is a safe guide for an individual in life The question does not arise in the case of a nation, for, in spite of the phrase "national conscience", it would seem that no nation has a conscience. The "family of nations" is a far better phrase, for members of a family are not unapt to squabble. Even persisting self-interest fails to keep any two nations on mutual good terms for long, and the newspaper and the wireless will increasingly make for bad blood between nations.

I think I have said enough to show that Nationality may not be an unmixed blessing, but the idea of Nationality has come to India and we must make the best of it Even if it be a disease, may not the inflammatory condition induced by it counteract the virus of that far more fell disease, communalism ? Even if no nation can be virtuous, cannot and does not every nation develop certain corporate characteristics which at least are praiseworthy ? Let us hope that when we are, undeniably a nation, we shall display characteristics which other nations may wish to emulate It is possible, however, that national happiness is in inverse ratio to national size, and India bids fair to be, in numbers, the greatest national in the world. At all events, the morning is before her. But are her wings, as yet, strong ? With the late Mr. Gokhale, I believe that it was Providence and not blind chance that linked her destiny with England It is a vain pretence to imagine that at present India's national efficiency is such that she could exist as an independent entity apart from the British Empire. How soon she can become mistress in her own house and a free and equal partner of the British Commonwealth of Nations, with rights and duties equal to those of the other members, will depend far more on your generation than on mine. And who are the probable potential leaders of your generation ? The majority of those leaders must come from such persons as yourselves who have received a University education. We old men may dream dreams but too often we make dreams our master. You youngmen will see visions and may those visions inspire you to action! May you have the courage to face a world situation which, as it develops, seems likely to demand more courage than was ever called for from my generation. You may have to face death in defending your country from invasion. In that unhappy event, remember the lines on the Canadian War Memorial at the Vimy Ridge :—

"We giving all gained all :
Neither lament us nor praise :
Only through ages recall
It is Fear, not Death that slays."

Life will make heavy calls upon your energy and your courage and it may and should cause heavy drafts on your fund of sympathy. It will be increasingly necessary that you can automatically put yourself in the other man's place and that you strive actively

to help the underdog. This does not mean that you need suffer fools gladly nor that you should hesitate to expose the hypocrite. We have too many hypocrites in our midst, partly because we care unduly easy-going and partly, perhaps from our willingness to live with old lies in a horrible domesticity—pace the standard-bearers of faiths, cultures, languages and separatism in general.

In these days, when speaking out has become almost as common as listening in, it is time that we gave the hypocrite shorter shrift than he has been allowed hitherto. We condemn those whose ways we do not like, we do not those who are out to bamboozle us. Remember you cannot compromise with Hypocrisy without getting compromised yourself.

But you will neither face the world situation as it is fast developing, nor advance the status and prestige of your country, neither benefit your-selves much nor those who come after you, if even in the present critical times, you continue to regard your graduation as a means to occupy a cell in some secretarial honeycomb You must pitch your ideal higher, i e., relate it to your country's need, even if your choice entail hardship. Though man liveth not by bread alone, I do not suggest that you dispense with bread. I rather suggest that you produce the corn of which bread is made.

We have heard the cry—"Back to the Vedas." What I am commanding to you—not as a slogan, but as one course of chosen action—is a variant of that cry—"Back to the land"

The Government of His Exalted Highness The Nizam of Hyderabad has given a lead in this matter by offering to Graduates of Osmania University land and capital on condition that they return to their villages, where they are expected to introduce higher standards into agriculture, education and social life generally. Times seem propitious in the U. P. and elsewhere for similar action, if only as a partial solution of the problem of educated middle-class unemployment. Possibly I would be reminded that the experiment was tried and failed. I feel that its success is a matter merely of your perseverance and self-denial. I have suggested that you should mould your lives in relation to the primary needs of your country. From that it follows that your motto should be "Service", that you should be inspired with the missionary's zeal. Self-denial and self-sacrifice are inseparable from a life devoted to the service of one's country. But they provide a wonderful discipline, and your ambition I take it, is, as it should be, to serve your country. If you would prove worthy citizens of the India of tomorrow, you will need to discipline yourselves severely To judge from the newspapers, the college student to-day does not discipline himself as severely as the student of my generation did, nor did we discipline ourselves as strictly as our fathers had done. Forty years ago, though we talked a good deal about 'Ustad and 'Shagird' about 'Guru' and 'Chela', we did so largely because it was an easy way of flattering our teachers To-day, as in the past, our self-styled *Gurus* get the so-called *Chellas* that they deserve. Had I the power of a dictator, I would insist that every student, on finishing his University course, put in a year in a Labour Camp under the strictest discipline imaginable. Such insistence might be tyranny, but usually the tyrant considers himactued by the noblest motives. Mahatma Gandhi is no tyrant, but in the Phoenix Settlement he prescribed and enforced a mode of life no less rigorous than that which I have advocated. I hold that the discipline I contemplate would be a help, not a hindrance in life to the majority of University graduates It would restore labour to its pristine dignity but, what is far more important, it would eradicate the Inferiority Complex so contemptuously attributed to us Indians. Going back to land on the other hand, opens up a vista of fundamental social service. Imagine what service you would not render by reviving and making really effective the village Panchayats and District Local Boards? What losses in long drawn-out litigation you would not save to the poor villagers? How you would improve, by your example, village sanitation? There is unremitting talk now-a-days of Rural Reconstruction and Village Uplift. That talk, however tardy, is very apt because the economic regeneration of India must start with rural reconstruction. In 1882, the Government of India issued their Resolution on Local Self-Government. If only its operation had extended to rural areas I believe that the plight of our people to-day would not be anything like as sad as it is. Though rural reconstruction is claiming the attention of earnest men to-day, the realisation of the ideal held in view depends upon the men who apply themselves to the task. These men must be legion: they must be spread over the country inspired with the spirit of pioneers and nation-

builders. The possibility of achievement is a challenge to youth to gird up its loins and prove its idealism.

With the taking of your degree you automatically become entitled to vote. Do not despise the privilege. Solon was shrewd when he passed his law to deprive of Athenian citizenship the man who did not cast the vote given him. Here in India we want to see democracy in action, not political torpor. In England the neglect of large numbers to the polls is causing politicians of various parties much concern. For example, at the recent by-election at Springburn (Glasgow) only 24,000 out of 45,000 voters chose to record their suffrages.

To-day, throughout the world, democracy is on its trial. Its survival depends on its ability to give people the feeling that they are governing themselves. Those who do not vote can have no such feeling. Here lies a great threat to the democratic system of government which people want to see flourishing in India Government to-day is complicated, and what it achieves has often more far-reaching effects on the lives of the subjects than they realise at the moment its policies are translated into action In prosperity people have no wish, in bad times they are afraid to interfere with it. If things go altogether too ill, they turn, not from one politician to another, but away from them all to a prophet with a message. The magic of these political Messiahs lies in the appeal to sacrifice, which alone unites a people Such an appeal—though a mild one—I have made to you in all earnestness. The modern Dictator understands the force of appeal to sacrifice. Do we who are winning our freedom and naturally will want to preserve it when won, understand this as well?

If you would be democratic, then let your democracy be efficient, for in modern times the reaction against inefficient Democracy is Fascism or Nazism as Communism is the reaction against inefficient Autocracy Fascism and Nazism are governments by fidgets, as I have already said, and Communism I regard as an adaptation of Pavlov's Behaviourism.

Therefore, if you would be true democrats, you must not only prize your vote and exercise it to create the conditions you desire but you must also strive after the highest efficiency in public affairs Democracy, let me repeat, is not to be safeguarded merely by the spreading and encouragement of democratic views: it will not even grow up to full stature in this country unless it can rest on sound foundation of honesty, impartiality, and tolerance in our political and administrative life These are ideals which can be served as much, if not more, by the humble public servant in his office, as by the prominent politician on his platform. We in India have, I believe, given so much care lately to large matters of principle that it is high time we focussed attention upon the humbler sphere of personal service. It is an old and wise adage that the best way to serve your country is to do the job in hand really well, whatever it may be.

There is a new order come in our country already and it may ramify. I do not say it should . but I may say that I personally hope it would Whether it does or not, will to some extent at least depend upon what you and the likes of you in the country at large think and feel about it. You will have grasped that what I have in mind is the burning topic of Federation . of the problems of the moment, *the* problem.

I have no desire to help from your mind on this question. Indeed, for more than one reason, I must scrupulously refrain from influencing your judgment. Although most men are, I am aware, in favour of the abstract concept of federation, I happen to be in favour of the concrete scheme as it has resulted from years of discussion and debate. Secondly, I must refrain from giving your minds any direction because I have been preaching that you must cultivate the habit of thinking things out for yourselves. I may observe, however, that for such a purpose, in this particular case, you are at a serious disadvantage.

You and even those who have preceded you by a few years in marching out of the Varsity portals have been too engrossed in your general studies to have found time for becoming familiar with the background of the scheme in question. What is more, as a consequenec of the infinite variety of conditions which that scheme is designed to embrace and to provide for, it has assumed formidable proportions. The Government of India Act of 1935, though a model of lucid parliamentary draftsmanship, is yet an intricate piece of legislation. Therefore, I venture to suggest that even if you had the inclination and the patience to sit down to it and study it, you will find a clear grasp of its myriad provisions, in their diversified bearings and interconnections, rather beyond your present power of accomplishment. But that does

not mean that this difficulty notwithstanding, you cannot arrive at a very intelligent general opinion on the scheme, for the purpose of a mental or even a vocal affirmative or negative.

If you would look round and seize upon the salient facts of our country's situation and in their light differentiate between the essential and the non-essential, you will certainly be able to come to an intelligent decision, all your own. If you will preserve an open mind, you need not be influenced by prejudice or predilection. If you will do these two things, viz, from your own judgment of the present crying needs of your country and preserve a detached attitude of mind, you will not only be able to assess the weight of the arguments for and against the Federation but you will also derive a great deal of intellectual pleasure from the perusal of your daily newspapers and the mental analysis which must accompany that occupation. You will be able to sift the chaff from the grain, to tell hypocrisy from sincerity : ulterior motive from rectitude . exaggeration from balance and mere suspicion and imaginary alarm from well-founded doubt which is not begotten of distrust.

It may assist your quest for the truth if I give your minds the barest orientation by saying that the scheme in question is designed to bring our country together for purposes of matters of common concern to that country as a whole, while leaving the parts free to work out their own salvation in the wider field of immediate local concern The parts being the British Indian Provinces, on the one hand, and the Indian States on the other, the fundamental feature of the scheme is, to my mind, that it brings these two parts of India together for the first time, and thus attempts to construct a framework in which a United Indian nation can take shape You have, therefore, to judge how far the scheme which by now has been comprehensively expounded and criticised, is calculated to advance our country's interests ? You will have to judge this in the light of our present economic situation, as well as in the light of obtaining conditions in the spheres, on the one hand, of a Nation's united will and, on the other of the diversity of ruling authority which pens one people into many compartments. Should you find the scheme wanting, you must consider, too, whether its inadequacy is a resultant of irreconcilable forces that exist and have to be reckoned with or whether that inadequacy has its origin in the framers' obduracy ? Whichever was your judgment inclined on this contrasting visage of the problem, that judgment will also settle the question of the economic speed of your country's journey towards its destined goal. Federation is a counterpoise to the fissiparous tendency—to drift and separatism, modern conditions of life are fast dissolving some of the old foundations of India—this may be the last moment to re-lay them on solid rock.

I trust you will not regard it as an anti-climax if I suddenly turn from a serious theme to a lighter one, from Federation to Refreshment.

While you were at school and college, many of you doubtless took an interest in games and physical culture. It is your bounden duty not to give up athletic habits if you would be of real value to our Motherland Numbers will profit India but little if physically she remains a C3 nation In this land of scorching sun and malaria, it is very hard for the individual to keep fit unless he rigorously plans his life for fitness. Regularity in daily exercise and not occasional bursts of energy is the requisite. The intelligentsia of India to-day would be four times as effective as it is if it kept itself twice as fit The idea that there is an antithesis between robust health and spirituality is a false medievalism, a relic of the Dark Ages which we must scrap with all speed if our progress is to be rapid. If you are fit and can keep fit, you will refuse to ride the lowly mule of an inferiority complex. Horse play and horse sense often go together. Further if your physical condition is normal, your tempers will be less liable to fray and life will be a pleasant adventure for you and for those around you. I wonder if it is realised that our Man of Destiny, the figure which to-day looms the largest not merely on the Indian but on the world's stage, takes every care to keep himself fit. His peculiar diet which is misregarded as the pose of a crank, if it has in view spiritual enlightenment, has physical fitness as much for its object. And he exercises his limbs with a regularity which most of us may envy—the great pedestrian who did the march to Dandi.

Intellectually, your aim should be to make your lives rich, but austere. This means that you, on leaving the Agra University, must join that far greater University, the University of Books. Join it you should and remain undergraduates of it throughout your lives. You cannot keep up-to-date intellectually unless you read some of the latest books issued and from time to time re-read in all the languages

you know books of enduring merit. Read and think, do not read just to get the substance without the trouble of having to think. This is a common defect among people who do little reading outside the newspaper. Newspaper reading is no substitute for the reading of books. The person who reads nothing but newspapers is apt to develop what I may call the film mind; he thinks in scenarios and becomes ineffective as a constructive thinker. His mind is at the mercy of the crudest propaganda and, therefore, a slave mind. Newspapers may give you intellectual excitement but good books give intellectual homing and homing is better for the mind than excitement. I do not say read no newspapers, rather I suggest that you read not one paper but two, one of which represents a political point of view at variance with your own, whatever it be. Thus you may gain some profit even if it be ephemeral, thus you may keep your mind receptive. In this rapidly altering kaleidoscopic world, when the altar cloth of one generation becomes the doormat of the next, you must keep your mental arteries flexible. Once they harden, much of your utility as a citizen is gone. One of the most hopeful signs in our country's political life to day is to my thinking the fact that in the Provinces those who have risen to leadership are essentially persons with minds that have remained adaptable. They are not doctrinaires on the one hand, nor, on the other, are they improvising convictions.

Perhaps you will think that what I have said to you this afternoon is too much of an uninspiring sermon and that Age cannot possibly understand Youth. There may be more in this view than my generation cares to realise. To the cheap witticism that giving good advice to the young consoles the old for no longer being able to set a bad example I can only offer the truism that we none of us know everything, not even the youngest of us. In any case, it was an old man who wrote the lines :—

"The dead make rules and I obey
I, too, shall be dead some day;
Youth and maid, who past my death
Have within your nostrils breath,
I pray you for my own pain's sake,
Break the rules that I shall make"

Age is too apt to tell Youth that Youth is to be envied Are you to be envied entering on a life which storm and stress throughout the world may make very difficult for you? I cannot say. It all depends upon how you as a whole conduct yourselves amid that storm and stress May Providence grant you the courage which may make you a credit to your Colleges and your University

You cannot expect to pass through life without meeting with many a pain but, if you meet pain bravely, you will learn more from pain than from joy.

Remember

"Iron, left in the rain
And fog and dew,
With rust is covered. Pain
Rusts into Beauty, too."

I would thank you all for the inexhaustible patience with which you have listened to my address, and to you Graduates I wish God speed in the lives that now lie before you.

The Mysore University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by Mr. *T. R. Venkatarama Sastri*, at the Annual Convocation of the University of Mysore held on the **29th. October, 1937** .—

I am deeply and sincerely thankful to your Highness, the Chancellor of the University, for your gracious invitation to me to deliver the Convocation address to the graduates of the year. I accepted the invitation as in duty bound, but not without diffidence and hesitation I am not an educational expert. I can only speak as a layman. I am a layman deeply interested in educational problems. Though I have had some connection with two Universities, I have no pretensions to an intimate or deep knowledge of Universities in general, or of the working of your University in particular, such as your Vice-Chancellor may claim My knowledge of Mysore is confined to its law courts. It extends over thirty-three years , during twenty-five years of that period I have been an Advocate first of your Chief Court and then of the High Court. As Advocate I have even participated in Mysore elections That however, is by the way

The Mysore University is just twenty-one years old Mysore took a momentous decision when she decided to have a University of her own with the object, expressed by the Chancellor at its opening, of having a teaching University in which a full-time Vice-Chancellor and professors and teachers and students should be brought into intimate daily association With your two centres separated by some ninety miles, your University could not be strictly unitary. Mysore and Bangalore hold an indispensable place in the life of the State And both had developed, in the course of the history of Mysore The close approximation to the unitary type that you achieved has influenced later university developments in South India.

Universities in Indian States are a distinct advantage. With their greater freedom to make experiments they can furnish guidance to British Indian Universities The opposite sometimes happens—that they take over the features of British Indian legislation. I hope it will be permissible for me to express the opinion that your University Regulation of 1933 and the Madras University Act of 1923 have alike allowed what is of questionable policy, the intrusion of political influences into the academic world of the University.

There is one question of general importance which Mysore is in a position to pronounce upon in the light of her individual experience—if not for her own guidance, at least for the guidance of future planners of Indian Universities. Is there any disadvantage in the dissociation between the humanities and the sciences in their location ? Mysore and Bangalore have alike languages, but mathematics, history, economics and politics and sociology, psychology and philosophy on the one side and physics, chemistry and mathematics and botany and zoology on the other, stand separately in the two centres. It is the intimate association involved in the corporate life of the University that supplies the corrective to the narrowness and the deficiencies of specialisation and one-sided study. A student benefits not merely by his own studies but also by the studies and temperamental diversities of other students and the atmosphere that all help to create. Mysore with its two centres and the division of studies between them is in a position to say whether there is no disadvantage in the separation

The promotion of technological studies is included among the objects of the universities in the more recent University Acts and in your own Regulation of 1933. Your progress in this new direction will be watched with interest. You have the most favourable conditions in the fact that your State is industrially well organised and developed.

I understand you have a Law College. I will not say that it is not a well-considered or wise decision. I can understand a desire not to add to an over-crowded profession. Law as a scientific study, however, is worthy of a place in liberal education. It deserves consideration whether scientific study of law and legal institutions should not have a place among the options for the B. A. Examination. Such studies exist in Oxford and they do not lead to law as a profession.

I add my voice to Mr. Chintamani's in claiming your attention to the Ayur-Vedic and Unani systems of medicine. Miraculous cures effected by the practitioners of these systems are not negligible. They indicate that serious investigation is called for and it will not do to dismiss them as mere quakery. The scientific study of the systems and their improvement may well engage the attention of enlightened Mysore.

The importance of physical education cannot be over-estimated. But the devotion to sport has exceeded all reasonable bounds. In older times it would have been characterised as frivolous, if not a criminal, waste of time, but it is against all received opinion so to characterise it now. I have no doubt that all forms of recreation ought to be provided. I have myself belonged to the foot-ball eleven in my college, though only for a short time. I have faith in regular exercise as a result of personal experience. It is an old belief attributed to Manu that physical exercise, apart from ordinary work and for the sake of exercise, is not advisable. The Kshatriyas were an exception to the rule. Probably, recreations in the field are organised somewhat on the same principle that the mind is not to be fixed on the physical evolutions performed. I not only do not object to exercise for exercise's sake but specifically advise it, adapted to individual needs. Club-swinging and the use of grip dumb bells and developers at a fixed hour of the day which many will feel and characterise as dreary were my self-imposed discipline for years I have attended foot-ball and cricket matches now and then with interest, but the pages of the news-papers devoted to the sports news and the incessant talk of young fellows at home and outside about the cricket and tennis players in distant lands have produced and accentuated the feeling of protest in my mind. A young friend told me that I should watch rugby foot-ball to realise the value of sports in rousing latent strength. I dare say there is truth in the statement. But the devotion to sport in which one does not take part and the time spent in discussing it are far too much. In any case, I have had my say in the presence of a distinguished university audience. I can leave it to them to consider and deal with it as they like.

Ideals as to the education of women will always vary. There is a fair volume of opinion in favour of the view that collegiate education is an unnecessary luxury for women and that it injures their health and unfits them for family life which most of them must enter. Girls in the villages are sturdier and the training in household work builds up their health and capacity sooner and better. All this may be true. There is an opinion which I share that college girls have effected an adjustment and they show an improved health in this generation The number of women taking to collegiate education will always be fewer than the men. It must be left to them and to their guardians to decide whether they should go into the University or not. There ought to be no barriers erected against their entry into the University. The downward career of Indian women began when we abolished initiation and study of sacred literature in the case of women and classed them with those to whom it was never open. There are women hymn-makers in the Rig-Veda, but no woman in later times may read the Veda There are no modern Maitreyis. There are the Webbs, the Hammonds, the Rhys Davidses and the Curies in other lands. The contribution of the women in some of these partnerships is deemed more valuable than that of the men. The women are not in all these cases products of the University, though their books are studied there. The highest study can be achieved without going into the University, but entry into University should not be refused on account of sex any more than that it should be refused on grounds of caste, class or creed.

We have discussed often enough the question of the medium of instruction and are still discussing it. The problem of the mother tongue as the container and disseminator of all knowledge is a much larger problem. The language of a people is the measure of the knowledge and culture of that people. It is to this latter aspect that I wish to draw your attention.

I am not among those who believe that the system of education inaugurated in 1835 and developed in the course of the century was an unredeemed failure. It is futile to speculate what we should have been if the opposite school had won in 1835. It is conceivable that we should have been worse. I believe, and have always believed, that to a student desirous of extracting the best results out of it and prepared to bestow the necessary attention and labour under the guidance of competent teachers, the system was not incapable of yielding good results. I have personally nothing but a sense of gratitude for the benefit received. Most persons who condemn it now are

among the best products of that system. It has done its work well enough, if not as well as it was expected to do. This need not, however, blind us to the inherent weaknesses of a system of education carried out in a foreign tongue. We are familiar with them. There is first the labour wasted in the acquisition of that language during the plastic years of life which ought to be devoted to the acquisition of knowledge. There is next the barrier that it creates between the educated classes and the masses. The free dissemination of the acquired knowledge is not assisted but hindered by it. The evil has a tendency to perpetuate itself. Added to all this, the lure of Government employment and the attraction of examinations and degree as mere passports to it have in them an element of demoralisation The question is whether we visualise a time when the mother tongue should become the vehicle of thought in all departments of national life and should cover the whole field to knowledge. No people truly possess the knowledge that their language cannot, or does not, contain Thought that is the possession of a class and not incorporated in the current language of the people is not the possession of the people The body of thought and knowledge and the words conveying them have an intimate and inseparable relation, as Kalidasa points out in the opening benedictory verse of his immortal 'Raghuvamsa'.

National pride and national self-respect, of which we talk so much in other spheres, cannot allow us to acquiesce in the view that for all time knowledge imparted in our universities can only be imparted through English and therefore will be available only to those who consent to a preliminary acquisition of that language. I, before now, had occasion to refer to the fact that Germany replaced Latin as the instrument of higher thought by German and it became the language of Geothe and Schiller and of German philosophy and metaphysics in a century or a century and a half Latin in Europe and Sanskrit in India were not foreign tongues and even they have had to be displaced, in order that learning may not be confined to a class. The use of a living foreign tongue as a means of education has more demoralising consequences. Nothing less than a complete replacement will make of the mother tongue an efficient instrument of national culture in all departments of national life and yet the obstacles in the way of making it such an instrument are very great, appalling, great and almost insuperable. Even in a place like Mysore where the destiny of the people is apparently in their own hands, the obstacles are only a little less.

In British India all public activities are carried on in English. English is the language of the Government, of the Courts and of the legislatures. Accounts and correspondence are maintained in English for the obvious conveniences of the course. Public meetings are held in English as the people have different home languages. Even in Mysore the conditions exist. The fact that half a century before the rendition, Mysore was under British administration has had its own consequences. I am glad to note that Mysore has, nevertheless, been able to change all this in the High School The colleges and the universities still use English. I expect that Mysore visualises a time when education in all spheres will be in the Kannada language. It may be that, when the day comes, we cannot dispense with English altogether. We need not dispense with it. It will be the most important European language that could be taken as an optional language of study and many will choose it. Provision should be made for its teaching as well as for the teaching of French and German.

The conveniences of the immediate present pull us one way and the demands of the future that we visualise point the other way. The solution, though it will be delayed, cannot be in doubt. We require determined thinkers and administrators to devise a programme of ways and means to appropriate the whole body of modern knowledge and incorporate it in the language of the people. I know it is a long way. It is not the work of a decade or two. It must be strenuous work spread over a long period I wish only to add that in Russia, with its problem of many languages not dissimilar to India's, education is carried on in the language of the locality and the necessary literature has been created within a very short period. Given the desire and determination, it may be carried out sooner than we, in the light of our past, anticipate The Vedic idea even of God's creation involves the three stages of "Intense desire to create, an intense and mighty effort, and creation." It may be quick or slow according to the nature of the creative work and the strength of the efforts put forth. The quickest creation may still require an irreducible minimum of time

Reconstruction of education is just now a widely discussed topic. Reconstruction may often be a coming back. Not exactly to the point left behind, because there is no coming back in that sense in human history. We come back to the basic prin-

ciples but with a different application to the changed circumstances that the intervening time and events have brought about. If I am anxious to exhibit the ancient unchanged core of principle, it is because I am anxious to point out that the builders of the future have not to scrap the past.

The content of education may vary, but the broad conception is common. Education is the discipline and development of faculty by the imparting of knowledge. There is a certain minimum of knowledge that must be imparted to all. This included reading, writing and arithmetic in all pial schools. In addition, each man must receive the training and discipline that is necessary for the place in the social economy that he is to occupy This was done within the villages in most cases and often within the family. To those who are to acquire and impart higher knowledge and are to be, in various ways, guides and leaders of the community, there is to be higher education.

The development aimed at is not one-sided. It must be an all-round education. It must make a man, a whole man, complete physically, mentally, morally and spiritually Every one must be enabled to realise the highest or the best of which he is capable The limit is set only by the capacity of the individual This was always the theory but social conditions circumscribed opportunity. Ability that nothing could repress always transcended limitations and restrictions.

The names elementary, secondary and university education are modern, but the things they indicate are of all times. The pial schools have been replaced by the modern elementary school The projected vacational schools will not abolish hereditary craftsmanship, which would also require to be revived and encouraged The Universities are a proper instrument of higher learning, though they need not supersede other institutions of oriental learning Education from the elementary to the most advanced stages must and did, cover the whole field of knowledge. This knowledge was never conceived as stationary or as a definite quantity It was added to from generation to generation Each generation received it from the predecessor and with such additions as it was able to make, passed it on to its successor Institutions calculated to impart knowledge in all the three grades always existed. But literature naturally dealt with that which concerns the higher stages of education And the references to lower education are simply left at the statement that those at the helm of affairs should devise ways and means for work and livelihood for all. Those who were engaged in this higher work were treated as the custodians of the higher learning and culture of the race. In ancient theocratic societies, custom and prejudice restricted access to the sacred texts embodying the higher learning to a particular class. But the learning itself was not treated as sealed to any class.

The description thus given may alike apply to education, ancient or modern, and with the necessary changes in content and method involved in the process of time, the essential identity of conception may easily be recognised.

The ideal of education was first sanctified in ancient India as a debt owed to the intellectual guardians of the community. The best definitions of the words 'education' and 'university' cannot carry the matter beyond the conception of generations past, present and future as engaged in the common enterprise of preserving, augmenting and passing on the intellectual heritage of the race for ever and ever. In fact, it is a marvel how the higher knowledge and wisdom permeated all ranks of society and informed and influenced them in their daily lives.

Universities were not unknown in ancient India The old Universities were places of disinterested learning and attracted pupils not only from all parts of India but from distant China and Japan Even in the days anterior to these Universities, learning was pursued under great teachers in what we now claim to be the university spirit if not with all the paraphernalia of a modern University. For understanding the spirit of dedication involved in the sacred learning of an ancient student, one has only to turn to the book of the Taittiriyas, which in its solemn sonorously intoned text has a high lifting quality.

Devotion to truth and right in the largest sense, a simple and austere life suited to the great purpose on which the student is engaged, self restraint and tranquillity of mind, are prescribed ; with and alongside of each of these requirements is repeated the injunction of unswerving adherence to the cardinal duty of deep study and dissemination of knowledge.

Curiously enough, differences of stress on these virtues by different preceptors are mentioned, evidencing the high seriousness with which education was pursued. "Truth

in all things is the one thing needful", says one teacher who came to acquire the surname of 'True-world', "No ! Austerity", says another who came to be known as 'Ever-austere'. "Just learning and teaching, that is, *tapas*, real *tapas* real tapas", says a third.

The parting injunction of the teacher to the pupil at the close of his education again lays stress on truth and right and learning and teaching, warns against the neglect of material welfare and prosperity and enjoins a well-ordered life following in the wake of thoughtful, high-souled men, tender-hearted and moved only by righteousness.

The high ideals of life that animated these ancient teachers and pupils in their study and conduct are still worthy of emulation. The actual content of their study may have been different, but the spirit behind it was not inferior to anything that we know or exhibit to-day in our own lives In the too eager pursuit of the much lower advantages of wealth and power we have lost sight of some of the ideals and virtues of an earlier time. Even the present need for reconstructing our educational system is in large part due to the fact that we have rushed in too large numbers, not for the discipline and its value, but for the resulting degree measured in terms of money.

I have heard the criticism that education in ancient India was mere memorising and that it was not education in the real sense. I feel that the criticism is hardly just to these ancient teachers. The same book of the Taittiriyas bears witness to their conception of teaching the higher pupil Every time the pupil returned with a partial, inadequate solution the teacher sent him back with the direction to go and reflect again until, having found the solution after many trials and being satisfied, the pupil did not return again. He was made to solve the problem for himself.

The whole of our national history is a refutation of the charge that our study was uncritical and futile It is an opinion that may be passed with some amount of justice on more recent times. The vision of India down the ages, from the days of the Rishis to our own time with its Buddha and Mahavira, Valmiki and Vyasa, Panini and Patanjali, Manu and Yajnavalkya, Jaimini, Sabara, and Kumarila, and Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhva, to mention only a few names at random, must dispel the idea that our education has been a mere burden to the memory and not a process of life and growth When the night came on, and we no longer added to our knowledge, we still retained the old discipline and preserved the old heritage, and in the capacity we have shown in acquiring modern knowledge, we have proof that the ancient discipline and spirit are still alive, in abundant measure.

As I began with the educational reconstruction now under discussion, I must say a word about it. There is fair unanimity on the general outlines of the solution, though there may be differences in detail. From a lucid note of your Vice-Chancellor on 'Education in Mysore', I find you had a Committee on the subject and their recommendations have been made. When the Madras proposals were made, the first reaction was the suspicion that the attempt was to stifle or restrict higher education. I have information that the view still prevails in some quarters and even among some educationists. I personally think that restriction of admission to Universities is, to some extent necessary and a corresponding change in secondary education is also necessary. The real difficulty is in discriminating between those who should go into vocations and those who ought to go into Universities and in persuading a student or his guardian to recognise facts and make a wise choice. Much tact and judgment and a certain flexibility in applying the rules to border-line cases will be required of the administrator. Otherwise, Newtons may stand excluded from the Universities. However beneficial these changes may be the exclusion from colleges should not begin before vocational courses into which the students are to be diverted are ready to be put in operation. Much friction and dislocation will be averted if the proposals are taken as a whole and brought into operation at one and the same time.

Graduates of the University, I offer you my hearty felicitations on the completion of your prescribed studies and the attainment of your respective degrees. Traditional usage prescribes an exhortation to the graduates on the day of the Convocation to conduct themselves suitably unto the position, to which, by the degrees conferred on them, they have attained. During the whole of your life in the University, there has been a continuous, unspoken exhortation to you to imbibe the ideals of the University and shape your lives in the light of such ideals. An exhortation to you to day to live up to the great ideals in which you have been brought up is only a formal reminder on a ceremonial occasion. Some of you may pursue further studies, but many will

pass out of the portals of the University into the wider world beyond, in quest of your life-work. I wish you all, men and women alike, every success in your quest. A great and enlightened Ruler, who has earned admiration in and outside the State, and his wise and able Diwan preside over the destiny of Mysore. The industrial and economic development and prosperity they have achieved for the State place you here perhaps in a better position than graduates elsewhere. But there is even here some apprehension of unemployment. I find your Vice-Chancellor referring in his note to unemployment even of women graduates. Conditions were far easier in my time and yet I remember the feeling of bewilderment at having to face an adverse world. Things are much worse now. Trials and tribulations there may be. Face the world with courage and do the work that falls to your lot with all the energy that you can put into it. Strive to make the best of life. "Strive for prosperity" as the *Upanishad* enjoins. But do not pitch your hopes and expectations too high. I should have said that to you in the best of circumstances. I should say it particularly in the difficult times in which we live Take what comes to you. Do not lose heart over unfulfilled expectations This is in regard to yourselves.

And the society, in the midst of which we live, is passing through difficult times. Intolerance is their peculiar characteristic. In comparatively tolerant times and countries, rival ideas held their own ground, but in the sphere of action reached some kind of working reconciliation and harmony. There was no attempt to suppress and extinguish rival ideas or those who espoused them. Europe is now inculcating a new lesson. If a view is earnestly, solemnly, sincerely held, it cannot give quarter to its opposite and those that represent that view cannot tolerate their opponents. Each party then must not only capture power but must not allow the opposite view or its exponents to lift up their head. Where neither party has won or can win so as to crush its opponent out of existence, the country can only be in a state of civil war divided between the two camps. Even when national affairs have been adjusted you cannot feel safe so long as there is a neighbouring country with the opposite principle and party in power. Every country is in dread as to what revolution may overtake it either at the instance of dissatisfied classes within or at the instigation of a neighbouring power without. Even in countries where open class conflict does not exits, the equilibrium is more or less unstable and elements of conflict, seen or unseen, exist. No one can say that the problem of class conflict has received a solution in Europe that we can straight-away adopt as a solution for our troubles here. We here, far away in India, live perhaps a sheltered existence. And you in Mysore are doubly sheltered. But we have the same types of men among us, within your frontiers and without. Some are ranged on one side, owing spiritual allegiance to one set of ideas, and some on the other side, owing allegiance to the opposite set of ideas. And the inequalities of life and opportunity from which these mortal rivalries ultimately spring exist here as in other countries We must deal with these social maladies, or the consequence will be serious. A good section of those who think on these matters and count for much in the country take the view that neither fascism nor communism is consistent with the genius of our race and the social system we have evolved in the course of millennia, and that neither can be the real solution for our ills. But the real solution must be a modification of our social system in which individual initiative is not, but unrestricted competition is, eliminated and equality of opportunity is promoted by the removal of the crying abuses and evils that now exist.

Those that are now in political power have associations that exert disturbing influence on the course of legislation and administration. This is applicable in a greater measure to us in British India than to you in an Indian State. In the remarks I am here making as to your part, I make no distinction between you and us, remembering that ideas and ideals have no frontiers to detain them and what is our problem to-day may be yours to-morrow. Leadership naturally belongs to you who go out of the Universities. The duty of deep study and dissemination of sound ideas laid by our ancients, on those who have received higher education gains this new application in your case in the circumstances of our time. There will always be those to whom the ancient wisdom is the final word and not even when the circumstances change can there be any the slightest change in established institutions. There will be also those to whom the experience and wisdom of ages are but foolishness and the unknown, whatever the risk, has an attraction and revolutionary changes are welcome as adventures into the unknown. It will be your part to strike the sane middle path, to move the immobile conservative and restrain the impatient revolutionary. Farewell.

The Patna University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by Mr. *Syamaprasad Mukherjee*, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, at the Annual Convocation of the University of Patna held on the **27th. November 1937** :—

Let me express to your University my cordial thanks for the invitation to address your Annual Convocation. Only twenty years ago, your educational interests were linked up with the University which I have the honour to represent and numerous have been the bonds of association between your province and mine. I bring to you a message of goodwill and wholehearted co-operation from our University and province and hope in the days to come Bengal and Bihar will work together for securing the advancement of our common interests.

You will forgive me if I do not make educational reconstruction the main theme of my discourse to-day. So much has recently been said on the subject that it may perhaps be more useful if we cease for a while from speculating on theories and concentrate on carrying out our declared policies, keeping in view the cardial truth that India stands in need of a wide and progressive expansion of educational facilities from the lowest to the highest stage and not their curtailment in any form whatsoever.

As I stand in the historic city of Patna, the ancient Pataliputra, I feel tempted to trace some of the fundamental features of our civilisation in the majestic march of Indian history, not with the knowledge of a historian—for I lack such qualifications—but as a layman, an humble worker, who takes pride in the glories of our past history and longs for the day when this great land of ours may again claim her rightful place among the nations of the world and provide for the millions of her sons and daughters a higher and nobler life in all spheres, social, political, economic and cultural.

India has been styled an epitome of the world. This city which was the capital of the Imperial Mauryas and the Guptas, scene of the activities of Bhadrabahu and of Sher Shah and the birthplace of Guru Gobind Singh, may well be desbribed as an epitome of the land of Hindus and Muslims, of Jains and Sikhs. From time immemorial, it has been known for its toleration and catholicity, its love of learning and love of men. From the region where the waters of the Sone unite with the main stream of the Ganges, issued those messages of overflowing love towards men and even dumb animals which made the name of Asoka immortal. His edicts carved on rock and pillar throughout his vast empire served as a source of inspiration to rulers, statesmen and philanthropists. To the city of Pataliputra flocked merchants, diplomats, savants and sages, students and enquirers from all quarters of the civilized world.

The welcome extended to the visitors from distant lands was only equalled by the solicitude shown for the material comfort of the humblest among men. The free hospitals of the metropolis were open to all, irrespective of caste or creed. Toleration and concord were the watchwords of the rulers ; benevolence and righteousness inspired their subjects at large. The province that boasted of Pataliputra included within its boundaries Uruvilva and Nalanda, Uddandapur and Bikramasila, the centres of Gautama's enlightenment, of Silabhadra's discourses, of Gopala's piety and of Dharmmapala's charity. The massive towers and fairy-like turrets of Nalanda and her sister cities were visible symbols of that solid learning, high aspiration and conspicuous talent for which those great seats of the spiritual and intellectual life of India were justly famous.

India has had a splendid past. Many were the epochs when she lay safely anchored in a haven. But at times, storm and wind battered her masts and threatened to throw her precious burthen overboard. Nature, while impressing on her the stamp of unity by encircling her with lofty mountains and rocking seas, left gaps through which successive waves of invasion swept into the interior and brought ideals and ways of life that did not always fit in with her environments. In the interior itself, the hand of nature has drawn lines by rock and wood that proved serious impediments in the way of developing a common national life. But inspite of these, our forefathers did not despair of their country and we have had brilliant epochs in the

history of India when she could justly claim respectful attention from the civilized world. There were times when the political unification of the country ceased to be a mere dream of poets and patriots and came near a historical reality, resulting in an outburst of activity in the domain of religion, literature, science and art, comparable to that of the Greece of Pericles or the England of Elizabeth.

That splendour was by no means ephemeral. Indian culture has retained its vigour and vitality and has found a worthy place among the civilisations of all ages. The pyramids bear mute testimony to a vanished civilisation on the banks of the Nile, the winged bulls are but lifeless relics of another culture that once flourished on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, the ruins of Persepolis and Susa are to-day but subjects of antiquarian interest. Greece has achieved her political independence but the old Hellenic civilisation has disappeared for good like the Medusa and the Minotaur.

Here in our land however the Hindu still chants the Vedic hymns on the banks of the sacred rivers, the Buddha, Sangha and Dhamma are still invoked by millions of devotees from the mysterious heights of Fuziyama to far-off Adam's Peak The civilisation of India is still alive; its philosophy and teachings still inspire millions of human beings, although Indian culture no longer finds its stimulating support from an independent national state. We must attribute its success to its catholicity and universal sympathy.

The ancient Aryans did not revel in destruction for its own sake, they believed in assimilation and improvement. The Macedonian and the Greek, the Saka and the Kushan came to conquer and slay but remained to wonder and pray. It has been often asserted that the Polytheistic Hindu failed to establish a spiritual kinship with the Monotheistic Muslim who held much that is Indian in scorn and still seeks his spiritual inspiration abroad. How can we say that India ignored the teachings of Islam when we find saints like Nanak and Chaitanya, Namdev and Tukaram, preaching the brotherhood of man and the futility of caste in matters spiritual? Although attempts on Hindu culture and institutions fill the pages of Indian history, how can we assert that Muslims ignored the appeal of Hindu culture when we find Muhammad Jayasi weaving a beautiful romance to illustrate the teachings of Hindu philosophy, when we read the simple devotional hymns of Kabir and Sheikh Farid, who refused to recognise the barriers of caste and creed on the high road to God's kingdom? "Utter not one disagreeable word," said Farid, "since the true lord is in all men. Distress no one's heart for every heart is a precious jewel" In the same strain did Kabir proclaim, "There is the same God for the Hindu as for the Muslim." A rejuvenated India found an Akbar to put an end to political chaos and social disharmony and a Shah Jahan to dream a dream in marble the like of which is not to be met within the world.

India did not confine her attention to her adopted children alone. Whenever the stranger stood in need of spiritual solace, she ungrudgingly gave of her best. Did not she send a prince and a princess from this very city more than two thousand years ago to the land of the Yakshas to teach them the supreme truth that the only way to happiness lies in non-violence and renunciation? Did not the Imperial ascetic send the same message to the far-off lands of Egypt, Asia Minor and Greece? Did not this country spare her very best, Dipankara, when Tibet and Sumatra stood in sore need of him? That tradition is not altogether dead even now. Only the other day, Swami Vivekananda bore the message of Paramhansa Ramkrishna and of India's storied past and taught the true path to peace and happiness to a struggling materialistic world, suffering from the evils of its very greatness. And today every civilised country in the world finds in Mahatma Gandhi a new messenger of peace, an embodiment of truth and non-violence who can brave the wrath of the mightiest and suffer nobly and patiently for the sake of his ideal. Do we not find again in Sister Nivedita and Mira Ben the representatives of those pilgrims who have been coming to us all through the ages in search of the truth eternal?

It may be asked that if such has been the greatness of India as a home of culture and thought, why is it that she has lost her political independence and has become a subject nation? Would it be true to say that the catholicity and universal sympathy which contributed so much to the everlasting freshness of India's civilisation, concealed in them the germs of her political downfall? Did they engender that otherworldliness which spelt ruin to the prospect of India's freedom? History supplies the answer. Did not India produce Chandragupta and Samudragupta, Pratapsingh, Sivaji, and Ranjit Singh, inspite of the pacific teachings of our ancestors? Did not the

nameless but illustrious heroes, the Indian Argonauts, who explored the mysteries of the unchartered seas and spread Indian culture to the furthest East, prove that Hindu pacifism did not eliminate enterprise and love of adventure? Indian sages and philosophers never suggested that cowards and weakling would ever be the torch-bearers of India's great heritage. None but the valiant can achieve salvation. India's culture has not been responsible for India's bondage. That culture transplanted to the Himalayas and beyond has not taken the edge off the martial spirit of Mongolian races.

Is it then her climate that deteriorated the sturdy Aryan, Turk and Afghan in turn? If this were so, how are we to account for the rise of the Mahrattas and the Rohillas, the Jats and the Sikhs? How are we to explain the resurrection of the Rajputs? How could Hyder Ali of Mysore hold his own against the Mahrattas and the English? It is not the climate; it is not the culture; we must seek the cause of our downfall elsewhere.

India fell mainly because her people were at the critical hour divided and disorganised. Her influence waned when the forces of disintegration, political and social, were at work If we left our neighbours alone, we revelled in internal strife which ceased for a time when great kings like Asoka and Akbar ruled over the destinies of India—mighty men, who sought to unite the teeming millions of this vast sub-continent by the bond of a common aspiration and a passionate longing for the eternal code of righteous conduct, charity and understanding. A strong and united India, fearing none and loving all, brought messages of peace and good-will to a distracted world. But as soon as the sceptre dropped from their hands, when their grip over the country was loosened through weak and short-sighted successors, when narrow selfishness and mutual jealousy and distrust overpowered our souls, when local feuds and religious strife raised their ugly heads giving rise to social exclusiveness and moral decadence, unity was lost; freedom, man's priceless measure, disappeared, the country broke into fragments and relapsed into a state of conflict and struggle While the national and political unity of India was successfully achieved by great individuals, the masses did not at all times feel an abiding interest in its preservation. Thus although our culture has survived the storm and stress of time, we find ourselves in the strange and tragic position of the representatives and exponents of an ancient civilisation, yet alive but in bondage.

We may pertinently ask ourselves at the stage whether the forces of disruption that had effectively blocked the path of Indian progress in the past, have reacted more satisfactorily to their present environments, social, political and economic. It is obviously not possible for me here to deal with the history of British connection with India except to make some very general observations. The English came to India as traders and ultimately remained as masters of an empire. During the last century and a half, we have witnessed the progress of India in various directions. Stability, peace and order have been generally restored. The benefits of Science, which have revolutionised civilisation and have affected the lives of men and nations to an unprecedented extent have penetrated into this great and ancient land, leading to considerable material progress. Western Education has helped to broaden our outlook, deepen the sense of patriotism and lay the foundation of a political consciousness. Ideas of liberty and equality have slowly but steadily percolated from one corner of Hindusthan to another and we witness the ever-increasing vitality of Indian Nationalism. A spirit of inquisitiveness has captured the minds of Indians who have proved their worth in various domains of thought and activity. Many social evils have been uprooted and here is a general desire for uplifting the masses so that they may live more useful and noble lives.

While the progress of Indians on such lines is attributable to a large extent to western influence, no self-respecting Indian can ignore the vital defects and limitations of our national life. We must boldly take stock of the things that we have lost and yearn for. We find a general decay of the creative Indian arts which once triumphantly flourished in this land, and produced the frescos of Ajanta and the Taj of Agra. Indian music, Indian art and architecture, and Indian literature were not systematically and adequately patronised and that they have not entirely disappeared today is due mainly to the persistent efforts of individual workers. We witness the decline and disappearance of the indigenous industries of India which mainly thrived in her towns and villages. Such cottage industries, if they are to

be revived, developed and saved from foreign competition require the unstinted support of the State. We find also deplorable neglect of the health and welfare of the villages of India which are today but shadows of their former affluence and happiness. Indeed much of India's poverty and distress is traced to a systematic pursuit of an economic and industrial policy which has not been prompted and administered in the sole interest of India and her inhabitants.

One of the most staggering features of Indian life of to-day is the illiteracy and ignorance of more than 90 per cent. of the people and for this no plea or excuse will ever be accepted by any impartial historian. One other vital weakness about which Indians feel bitterly is that they have not been adequately trained to defend their own hearth and home. An autonomous India is unthinkable without a national army and a national navy controlled and manned by Indians themselves It is not correct to assume that many of the peoples of India are devoid of military or naval traditions. Indian history gives ample evidence of individual and collective courage and heroism. If there are parts of the country where the youths have to-day become feeble in health and energy, surely the remedy lies not in condemning them for eternity but in training them up for competent service.

I do not forget that in recent times efforts are being made to meet some of our vital needs. But no reforms of a radical character in any field of activity will ever be possible nor can India rise to her full stature spiritually and economically until and unless she takes her rank among the free nations of the world. No material gain, no earthly possession can ever compensate for the loss of man's liberty. The conflict of ideals and interests between a subject-race and the power that wants to hold it in its leading strings is as old as history itself; it can be solved peacefully and amicably only if the latter accords to the former the same treatment as it demands from others in respect of its own rights and privileges.

In defining freedom I can do no better than follow the language of a British peer, a statesman and philosopher, who has dealt with the question with remarkable lucidity in one of his recent books. What, he asks, is the ultimate goal of enlightened man? The answer is that one of the aims is that nations should be free from alien domination. What, he asks, should be the pattern set for civilised mankind? The answer is within the nation the individual should be free, free to think, worship, speak and act as he would, subject to the similar rights of others, free under the protection of equal justice to pursue his lawful business as he chose Men should no longer be bound down from birth to death by the hampering restrictions that come from bondage, poverty, overwork and environment. Freedom consists not only in the absence of restraint but also in the presence of opportunity Liberty is not a single and simple conception. It has four elements—national, political, personal and economic. The man who is fully free is one who lives in a country which is independent; in a state which is democratic; in a society where the laws are equal and restrictions at a minimum; in an economic system in which national interests are protected and the citizen has the scope of a secure livelihood, an assured comfort and full opportunity to rise by merit

This freedom, so truly and courageously defined, is not ours to-day and until this condition is reached, India will never achieve true greatness or happiness, based on the glorious features of her past civilisation.

The Indian Universities, if they are to play their role in the rebuilding of a new India, must not regard themselves as exclusive institutions which exist apart from the currents of the country's life. Let them train their alumni in a worthy manner, saturate them with the lessons of Indian history and civilisation, instil into them unity and reason, strength and dauntlessness, inspire them with skill and knowledge and teach them to apply themselves devotedly and unselfishly to the service of their fellowmen. Let the teachers of the Universities consider it their sacred duty to be the interpreters of India's heritage, the seekers of truth and knowledge, and prove to the world that Indian scholars are second to none in their efforts to serve the cause of the humanities and the sciences in relation to the unfettered progress of India and of human civilisation itself.

The Andhra University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by Dr. *C. R. Reddi*, the Vice-Chancellor at the Eleventh Convocation of the Andhra University held on the **2nd. December 1937** :—

In many respects this Convocation is one of unique importance. Latterly Chancellors have become rare at our functions and though I appreciate the motive of economy which induces our Governor-Chancellors to make themselves conspicuous by their absence, I still cannot but feel that this annual academic ceremony is widowed of much of its grandeur and impressiveness by such absence. I am therefore very grateful to you, Mr. Chancellor, for having taken the trouble to preside in person at this Convocation.

The University is proud and happy that Their Highnesses the Maharajah of Travancore and Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi are here to receive our Honorary Degrees in person. I cannot do better than quote the Syndicate's appreciation :—

"Resolved that the Honorary Degree of D. Litt be conferred on His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore and on Her Highness the Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi of Travancore in recognition of their great and courageous act of social liberation and national significance effected by throwing open the temples in their traditionally orthodox State to the entry of Harijans."

The University is also happy that you, Mr. Chancellor, have secured the right man to address this Convocation, which is the first to be held in what without exaggeration I might characterise as a New Era in the History of India. The presence of the Hon'ble Mr C Rajagopalachariar, our Prime Minister, at this, the first Convocation held in the first year of office acceptance by the Congress, is sure to be acclaimed as artistically appropriate and as inspiring as it is appropriate.

It is most unfortunate that, though the education given in the Vizagapatam Medical College is admitted to be adequate and our Medical Examinations unexceptionable, owing to other considerations relative to the Hospital, the recognition of the Andhra University Medical Degrees has been once again refused. by the Indian Medical Council. We are grateful that Government realise their responsibility as founders of the College and its Management and have undertaken to meet the requirements on an adequate and expeditious scale.

My thanks to the present Government cannot stop with this My complaint of last year that the Government have been unduly postponing taking up the revision of the Andhra University Act, no longer holds good. The present Government have without any delay been good enough to promise necessary action and have called for our proposals, though, of course, the right of final determination of the measure belongs to them and the Legislature.

In my speech last year, I said I dearly wished to see the Rayalaseema reunited to the Andhra University, and hope that the reunion will be speedily accomplished.

I request Government to expedite orders on the recommendations made by the Committee appointed under G. O. No. Mis. 770, Development Department, dated the 31st March 1937, to deal with the assignment of the area known as the Forest Compound at Waltair. The recommendations of the Committee were sent up to Government on 17th July 1937.

I reiterate the claim of the University made in Registrar's letter No. 177-C-36, dated 5th August 1936 for the special mention of its degrees as qualifications for candidates in the advertisements of Public service Commission along with the answering degrees of the Madras University and for the equal recognition of our B. Com. Degrees in this respect with the B. A. and B. Sc. It is not that we grudge precedence to the noble Mother of the other Four Universities in South India, and my own Alma Mater before whose image I bow in reverence, but the daughter Universities have a similar right and cannot be relegated to the position of inferences instead of being honoured as independent propositions. This is a measure of fairness ; and in the absence of such fairness, the standing and prospects of employment of the Andhra University graduates are adversely affected.

A new Second Grade College has this year been organised at Bezwada by the Zamindar of Vuyyur. It has been an act of filial piety as well as educational benefaction with him and he has our good wishes for the success and prosperity of this institution.

The most urgent requirements of the Andhra University at present are the following :

(1) Lands.

(2) A Natural Science College, with Honours courses in Botany, Zoology and Geology—Estimated cost Rs. 1,75,000 non-recurring and about Rs. 70,000 recurring.

(3) Organisation of a Department of Sanskrit and other Oriental Studies in the University.

(4) A College for Women with Domestic Science in the Intermediate and the B.A., as without Intermediate and Pass B A., enough girl students will not be attracted.

(5) A Senate House and Administrative Buildings—Total estimated cost about Rs. 1,85,000 non-recurring.

(6) An Assembly Hall—At present there is no Hall big enough for all the students to meet for their various functions. Estimated total cost about Rs. 1,50,000 nonrecurring.

(7) Vice-Chancellor's Residence with quarters for two or three guests—Estimated non-recurring cost about Rs. 75,000.

(8) Studentship Fund—The present position is this Our Departments are fairly well organised though we have not got all the departments essential in an University organisation. But such as have been organised are functioning at a good level Laboratories, teachers, etc., are not below University standards. But we must attract the brainy students to join so that the best use may be made of these facilities The competition of the Presidency College, the Loyola College and the Madras Christian College is a factor to be reckoned with. While the above Colleges and every College in India give a large number of scholarships tenable on admission, in the Andhra there is not even a single scholarship of this kind. The few scholarships that we give are given for Research after graduation and there are none tenable on admission to the Colleges on the Intermediate record of the applicants. Unless this grave need is immediately supplied, we cannot maintain the highest standards of teaching and efficiency.

Rupees 8,000 would be needed for founding one Senior Studentship of the value of Rs. 250 a year. We must have at least 10 Studentships, each tenable for 3 years, founded by private benefaction so as to tone up our Departments. That means a fund of about Rs 2,40,000. In due course I shall publish the names of Studentship founders in the Andhra University *

Residences for Teacher : There are staff requirements also which cannot be ignored much longer. The Andhra University has not had enough support from Government We have not had land given nor have we been enabled to organise all the facilities aimed at in the statemant of Objects and Reasons issued at the time the University Act was presented. For instance we have had no residences put up for any of the teachers, an essential requirement. About Rs. 15,000 would be required for each residence and of course standard rents will be levied

Endowed Professorships are another hope still unfulfilled. On the basis of a modest sum of Rs. 700 fixed salary per mensem for a Professorship—not a lavish sum—about Rs 2,40,000 would be required for founding a Professorship. Or it would be enough if assured annual grants of Rs. 8,400 are made.

At the time the University was founded it was fondly hoped that each District Board in the Andhra area would found one Professorship, which would have given us

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* During the course of his address, Dr. *C. R. Reddy*, the Vice-Chancellor, added the following passages :

1. Referring to the Studentship Fund to be started he said :—

"I am happy to be able to announce a donation of Rs. 8,000 received from my old, and if I may say so, hereditary friend the Rajah Saheb of Challapalli. I beg to tender the thanks of the University and myself to him for giving a noble lead in this direction.

"I expect I shall be able to announce two more donations, one from our Pro-Chancellor and permanent Patron, the Maharajah Saheb of Joypore, and the other from Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar. I trust that many more such donations will be forthcoming."

a big start will 11 or 12 Chairs straightaway. It may be added that at that time the maximum salary of a Professor was calculated at Rs. 1,000 per mensem. Though some District Boards and Municipalities like the Kistna District Board and the Guntur District Board and the Bezwada Municipality did make considerable contributions, on the whole the response under this head has been sadly disappointing and in no case adequate for any development as a Teaching University. I would earnestly appeal to the District Boards to found each one Chair in the University.

In this connection I have to tender the grateful thanks of the University to the Municipality of Cocanada, one of the leading Andhra cities, for its donation of Rs. 750 and to the Andhra Insurance Company, for their generous contribution of Rs 360 a year, for founding Studentships. These have been now voted only for short periods, but I expect they will be made permanent. Only a few days ago the Andhra Scientific Co Ltd, Masulipatam donated Rs. 360 for Studentships in Science for the current year.

The most important and auspicious event of the year is the Donation of one lakh of rupees most graciously sanctioned by His Exalted Highness the Nizam (Thunderous applause) as a result of an appeal made by me through my friend His Excellency the right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, (Loud cheers) the President of the Executive Council, for special consideration to be shown to the Andhra University on the ground that, judged by population and extent of territory, the Dominion of Hyderabad has been, right from the beginning of its history when the Ceded Districts and the Northern Circars formed a part of it down to the present day when Telingana continues to be its major portion in the main an Andhra State, (Applause) and that apart even from past history, the ethnical and cultural affinities which have always subsisted between the Dominion and the Desa and which I am sure will endure for ages to come, (cheers) justified my request for a specially benevolent attitude. Whatever the grounds, His Exalted Highness the Nizam, (Loud cheers) on the recommendation of my Right Hon'ble friend, Sir Akbar Hydari, and the members of the Council has been pleased to accord special recognition to us, for which the University and the Andhra Desa are devoutly grateful. (Loud cheers) I hope that this noble act marks a new orientation in the mutual relationship of his Dominion and the Andhra Desa and will result in a close, organised cultural co-operation. (cheers) I may add that in the magnificent and composite Dakkhani culture and civilisation, which mark the gracious individuality of Hyderabad, the Andhra element is the earliest and by no means the least important. (Loud & Prolonged applause).

"There is another donation, important and auspicious, which it is my good fortune to be able to announce to this audience. Unasked, unapproached, of their own spontaneous grace of soul and overflowing humanity, and in testimony of their innate sympathy with culture and higher education, moved by a deep impulse of love and perhaps that regard for the Telugu language which all lovers of music possess, Their Highnesses the Maharajah of Travancore and Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi have authorised me to announce a donation of one lakh of rupees to the Andhra University. (Thunderous Applause). Let me say that this communication made just a while ago, came upon me as a complete surprise. At no time did I, directly or indirectly, broach this subject, nor would I think it becoming for this University or its Vice-Chancellor on an occasion like this to appeal for funds. (cheers). More even than the money grant, their cordiality has moved us very deeply. I was deeply touched and the staff and the students and all were deeply moved when Their Highnesses, after arrival yesterday, though the item was not included in their programme and I had deliberately omitted it, readily agreed on my suggestion to visit the Campus and Colleges in the sultry after-noon, between 1-30 P M. and 3. P. M. forgiving the liberty I took and unmindful of the inconvenient time. That act in itself is a sign of sympathy so profound, so touching, that I cannot find words in which to describe it adequately. (Loud cheers) And now they have authorised me to make this announcement. (Applause) Much as I value the gift, greatly as I prize it in our present impoverished condition, there is another thing greater than gold to which I attach a still higher value. This donation enables me to enrol His Highness the Maharajah Saheb and Her Highness the Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi as Life Members of the Andhra University. (Loud and long Applause). They would be entitled to be present at the meetings of our Senate, and even vote at the next election of the Vice-Chancellor. (Laughter). I am profoundly

thankful that their hearts have been moved and their hearts have melted, and I hope that this will have its lesson on my friend, Mr. Rajagopalachariar. (Loud and prolonged applause).

We hope that generous Donors will be forthcoming to help the Unipersity to make good these vital and urgent needs and the Government will enable us by adequate grants of lands and funds under such terms, if they are so disposed, as they may deem it necessary or desirable to impose, to complete the organisation by providing at least the rest of the essentials of a Teaching and Residential Unitary University—Unitary for all Honours and post Graduate courses.

The Rangoon University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by His Excellency The Hon'ble Sir *Archibald Douglas Cochrane*, Governor of Burma, Chancellor, Rangoon University, at the Annual Convocation of the University of Rangoon held on the **3rd. December 1937** :—

My first duty is to record the losses through death sustained by the University since the last Convocation.

Soa Kin Maung C.I.E. K S M, Sawbwa of Momeik, was a member of the University Council as a representative of the Federated Shan States, from the 30th July 1928 till his death on the 2nd December 1936.

Dr G. F Clark, M A, Phd, I E.S, was Professor of Education from January 1934, and Principal, Teachers' Training College, from October 1930 till his death on the 5th April 1937. The creation of the Teachers' Training College was a result of his individual efforts. An able administrator, a wise counsellor, devoted woker and a sympathetic teacher ; the University finds it difficult to repair the loss occasioned by Principal Clark's death, which occurred on the eve of his retirement.

Sir Maung Ba. KT BA, K S M. who died on the 4th June 1937, was a member of the University Council for fifteen years. He was also a member of the Executive Committee of the Council from December 1927 to December 1935, on which body his counsel and advice were held in high esteem. Between 1926 and 1931 he acted on several occasions as the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University.

By the retirement of Professor A. Eggar, M. A. Bar-at Law, from the Professorship of Law, the University has lost the services of one of its most valued teachers. In addition to his academic services, the University is indebted to Mr. Eggar for its munificent gifts and continuous energy in building up and equipping, almost entirely at his own expense, the Rangoon University Boat Blub.

On the 2nd October 1937, Dr. A. J. Gould retired from the post of Lecturer in Engineering in University College, an appointment which he had held since September 1924.

An event of great importance during the year was the publication of the Report of the University Act Enquiry Committee, presided over by the Hon'ble Sir Mya Bu. In the course of its investigations, which were extensive and detailed, the Committee did not find many points on which they wished to recommend radical changes in the existing Act and the administration of the University and its Colleges'. The Report is now under consideration by Government.

Recommendations of the Committee affecting the Statutes and Regulations which fall with in the province of the Council and the Senate of the University, have been accepted by the bodies, which have made the necessary amendments to give effect to the recommendations.

The academic activities of the University have continued through the year as usual, the total number of students in the University being 2,130 as against 2,135 last year. With the assistance of the Endowment Fund Trustees a lectureship in Geology has been created. The University must once more express its gratitude to the Endowment Fund Trustees for the annual grants, which make possible higher studies and research ; in addition the University Library, which is entirely

financed by the Trust, was enabled to acquire a number of valuable books. The Trust also provides for the cost of Research Scholars in Old Burmese, Plant Chemistry and Helminthology. The Seismograph Station is also maintained by the Trust.

The Dhamayon Building has been completed, and will now provide a place where the Buddhist Students will be able to hold meetings of a religious nature.

From consideration of these events which have occurred in the University during the past year, I turn to matters of more general interest to those of you who have just graduated, or who hope to graduate in the future.

When I was speaking at the City Hall in Rangoon, a little over a year ago, I commented on what appeared to me a problem of outstanding importance which faces the people of Burma, and on the solution of which far-reaching results may depend. I referred to the call for the qualities of statesmanship, if we were to succeed in welding new thoughts and new ways on to all that is best in the well established national life of Burma.

To-day I feel still that the problem remains one of first importance offering innumerable opportunities for those who are willing to use their talents in attempting its solution for the benefit of their country

No doubt some amongst you, who are about to leave the University, will seek entry into Government Service, and will endeavour by that means to secure for yourselves and your dependents reasonable comfort in your lives, while giving to the country of your best. Government Service is indeed a noble profession, but neither the cultural development nor the material prosperity of a country can be gauged by the number, or the efficiency, of the servants of Government, and we must look elsewhere for opportunities, if all those who pass through the University are to lead full and useful lives.

Other graduates will certainly devote themselves hereafter to further study, and to a life in which the acquisition of learning will play a predominant part. To those of you who determine to follow an academic career I have no word of advice to offer, as your destinies will be governed by the irresistible impulses which guide the lives of those who are seekers after truth, whether it be in pure science or in other branches of learning.

If, in the remarks that follow, I make scant reference to the destinies of those who follow an academic career, it will not be from a lack of respect for the scholar, but because I wish you to reflect on some of the practical aspects of this problem of welding together the old and the new. To illustrate my theme I take the case of agriculture, which in Burma is carried on almost exclusively by persons who neither possess nor require large sums of capital to enable them to carry on their occupation. The number of individual cultivators is so great that the introduction of new methods of agriculture, or of variation in the crops which tradition has allotted to particular areas, comes very slowly.

While moving about the country I have been impressed with the energy of the cultivator in making use of all the land at his disposal, even if the yield he gains would be susceptible of increase by the use of better seed or, perhaps, by growing a different crop I have also observed with interest the fine work done by the Agricultural Department, in testing and proving the seeds for new strains of paddy, and for other crops.

Sometimes it seems as though there were a gap between the efforts of the Agricultural Department and the benefits derived by the cultivator, due in the main to the very large number of individual cultivators to which I have already referred.

You may wonder where to find a link between the conclusion of your studies at the University and the difficulty of the cultivator in taking full advantage of the improvements which are now available to him. If you take the view that, having completed your studies you are debarred by custom, or by some other more personal inhibition, from ever again making use of your hands except for the purpose of holding a pen or operating a typewriter, then indeed you will fail to find the link. But is there any justification for that attitude ? I know of none. Worship of the fetish, that if a man has been educated he must necessarily lose the use of his hands, should not be followed, unless it has been proved beyond all question to be suitable to the particular conditions of the country. Any one attempting to prove that proposition will, I think, find that he has undertaken a difficult task. If you seek the justification for my remarks, it is to be found in

many of the villages of Burma to-day, where there is such an obvious need for persons of education and standing, to guide and assist the villagers in making the best use of all the means which are now available for the improvement of their comfort and standard of living. But the Burman villager is an independent minded person, and therefore slow to accept guidance, unless he is certain that the person from whom the advice comes is himself capable of giving it practical application. I cannot think of any more useful purpose, for the years while you are still young and active, than that of giving guidance and help to those who live in the village of your choice. You may say that village life is dull and uninteresting, but I ask you to think of the great improvements which could be brought about in a short time. Improvement in crops, improvement in sanitation, in public health, and in general comfort, all these can be brought about by the energy of a single person, coupled with the willing assistance of the villagers ; and as to the latter, I have no doubt that it will be readily given, when it is found that the man who recommends an improvement in the growing of crops, or in other village activities, is ready to be a pioneer in giving practical effect to his advice.

Such are some of the opportunities for useful work in the agricultural sphere, but commerce and industry also provide scope for those who are willing to use their abilities and energy, and who are not to be deterred by the possibility of failure.

Burma is an exporting country, and as the large ships of to-day carry big cargoes, it follows naturally that the export trade is mainly in the hands of companies with ample capital resources at their disposal. But export trade is never more than a fraction of the total trade of a country, so that although Burma is one of the principal rice exporting countries of the world, there remains a large and only partially developed field for internal trade of all kinds, which does not require such large capital resources for its operation

Before concluding I must revert again to the question of whether the openings for your activities which I have suggested are suitable for those who obtain degrees at this University. The reply must be largely a matter of opinion, but drawing on the teachings of a varied experience, I remain firm in the conviction, that a young man, who has been taught at a University how to make use of his brains, will have an added source for pride if he be able in addition to show that he has not lost the use of his hands, and is willing to do his share of manual work when necessary.

Whatever the future may have in store for you, it is with my hearty good wishes that you will embark on the next adventurous phase of your lives.

The Annamalai University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by the *Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri*, the Vice-Chancellor, at the Annual Convocation of the Annamalai University held on the **4th. December 1937** .—

We live under democratic institutions of the British type, which are now discredited in various parts of the civilized world. Even among us, who belong to the British Commonwealth, large sections of the people, perhaps growing steadily in number, are of the opinion that democracy is played out, and that in clinging to it we run the risk of being left behind in the international race. This may or may not be true. I am inclined to think that the day of democracy is not yet done, and that, if its champions would only take pains to remove its weaknesses and reinforce its strong points, it might still maintain its ground as the most beneficent form of human government yet evolved. Unfortunately, democracy's friends do not stop to discriminate ; they take always the easy path to success and forget that, in certain high aspects of political action, the means are as important as the ends. It thus happens that in this country, with every widening of the franchise and of the sphere of popular control, the corruptions of western democracy obtain a foothold sooner than its virtues. Criticism of the methods adopted by our leaders is not necessarily to be suspected as proceeding from a believer in autocracy, but ought

rather to be welcomed as the attempt of a patriot who cherishes with affection the political institutions of his country and would fain see them cleansed of imperfections and brought to a higher pitch of purity and public serviceableness. In this spirit and not in that of cavil on the one hand or of fervid other-worldliness on the other, I propose to point out one of the dangers which threaten to strangle our public life.

The malady I shall deal with is the hypertrophy of the party system. It is established beyond question that parliamentary government postulates the existence of well-organized and coherent parties The conditions for their proper functioning must be secured beyond all hazard. Politicians who wish to do their bit for the community must submit to a certain amount of control and restriction of the free exercise of their judgment. This being premised, I am concerned here to dwell at some length on the other side of the picture. There are great evils attendant on the system , some of them apparent, but others insidious in their nature and demanding the utmost vigilance on the part of leaders lest they choke the atmosphere of purity and regard for the welfare of the whole which is so essential to the success of popular institutions Writers on political subjects usually point out that the great antinomy is between the freedom of the individual and the exaltation of the State, whether the individual exists only as an instrument of the welfare of the State, or the State is in the last resort to be judged by the degree in which it secures the freedom and the welfare of the individual. It is by no means easy to decide between these alternatives, but as one who is always on the quest of the golden mean, I should like to believe that except in very rare situations it is possible for the State and the individual to sustain and subserve each other. The actual antinomy, however, that faces us is, the party or the individual citizen ? One can understand the nation demanding the entire surrender of the citizen, his prospect, his freedom and his life. Can a party push its claims against its members quite so far ? Perhaps the claim is not made in set formulæ or stated nakedly in any treatise on public institutions ; but in actual practice, the tendency of party executives is to aggrandize themselves and make continual inroads on the freedom of action and of speech of their members. As in other cases, the evil example of one party spreads among all. The reins of party discipline tend to be held with increasing rigour, and men and women are told that non-compliance with the fiats of party leaders will be noted in black ink in their records. In the hurry of life we do not remember that by merely joining a party we give up a considerable slice of liberty. With the vast range of activity now assumed by Government and semi-governmental organizations, there is little in the normal life of a citizen which may not at one time or another become the subject of regulation , and a political party therefore, in the search for means of extending its power and prestige, is almost omnivorous. It soon acquires a body of crystallised views upon all subjects under the sun, and a member may be called upon at any time to support them by advocacy and by vote. It is inconceivable that the party views on all or most of these subjects could be his own personal views. Such genuine conformity is not possible in more than a few subjects. The theoretical distinction between fundamentals and details, between principles and their particular applications, is apt to be lost sight of, and in the fervour of propaganda and the excitement of combat the word of the party leader must be obeyed, and the tyranny of military discipline tends to be established In a system of ins and outs the whole power and authority of Government are the stake for which the parties contend with one another and the prospect of such a prize magnifies all trifling details in the campaign and makes the maintenance of discipline in all ranks a paramount consideration. The Opposition, whose business ought to be to expose the flaws of Government measures, but when, that task is done, to examine the measures on their merits and support them where they are worthy of support, opposes for the sake of opposition and gets into the habit of seeing nothing right in the operations of Government and never saying a good word of their adversaries. This may be good "strategy" but it affords no exercise in the art of political judgment, which after all consists in the ability to sift public issues, separate the good and bad in them and advance the one while checking the other. How can a tyro in political science educate himself by a study of the speeches and actions of those who have hopelessly narrowed their vision and made up their minds to view all matters only as they affect themselves ? Speaking to the alumni of a University, I may not forget the needs of beginners and the duty of elders so to conduct themselves in the political sphere as well as in other spheres that their thought, speech and deed may accord with one another and teach the lesson that all life is one and must be lived in close conformity with one's nature and

inmost convictions. It is impossible to be a bondsman in politics and a free man in other departments of life.

It is amazing how the men who sit at the headquarters of political organisations claim the right to control and guide our private friendships and social relations. The barriers that divide parties one from another are held inviolable as though they were ordained of heaven and could only be crossed under penalty of excommunication. You are admonished which socials you may attend with impunity and which you must avoid. Deep differences of views on public affairs and the habit of meeting on different platforms naturally part people into groups, and each person may be trusted to avoid contacts which may expose him to misunderstanding or impair his reputation for fidelity Why need we add to those natural restraints special prohibitions directed against individuals or classes? It is no good reminding us that, in periods of abnormal excitement like that which saw the Irish Home Rule bills of Gladstone, social intercourse between members of the opposed parties is apt to be at a minimum and even friendships may suffer suspension as during a civil war. This is an aberration not to be cited as a precedent for normal times. I have never been able to perceive sufficient justification in India for the boycott of social functions at which officials are present, whether as hosts or as guests. It arises from morbid political animosity, to which I have ever been a stranger. One would think, on the contrary, that men and women were meant to mix easily and naturally with one another and that, where differing political tendencies might keep them apart, special occasions of social intercourse should be created for the purpose of bringing them together and thus bearing witness to their common nature.

How true it is that the appetite for power grows by what it feeds on! Put a man at a table with some stationery and call him the secretary of a bureau. He will start by making enquiries which will soon become inquisitious, by making suggestions which will rapidly assume the character of orders, and by formulating principles which will steadily harden into a creed. He sends out whips on all occasions and sundry, and you have to make a speech or hold your tongue, to attend or stay away, and to walk to the right or to the left as you may be bidden. One may readily grant that members of a party must submit to certain regulations in order that concerted action may be calculable. What is objectionable and must be resisted is the ceaseless encroachment of the executive upon the freedom of the individual until he becomes a mere unit in a well-drilled regiment. Not long ago official members in a legislative house nominated to represent departments or provincial governments were the object of derision amongst non-officials as automata whose votes could as well be taken into reckoning without requiring their bodily presence,—thus saving them many hours of ennui and Government some sorely needed rupees. Seeing how attenuated the liberty of Congressmen, for instance, is in these days, one is tempted to ask whether the gibe is less applicable to them. It is believed that they enjoy a certain measure of free speech at party meetings, but we all know how, where there is no publicity, there cannot be much freedom of utterance. If it be contended that, while the outward freedom to speak and to vote is reduced within narrow limits, the truest form of freedom namely, the freedom of the mind, is not curtailed, even this proposition is only partially true, for thought can flourish and produce its full effect only when it can find an outlet in speech and action. Long disuse of the latter cannot but lead to enfeeblement and paralysis of the former. Professor Graham Wallas quotes in one of his books from a speech made in the House of Commons in 1911, when the question of women's franchise was under discussion. It was agreed that the party whips should be called off and members could speak and vote in accordance with their personal views. One member complained that, as he and his colleagues had not enjoyed such freedom for many years, they found their mental faculties benumbed and did not know how to form an opinion. An exaggerated statement without doubt, but it contains a certain measure of truth; it is against human nature to exercise independent thought *in vacuo*. We are grown callous, otherwise we should feel the mockery of a system which draws scores of members from various committee rooms at the sound of the division bell and compels them to ask "Which lobby is mine?" The unreality of proceedings in which men and women do not care to form their own opinions or when they have them, do not care to express them, is so great that one hesitates to accept the decisions arrived at in such conditions as expressions of the national will entitled to respect and obedience. T. H. Huxley was once asked why he did not care to enter the House of Commons: his answer was that he had dedicated his life to the discovery and elucidation of truth and not to its obscuration, and there-

fore he avoided the pursuit of politics. I do not think that Huxley overstated his case. Party politics, which forbids independent judgment and compels one to speak and vote at another's bidding, is systematized violence done to truth This confession must sound strange, coming from one who a few moments ago granted the proposition that the party system and therefore party discipline are essential to the success of democratic institutions, and who is himself a lifelong practitioner of the game. Knowing how commonly one is misunderstood, let me at this point repeat my faith in democracy. However bad a legislative chamber may be, as Cavour said, it can never be so bad as the antichamber of an autocrat or, one may add, of a modern dictator. But does it follow that I should join in the apothesis of party and kneel down before a caucus which regards its slogans as mantras at a ritual and shouts hosanas at every paltry success as though the hosts of heaven had routed the hordes of hell ?

It has been pointed out that the function of political parties is akin to that of lawyers who argue a case before the jury from opposite sides, the general public being the final deciding authority. Avowedly then a party is only one of two or more similar agencies meant to check and complement one another for the discovery of the line of best advantage to the community. For any one of these to claim the monopoly of power or influence and to demand the entire allegiance of the people is in the nature of a usurpation. It ought to be clearly understood that in a legislature, for instance, the party in power will only then be doing its duty when it pays due regard to the views of the other elements that compose the House, appropriates the best thoughts and suggestions put forward by them and enacts into law the combined wisdom of the people's representatives. If it were possible to rid our minds of the competitive aspect of the labours of the various parties, they would seem to be co-ordinate and co-operating agencies employed on the common task of ascertaining and promoting the good of the whole community A party is subordinate to the nation, must be ready to sacrifice its interests for those of the nation, and ought not to claim of the citizen that complete abnegation that only the nation can claim in sore need On this view how grievously at fault we are in carrying on a ceaseless mutual warfare, on the look-out for ambushes, feints and fights to the finish ! If the great religions are to practise the virtues of charity, tolerance and even appreciation towards one another, if races and nations are bidden, in the name of mankind, to pull down all tariff and political barriers, how paltry and childlike seem the squabbles and truceless hostilities of our parties, often with no intelligible distinction and revolving round personalities !

I am under command to exhort you, the graduates of the year, to conduct yourselves suitably unto the position to which by the degrees conferred upon you to-day, you have attained. Your position is that of those who are entering on the rights and duties of citizenship. I advise you to be faithful to party, but always to put the nation above it. I advice you, when you become leaders, to circumscribe within well-defined limits the jurisdiction of your party, to demand of your followers due respect for this jurisdiction but scrupulously to allow them full discretion outside that jurisdiction I advise you not to look upon members of other parties as enemies to be avoided, denounced and injured, but as fellow-travellers choosing different routes to reach the same goal, viz the common good. I advise you, above all, to cherish your personal freedom as a birthright and guard it jealously except in a limited sphere so that in your public activities you may be true to yourselves. The ideal to be aimed at is the one enunciated in our ancient saying :

"One and the same in thought, word and act" To propagate others' opinions as your own, to make speeches against your convictions and to vote habitually at the bidding of a whip, is to do violence to truth In this land men have been bidden from ancient days to speak the truth and to perform the *dharma*. Truth has been declared to be the foundation and the support of all things. In an immortal legend Harischandra sold his wife and son to slavery and himself watched corpses burning on Ganga's bank, to avoid framing a falsehood between his lips. To keep the plighted word of his father Rama gave up a kingdoon and dwelt in the forest for years with his wife. The empire of Truth has no limits and knows no relaxations. Modern life, however, has made numerous and extensive inroads upon it. In the dealings of nations, whether in war or peace or ordinary diplomatic intercourse ; in the flattery that pervades palaces ; in the large sphere allotted to propaganda and advertisement ; in the region of sex ; in commerce and business ; in testimonials ; in postprandial utterances ; in obituary orations and epitaphs ; in dealings with invalids

and children ; in the promises made by lovers and by candidates at election time ; in the writings of the partisan press ; in the one-sided pleadings before judges , in the chronicles of courts and kings and queens , in the defence of superstition and error as a necessary basis for ethical conduct ; in these and several other departments we recognise and allow for a large measure of concealment and distortion of the truth. Shall we knowingly and deliberately add the enormous domain of politics to this formidable list ?

Happily we are not left without some shining examples for our guidance. One that will be universally admitted is Mahatma Gandhi. It is not for nothing that he observes silence on one day of each week, for all speech involves a certain impairment of the truth. He employs the fewest words and the simplest to express his thoughts, for does not the poet say that those must be frugal in their words who wish to be truthful ? I know of none who is so preternaturally careful to avoid situations that might compromise or weaken his adherence to the truth. With a will that no bribe can buy and no threat can bend, he upholds the supremacy of his conscience Dedicated body and soul to the service of mankind, he will seek no good, however great or glittering, except by methods wholly consonant with his own conception of right or truth *Daridranarayana*, as he proclaims himself, four annas is not beyond his means ; if still he stands outside the Congress organisation, it is because its atmosphere irks his extremely sensitive and truthful soul. He protests against people following him blindly and accepting his decisions without endeavouring to make them their own. Yet, so weak is human nature that in the wide circle of his influence people too readily surrender their individual freedom and so palter with truth If one of the phases of truth be non-violence, another is the integrity of the human soul. The Mahatma's supreme merit is his unflinching devotion to the goddess of Truth in her various phases. Let us be his co-worshippers, not his worshippers.

The Nagpur University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by *His Excellency Sir Hyde Gowan*, Chancellor, at the Annual Convocation of the Nagpur University held on the **11th. December 1937** :—

As all of you know, the election for the Vice-Chancellorship were held yesterday, and Mr. T. J Kedar was elected your Vice-Chancellor for the coming two years. Before I commence my speech it is my very pleasant duty to welcome him to his new post and to wish him all success during his tenure of office. And in so doing I know that you will all wish me to congratulate the outgoing Vice-Chancellor, Sir Hari Singh Gour, on the completion of an eventful and most successful term of office—a term which has left its mark on the history of the University in colours which will not fade.

On former occasions when it has been my privilege to preside over this Convocation, I have purposely kept what I had to say within narrow limits, so as to take as little of the limelight as possible off the distinguished person who was to deliver the Convocation address. To-day I shall ask you to bear with me for a little longer than usual, firstly, because we have just come to the end of one of the most memorable weeks in the annals of the University , and secondly, because this is the last occasion on which I shall address you as your Chancellor. About the first reason I have already said all that I had to say during the past few days. The week has marked the end of much patient endeavour on the part of the Vice-Chancellor and of all those who are charged with your welfare, and you must give your thanks to them "full measure, pressed down, and running over" ; for by their labours the University starts on a new and, let us hope, a glorious period in its history. It will be your duty,—the pious duty of successive generations of students—totend the seed which faithful hands have sown, and to see that it bears fruit and multiplies. My second reason leads me to say just three things to you. I want first of all to thank every one of you, from the Vice-Chancellor down to the last-

joined freshman, with all warmth and sincerity for the unfailing kindness, courtesy, and good will that you have shown to me as your Chancellor. And I wish especially to thank you for your action in conferring upon me the highest distinction which it is in your power to give. I have been deeply touched by it, and although I do not feel that I deserve the honour, I can at any rate say honestly that whenever I had a chance to help you I have done my best to take it. I can assure you all that I shall carry away with me the pleasantest memories of my days among you, and shall follow the fortunes of the University with the deepest interest.

Next, I feel impelled to say a word about a proposal which is in the air, to the effect that the University should be allowed to elect its own Chancellor in future, instead of having an ex-officio Chancellor thrust upon it. I may tell you without hesitation—though you will understand that the opinion is a purely personal one, has not been discussed with any one else, and binds nobody—that I am in complete sympathy with that proposal. When the University was started, there were obvious advantages for a young and untried body in having the Governor of the Province as its Chancellor. Those days have passed. The University has shown itself, if you will permit me to say, amply capable of looking after its own affairs, and there seems to me to be every reason now why it should have the same freedom to elect its own Chancellor as I believe every English University has. To my mind no other system befits a democratic and self-governing institution.

And lastly, I should like to say one word to those of you who are *in statu pupillari*. I am sometimes tempted to think that during what I may call the open season for Convocations the youth of India is in danger of suffering from a surfeit of good advice. It receives so much of that commodity that the result must be a kind of moral indigestion, and I hesitate to add to its complaint. But I feel that I should be doing less than my duty if at the end of five years amongst you I did not give you in a few simple words one piece of advice which seems to me, as I near the end of my public life, more valuable than all the gold that was ever minted. It is this. You who are studying here are doing sometimes far more important than acquiring knowledge. You are forming your own characters in preparation for a battle which seems to become fiercer with every year that passes. There is only one way in which you can hope to enter that battle armed *cap a pie* and unafraid, and that is by training your characters, just as you would train your body, not to softness but to hardness. Seek initiation into the most inspiring of all cults, the cult of the difficult. Say to yourselves that nothing that it won easily is worth winning, and that the only prize which you covet is the one that you must strain mightily to grasp. And when you have finished your studies, go forth into the world as warriors and not as "softies". If the hills confront you, climb them. If torrents bar your way, breast them. If the forces of evil tempt you, spurn them. If the sun scorches and the wind blisters, endure them both with fortitude. Thus, and thus only, will you assert and justify your manhood. That is my message to you, and may all good luck go with you on your various paths.

And now I will ask Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha to deliver the Convocation Address. He is the Vice-Chancellor of a sister University at Patna and his eminence in public life as an administrator and legislator is well known to you. His contributions to the commonweal have been those of an enlightened and disinterested servant of society, and his journalistic work and his establishment of a splendidly housed library at Patna bear witness to his manifold interests Throughout his life he has devoted himself to the good of his country, and it is with much pleasure that we welcome him to our midst to-day.

The Lucknow University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice *M. R. Jayakar*, Judge, Federal Court of India, at the Sixteenth Annual Convocation of the Lucknow University held on the **11th. December 1937** :—

I am indebted to your learned Vice-Chancellor for this opportunity of addressing you at this year's Convocation. I deem it a great honour and a privilege. Your

University is very fortunate in having for its Vice-Chancellor a distinguished personality like Dr. Paranjpye. He represents in my province the tradition of distinguished men who have learned to combine modesty and sacrifice with culture and scholarship.

Let me begin by offering cordial felicitations to the Graduates of the year on the attainment of the degrees to which they have been admitted by the University to-day. I wish them a bright career in the service of the country.

I compliment your University on the excellent work it has done during the short period of its existence What is particularly gratifying is the devotion of your students to the work of research in Science and Literature, which has secured the encomiums of eminent authorities You have the singular fortune of having on your staff a few Professors whose monumental work has secured world-wide recognition, I am glad to find that the series of special lectures organized by your University for the benefit of the general public and advanced students have been found useful and I hope that their usefulness will increase. There are many other activities of your University to which I would have liked to refer, but the time at my disposal prevents me from doing so.

These are all very satisfactory signs and show that, located as you are in this seat of ancient Muslim culture, your University is not averse to the rapid assimilation of all that is progressive in European thought and that you have been able to so reconcile the two as to remove the conflict which superficial observers often detect.

It has been said that education is a function of society. If so, it is equally true that society is a function of education. They act and react. We cannot conceive of society except as affected from time to time by the form of its education, by the thought currents which it will permit to be set free, and by the ideals that it will propound. It is therefore difficut to devise an ideal system of education which will remain operative for all time or endure through all the vicissitudes which overtake the social edifice from time to time

The present discontent in educational circles, noticeable everywhere, is due to a perception of the fact that since our educational ideals were laid down more than a century ago, the needs of the Indian people have materially altered. On this question there is more or less complete unanimity amongst Indian thinkers, though perhaps there are differences about the methods to be adopted to bring our educational practices into conformity with our present requirements. It is needless in this short speech to enter into the details of these differences, They are many and vary according to the experience and prediction of each individual. But it is common ground that a vital change is needed in our educational methods and that in laying down our schemes we must take long views and build not only for the immediate present but for the future also.

It is a trite observation that the business of education is to prepare a youth to live his life well as a social unit. It is therefore futile to conceive of schemes of education in isolation of the environment. Education properly understood can never mean a scheme of discipline in the cloistered region of the boy's individual existence. It must mean and include a variety of ways which bring him into contact, as frequently as possible with his fellows This is more so in India, where caste and religion are often a barrier. They were perhaps never so before as now. Greater feuds are now created in the name of race and religion than ever before, and there is, in consequence, the imminent danger that these feuds may soon invade the sacred and protected precincts of our schools and colleges Some may regard the present tendencies of separatism as a sign of rapid awakening amongst classes lying dormant for long and making amends for the lateness of their awakening by the violence of their preaching. One may or may not agree with this explanation, but the fact remains that the dividing impulse is to-day most powerful and will invade our schools and colleges unless we all unite to protect them from the virus so rapidly spreading around us.

It therefore becomes increasingly necessary to recast our ideas of education in terms of a common citizenship and to regard education, in an increasing measure, as a preparation of the youth to take up and duly perform his part as a unit of society. A sense of oneness with his fellows must be created at every step—through the medium of sports as well as studies. The feeling of seclusion, isolation, division, superiority, or inferiority, which so many factors in the outside world rapidly promote, must be kept perpetually in check. The youth must be taught to understand how he is linked with his fellows, what common ties he has with them in all that makes life so rich and pleasant, how much he owes to the past and how

much the future depends on the present—in fact, a sense of partnership must be created, which delights in giving and taking, thereby unfolding his life more and more and enriching that of his fellows. What Burke said in his time is very apposite to the present needs of India: "The State is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature: it is a partnership in all science: a partnership in all art. a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection. As the ends of this partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living but between those who are dead and those who are to be born."

The interest of the State in the education of its youth, unlike that of the parent or the youth himself, is purely social—namely, the service of the community. The State has nothing to do with the personal ambition of the youth, nor even the aspiration of his parent. The State is concerned with seeing that the conditions under which the youth receives his education are such that they provide him with opportunities, created in miniature and under protective conditions, of training his sense of citizenship, that is, the feeling that he is a social unit and that when he goes out he will have to merge in larger units prepared for assimilation with himself. A perfect system of education must, therefore, endeavour to reproduce, in the corporate life of the student, as many features of the social life outside, as it is possible under the conditions of the times.

The State has a right to demand that, in consideration of the revenues it spends on the education of its youth, they should be trained in a way suitable for the growth of those civic virtues which a civilized State regards as essential for its existence and progress.

These civic virtues may change according to the circumstances of the times. The educationist has therefore, in his desire to devise a suitable scheme of education, to make a careful survey of his times and its vital features. When engaged in such an enquiry, he will discover that the most significant feature of the present times is that a powerful and popular party is in power, settled, for the time being, in the seat of Government, in the bulk of the provinces of India, and is making an experiment in democratic Government. There could hardly be anyone in this land who would not wish it godspeed in its difficult task, and give it all the help and co-operation which it needed. It is hardly necessary to say this, for the prominent men of the party, who are in charge of affairs, will by reason of their popularity achieved by suffering and sacrifice, extort from their countrymen all the co-operation and help which they require.

They have been thinking of taking in hand several questions of reform. Among them all, education is perhaps the most vital. A conference was held at their headquarters a few days ago, and as reported in the Press, a scheme of education was evolved briefly described as "self-supporting education." That word causes a certain amount of confusion, but it has been recently explained. It does not mean, it is said, that education should bear its own cost through fees and contributions. The idea of self-supporting education is not that the 34 and a half million children in this country of school-going age could be educated without any cost to the State, nor that these children could, by their labour, add value to the material supplied to them measurable in terms of economic services, so as to cover the entire cost of education. The term "self-supporting education" was recently explained by Mr. Kumarappa, who apparently knew the mind of the original promoter of the idea. What is meant, he says, has a much wider value not in terms of money only, but in terms of future services to be rendered by the child as a citizen.

It is not possible in the brief compass of this address to discuss whether a purely self-supporting education is the best training for citizenship. It is sufficient, however, to observe that even the latest view of education, popular in political circles which make up the present provincial Governments, ultimately reduces itself to a training in citizenship.

Under the present circumstances of India, a training in citizenship is another word for a training in democracy, meaning thereby the equipping of the youth with the attributes which make the working of democracy successful. The process lies in educating his judgment and implanting in him the temper and habits of a good citizen.

This is not a new theory. It has been the foundation of many reforms in other countries and is the basis of an important Education Act in England. It has now

been accepted as a commonplace of civics. Democracy can succeed in producing all that is expected by its fond votaries only when the democratic State provides training for its youth for the due exercise of civic functions, including a true understanding of the right to a vote and the use of a popular Government, as against an autocracy even of a paternal character. So viewed, civic education is different from mere literacy or stuffing the mind with knowledge and information, for even the educated man is not immune (he is perhaps more prone) from the mistakes which his illiterate brother in the village is liable to make in the exercise of civic virtues.

It is said that the working of free institutions requires three things : (1) instructed leadership, (2) "the moral compulsion of a democratic tradition," (3) an electorate trained in the methods of free Government Nos (1) and (2) are outside the scope of this brief discourse. No. (2) is besides a growth of time and cannot be expected to arise so soon after our entry on democracy. No. (1) belongs to a course of specialization in training and a singularity of opportunities which cannot be had by the average youth. It is the result of advantages, mostly exceptional, which cannot be obtained by a large majority of those who resort to a college. The life-history of some of our present-day political leaders illustrates the inestimable value of these advantages, some congenital, others the result of affluence and the tradition and training which it can secure. The work of a University cannot therefore be much concerned with the growth of such exceptional products. These may arise incidentally in the course of its training. Its general aim is however more modest, viz to create in the mind of the average youth who has recourse to it, habits of observation and judgment calculated to prepare the groundwork of democracy.

If, with this object in view, the courses of instruction provided at our Universities are critically examined, it will be found that they provide an education for an age of plenty, as some hostile critics have described it. Its constituents can be classified into three groups, as Professor Lancelot Hogben, Regius Professor of Natural History at Aberdeen University, has observed : 'Knowledge once useful, knowledge still useful, knowledge possibly destined to be useful." The need is therefore all the more imperative of so arranging our courses of study as to make them serve the purposes of the State, which is to produce an effective citizen.

In this connection, it has been found by experience, both ancient and modern, that this can be best done by a course of what is called "liberal education" This education may equip the youth with a means of livelihood, but that is only an incidental advantage. A test of effective citizenship is that the citizen, as a result of his wide liberal training, looks upon public affairs as a part of his business and is able to devote to them the same skill, integrity, care and attention as if they were his own.

What is this "liberal education" which is productive of these results ? Of all the descriptions that I have come across, perhaps the one given by T H. Huxley is the most apposite. "That man has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work that as a mechanism, it is capable of ; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength and in smooth working order : ready like a steam engine, to be turned to any kind of work, and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind ; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of Nature and of the laws of her operations : one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will ; the servant of a tender conscience ; who has learned to love all beauty, whether of Nature or of Art, to hate all vileness, and to respect others as himself."

In this brief, address, I can hope to touch only a few of these attributes, so admirably summed up in the above quotation. First, there is the Body. It must be made the ready servant of the will and must do with ease and pleasure all the work that it is capable of. Observe a crowd of Indian students, or for that matter, a crowd of grown-up men of the middle class ; how may of them possess the bodily proportions and poise—the square shoulder, the broad chest, the light step, the quick eye and the other characteristics showing 'ease and pleasure' in going about their business. To most of us, our body is a burden, a crippled, ugly ponderous entanglement, even at the age when the urge of beauty ought to be strong in our breast. How many of us devote every day even a little of our time to make our body beautiful ? This cannot be done by a resort to mere games. Games from the physical

point of view of training the body are unhelpful, whatever their value may be for moral purposes. The body can be trained only by daily physical muscular exercise taken either individually or in education classes working under a systematic physical education department of the College. The aim is to train the body to be beautiful, for Nature intended it to be so. A well trained body, male or female, is an object of divine beauty, as many of the ancient models, like "Crouching Venus" and "Apollo Belvedere" which have survived the ravages of time, show us. Speaking psychologically, the aim must be to inculcate a *love and respect for the body* not only as a "mechanism" for the performance of hard work but as an object of infinite grace, pleasure and satisfaction, or, as a recent author has said—"a sense of the poetry of all graceful movement." In all acts, even the most common, like e. g, taking down a heavy book from a shelf, there is grace and poise, ease and pleasure. Nor are the advantages merely physical. The interaction of mind and body is a well known law of Nature, and a well poised body is often the accompaniment of a well poised mind and a crooked mind often resides in an ugly and ill-shaped body.

Next comes the intellect—that "clear cold logic engine"—an instrument with all its parts of equal strength—"no excessive development of one over the other"; and "all in smooth working order" —no conflicts between them. The main function of this instrument is to perform the process of clear thinking. The need for this was perhaps never greater than now. when the danger of an apotheosis of the Press—always a besetting calamity of popular Governments—was most powerful. Widened franchise and an awakening sense of political power make it most imperative that the citizen who exercise his newly acquired power must be able to make up his mind and express it clearly and courageously on a number of complex and unfamiliar problems which will confront him in his new environment. "Shall we replace by vocational training our present educational system ? Shall we accept the ensuing Federation ?" "Is universal prohibition desirable or practicable ?", and various other complex problems, new and unfamiliar, will soon emerge on the horizon, and the College youth, grown into a citizen, will be called upon to exercise an intelligent vote, for Aye or No, on these troublesome questions. This is inevitable if our experiment at democracy is to succeed. Where-ever it has failed it was owing to the habit of the average citizen to do his thinking by proxy. A democracy has perhaps more rampant prejudices than may other forms of Government, for its strength and weakness both lie in an apotheosis of the popular will as expressed by the average citizen. Its ideals, expedients and sanctions hover round this entity—the average citizen. He is the unit which its administrators perpetually keep in view. He is the centre of all their activities, beneficent or restrictive. The citizen is therefore called upon to exercise his judgment not in the quiet and placid surroundings of a class room but in the din and turmoil of rampant prejudice and acute controversy. It is then that the written word the—"It" (spelt with a capital i) of the "advertisement hoarding, newspaper headline or over the wireless last night", as a facetious writer described it, is readily accepted as a guarantee of truth.

As a critical observer of modern democratic Government remarks : 'an average citizen takes his opinions from a newspaper. He reads his politics very often in a medley of other stuff, scandal and sport, cinema stars and gangsters. He rarely sees the other side of a question and does not even stop to inquire if there is another side. His years at school and college have taught him the sanctity of the printed page. Because a thing is printed, it seems to him, in some way, to be the warranty of truth ; because it proceeds from an unknown power, it appears impersonal and therefore perhaps true. "It is in the paper", is nearly always a complete answer to a question as to whether any particular thing is true.

As a training against this apotheosis of the written word, it is often a good plan to use a popular newspaper as a medium in the detection of erors—to analyse its leading article—to find out how much is based on fact and how much on prejudice or error, how much is the outcome of its open or secret policy, how much is logically faulty or untrue in fact, what deceptive words are used unrelated to facts or intended to raise the emotions or the prejudices of the reader. Such analytical criticism is often an entertaining and useful pastime in a college room, and its utility often varies in proportion with the popularity of the paper or the acuteness of the controversy.

I will now turn to another danger, which may gradually invade the precincts of our schools and colleges, unless we, that is, the people and the new Government, are watchful. I say that it is a *possible* danger, because it is so likely to arise from the circumstances of the moment. As stated above, for the first time in the History of

our country, a political party, manned by men of immense popularity achieved by the vigorous methods of disciplined sacrifice, has come into power. What was once an "opposition" delighting in all the ways and means of an opposition, has now become the Government of the land. This transition from an "opposition" to a "government" has been somewhat easy and unaccompanied by the use of the familiar forces of violence, usually attendant on such changes. Signs are not wanting that the change in ideals and methods which should accompany this change of status from a warring and captious opposition to a peacefully tolerant Government of the day—will take some time to come over those who are in charge of affairs The habit is still familiar of regarding themselves as a dominant party, struggling for mastery over its rivals by the old methods of aggressive conquest. It is difficult for them to realise that what was once a "Party", has now ceased to be a sectional organisation. It is now the Government of the entire province—the *parens patriae*—the guardian of the entire population of the province, of all schools of political thought, including its old-time rivals.

There is no doubt that in course of time long or short according to circumstances—a true sense of their position as the Government of the land will come. But until that day is reached, both the Government of the day and also the people they govern have to be on their guard that, in the first flush of their well-merited victory and in their desire to erase all opposition and establish themselves permanently in the seat of power, this new Government does not become what one may briefly call an authoritarian State, using as so many other Governments have done in similar circumstances, every instrument at its command for inculcation of its own political views and the suppression of those which are regarded as unfavourable to its strength and permanence. Judging by what has happened elsewhere under conditions more or less similar, this new Government has to carefully guard itself against the danger of gradually making itself the *Schoolmaster* of the people, inculcating its own political theories and social ideas and gradually banning those of the opposite character. The desire of self-preservation is a natural one in Governments as in individuals, and this desire often, in the absence of an effective opposition, takes the form of an impulse to propagate its own views, entering the class-room, the lecture-hall, the journalist's office, the cinema, the broadcasting station and, from one and all of these, teaching a definite and clear cut political faith. What is most significant is that all this "dead levelling" is most often honestly done in the name of educational or social advance, intended for the good of the people, and the absence of all effective opposition, due to the silencing of rivals, tends to create and strengthen a feeling of infallibility.

History teaches us that when such ardour overtakes a powerful party, for the moment the *de facto* Government of a country, schools and colleges and other seminaries of the young are the first to be invaded. In this connection, and as a warning to all of us, the following description of the German methods of education, given by an Englishman who taught for three years in a German school, is worth quoting, as an illustration of the attitude of an authoritarian State towards schools and colleges :—

"Officials are sent into schools, walk into the classes and cross-examine the teacher before his pupils, and if they think necessary, arrest him at once. Attempts are made to find out from children what their parents' politics are..... Religious lessons consist for the most part of talks about Herr Hitler and the glories of Germany..... Hitler is the second Jesus, but greater than the first, because he had not only Power but the whole world against him. The State is everything, the individual nothing, and to this end every subject of instruction must be turned. Art must work people up to patriotic passion. Literature is to be purely patriotic, and books which treat of peace and international understanding are not allowed even in private hands.....Every week the children have a patriotic lesson, devoted to the Treaty of Versailles, the crimes of the Allies, the Jews, and the Communists, and to the great Germans, who are not Goethe, Bach, Kant, but Barbarossa, Frederick the Great, Bismarck. Nationalism is a religion in the class-rooms. The teacher asks leading questions, such as 'Who at the present day, reminds us most strongly of Jesus by his love of the people and his self-sacrifice ?, to which the answer is 'Herr Hitler,' and 'Who remind us by their devotion and loyalty of the Disciples ?' 'General Goering, Dr. Goebbels, and Hauptmann Roehm'. The school morning prayer runs 'Lord, we German children tread before Thy Countenance, beseeching Thee to make us as our fathers were. Give us already in our early years a pious

mind and strong hands. Protect our Fatherland, this most glorious on earth. Let it be free and united, let it flourish proud and strong. And do Thou protect with Thy strong hands the great and bold Chancellor and the President of the Reich. Bless our leaders. Amen'.

I have quoted the passage pretty fully as constituting a grave warning that, in the patriotic desire to popularize and reform their schemes of education, there should be no interference by the new Government with the intellectual democracy of our colleges and universities. It is wise to remember that the freest use of the human reason is the true test of a democratic Government, as contrasted with an authoritarian State. Their ideals of education are as the poles apart The one aims at ungrudging subservience, the other at freedom An authoritarian Government, putting a premium on obedience, aims at producing citizens who will be serviceable in the propagation of its political views—mere "cogs in the wheel" The democratic State, on the other hand, demands that citizens should be "dynamic forces to mould a new order". Rebellious enterprise in thought and action will be its watch word. Research after truth, through the avenues of questioning doubt and restless enquiry, will be the ideal it will set before its youth. 'A thinking man is the worst enemy of the Prince of Darkness,' said Carlyle, and this is ever true of all autocracies, religious or political, and often-times they are masked under the guise of democracies.

It is therefore necessary that this spirit of freedom, this triumph of the human reason must be maintained at all costs within the precincts of our colleges, the nurseries of the future citizen. Freedom must be fully preserved for the youth to use his own reason, to think for himself, to develop on his own lines, without the slightest interference from any one, except in the interests of discipline and corporate life. Freedom of association and discussion, methods of persuasion and argument must be strictly preserved and the individual must be left untouched by any desire on the part of the State to become a nation-wide schoolmaster. A certain degree of hero-worship is inevitable in seminaries of the young, but it must be the apotheosis not of the State or the Party that governs it, but an apotheosis of "truth, goodness and beauty". The aim should be to produce an extreme flexibility of mind—an intellect able to grapple with the complex problems facing the community—able to form its mind and express it without reserve or equivocation. Doubt and questioning must have their due place in the mental apparatus of the youth. "In his own breast", said Mathew Arnold, "every man carries about with him a possible Socrates in that power of a disinterested play of consciousness upon his stock notions and habits". This "possible Socrates" must be revived and set free from the debris of ready-made thought.

The last feature I would urge on your attention is "Love all beauty whether of Nature or Art." This is perhaps the most neglected part of our education. This is singularly unfortunate when it is remembered that India is a country about which Max Muller said : "If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power and beauty that Nature can bestow—in some parts a very Paradise on earth—I should point to India" And yet, how little is the effort in our education to make the youthful mind responsive to the charms of Nature, so plentiful and variegated in the countryside. How many of us even know or recognize the birds that cheer us by their song or delight us with the glory of their plumage A motor car may occasionally take us into the country, but do we not then prefer the "wail of the wireless" in our car to the song of the birds in the air ? Nature can be best admired in solitude. College excursions are not without value, but they hardly ever teach the student to love and admire Nature in solitary companionship. "Education," said Chesterton, "has meant the teaching of town things to country people who did not want to learn them. I suggest that education should now mean the teaching of country things to town people who do want to learn them." How true is this observation in India ? The aim must be to teach the youth to understand, appreciate and respect Nature—from the birds and beasts which abound in India, to the inanimate things which adorn our landscape. You do not in India require a pretext like angling for visiting the countryside, as you do in some other countries where the climate and other conditions are not favourable.

After the beauties of Nature come the "beauties of Art." How magnificent are they in this country ? Take only two, Music and Literature. We have inherited these from times almost dim in the hoary past. In Music, we see the refreshing spectacle that on a fabric purely Hindu, the Muslim has woven fascinating patterns, carefully preserving the beauty of the original. In these days when contract between

these two races is so essential, not only for the preservation of the country's peace, but for the growth of a common culture without which no nation desiring to be free can fulfil its national purpose we have in our midst a most fascinating art which is perhaps more true to nature than any other system of Music. The different hours of the day, the various phases of Nature—summer, winter, rain—the complex sentiments of humanity, love, compassion, devotion —have each a place in this system which is perhaps the noblest heritage that has descended to us. Religion may divide, but music will unite. Properly realised, its value in building up a sense of common citizenship is unique in this land. And yet what place has it in our Universities ? You are perhaps more fortunate here than in my Presidency. You have here a public institution solely devoted to the study of music and turing out *alumni* year after year. The only thing I would venture to say to you—in this city, where music has reigned supreme since (and even before) the rule of the Muslim, up to the present time—is that height should not be sacrificed to breadth and no endeavour should be made to graft exotics on a system which has its own principles and rules of harmony, melody and time. In our desire to imitate the West, let this Art at least be kept free from the ravages of cheap imitation. You have fortunately amongst you still living magnificent votaries of this art. They are lying scattered, poor and neglected, in penury and seclusion. The wireless won't attract them, nor will they submit to be picked up by our Public Service Commissions, Federal or Provincial. Will it be entirely outside the province of Indian Universities to preserve, in a permanent form, the work of these men ? We preserve books by printing them, so that they are not lost to future generations. Methods are now known to science by which the priceless music of these gifted men can be preserved for the education of the future generations. If a University can have a library of books within the scope of its objects, why can it not have a library of the records of the music of these men ? A few years more and the last of them will have gone, leaving no traces behind of his great skill, save through the faulty medium of an inferior disciple. You have in your province more musical skill and learning than elsewhere and it will be a mistake, for which future generations will hold you responsible, if you allow all this excellence to die unremembered and unsung.

I have done. I have taken more time than I had intended. But the cordiality of your Vice-Chancellor was alluring and led me on to speak more freely than I had intended.

I have spoken to you to-day only of the claims of effective citizenship to a prominent place in your college studies. I have abstained from speaking to you about your books, your studies, or even your examination, for to my mind these are not so vital as the growth of a true sense of citizenship in these days I cannot do better than close with quoting the observations of a modern writer which express in clear and fascinating terms all that I had intended to say to you : "To be able to learn and go on learning all one's life : to be able to think and go on thinking all one's life : to be willing to work, with the consciousness that it is work only that dignifies a man . and to have mastered the art of living together, with all sorts and conditions of men, in a world that is rapidly shrinking—these four are the prime qualifications for effective citizenship, for meeting the reasonable demands of society, and for the production of one who may style himself, without qualification, a human being."

The Nagpur University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University at the Sixteenth Annual Convocation of the Nagpur University held on the **11th. December 1937** :—

On rising to address you, I find at the outset two thoughts struggling for expression : the first, my sense of grateful appreciation of the honour conferred on me by being invited to deliver the convocation address (whatever my personal opinion of the

wisdom of your choice), and the second, my longing to greet you, the new graduates, with my heartiest felicitations on this unique occasion in your life, when you are entering the world after completing your education and obtaining degrees in various branches of learning. On my own behalf, and also on that of the Patna University, which I represent as its Vice-Chancellor, I offer you our good wishes for your success in the various avocations and professions to which you now propose to devote yourselves. May Providence grant you His choicest gifts—health, happiness and prosperity—and may He inspire you to live a life devoted to the service of our Motherland, and to notable achievements redounding to its credit.

When I turn, however, from these preliminary observations to the task before me, I find myself confronted with a tremendous difficulty And I shall tell you why. As I sat down to compose a discourse which I hoped "posterity should not willingly let die", my eyes chanced to fall on an editorial comment, on your Vice-Chancellor's last convocation address, in a Nagpur weekly, that "convocation addresses are never meant to be taken seriously by the graduates." Further, I found that this comment was based on the observation of another journal to the effect that "stereotyped and spiritless addresses are not likely to be of any use to graduates." And as if these comments were not discouraging enough to damp my enthusiasm and depress my spirits, you all (I am sure) will sympathise with me on learning that when perusing, sometime later, your Vice-Chancellor's convocation address, which was the text of the press comments quoted above, I lighted in it upon the following passage which gave me the shock of my life .—"Such addresses", (that is those delivered at convocations), said Sir Hari Singh Gour, "are apt to become conventional and commonplace. They are forgotten as soon as they are heard by the audience concerned." A wonderful instance this of an absolute agreement between a section of the press and a distinguished publicist, on the point of convocation addresses being dreary affairs, of no practical value to our graduates, and a conclusive reason for the abolition of the system obtaining in the Indian universities. But having accepted your kind invitation. I am at your service, for better or for worse.

Without, therefore, any further prelude, I may now discuss with you one or two of the questions in which we all are interested. The first of these that strikes my mind is that of higher education itself, as imparted in our universities For some years past it has been criticised adversely and severely, first by some British officials, and others, opposed to our political aspirations, and following them by a section of our countrymen, as responsible for many evils, ranging from "slave mentality" to unemployment. The charge in connection with the former has lately fallen into the background, though one hears even now some echo of it, from time to time, but that in regard to unemployment still persists It is constantly asserted in certain quarters that it is the universities which are mainly responsible for the existence of unemployment, in an acute form, among the educated classes in this country, and that it would disappear if steps were taken to discourage, if not to abolish, university education. I am satisfied, however, for reasons I shall presently state. that neither the existing number of universities in India, nor the number of graduates they turn out every year, is large, out of proportion to the dimensions, or the requirements, of our great country. There are other countries which, proportionately to their area and population, have a much larger number of universities, and turn out an appreciably larger number of graduates, but where the problem of unemployment has never been suggested as an adequate ground for discouraging or abolishing university education.

I venture to suggest to you that this problem has not been examined by the critics of our universities in a correct perspective. To begin with, is it possible to deal with the question of unemployment among the educated classes as something solely and wholly distinct from the state of chronic unemployment prevailing among the vast bulk of the illiterate masses in the country ? Is it logical to divide the problem of unemployment in India into two water-tight compartments, and to seek a solution of the one part, while ignoring the economic conditions affecting the other and by far much the greater part of it ? I submit, it betrays an error of judgment to adopt this line of reasoning, and to attempt to solve on its basis the problem of unemployment amongst the educated classes alone—irrespective of the condition, in this respect, of large sections of our masses. India, it seems, is unfortunately the only country where unemployment is proclaimed to be the result of higher education.

In Europe and America, while it is true that the general tendency is to give a practical turn to education, they do not try to solve the problem of unemployment by that means alone. Economic development and industrial expansion through politi-

cal control are what western nations have turned to as the remedy for unemployment and not the curtailment of university education. If we in our country cannot, or are not able to do so, is that any reason why we should make a scape-goat of higher education which in less than a century—and against overwhelming difficulties of custom and prejudice—has produced, proportionately to the expenditure incurred over it, a larger number of a fine type of administrators, statesmen, publicists and leaders than countries far more advantageously situated in every respect. You may make education as practical as you please, you may convert all our schools and colleges into technical and technological institutions, but you will not thereby reduce unemployment unless you are able to increrse the wealth of the country, and, what is more, to prevent its being drained away from the country.

Thus viewed, the unemployment problem in India is not so much an educational as an economic one which again cannot be dissociated from its political implications, and to attempt to solve it chiefly by proposing drastic changes in the educational system alone, is bound to end in producing a state of things wors than what it is, at present, for it is an attempt to cure a bad disease by a worse remedy. Let our educational system be recast, revised and re-organised as you will, but unless the economic system is substantially improved by means of the industrial development of the natural resources of the country, unemployment shall not have disappeared even though higher education were reformed out of its very existence. This for the simple reason that unemployment is the result not so much of serious defects in our university education as of an unsound economic system, and the only effective remedy would thus be to alter that system on sound and healthy lines. All this is not to assert that the system of higher education, as imparted in our universities, does not need to be, or should not be reformed, but that there is a world of difference between reforming university education and discouraging it altogether. As Dr Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar—the last convocation lecturer at the Madras University—put it :—"The mere encouragement of technological studies will not solve the problem of unemployment unless the State and the public take active steps to provide avenues for utilising the talent thus available by a well-laid out policy of industrial re-organisation and encouragement of indigenous enterprise." Those of you who have studied the illuminating survey of the subject, in a recent publication—Mr. W. M. Kotschnig's *Unemployment in the Learned Professions*—will have realised that growing unemployment in the various learned and intellectual spheres is an international problem, the only solution of which can be the economic and occupational reconstruction of society. As the author well puts it :—"Only after economists and social scientists have spoken, only when the outlines of ' occupational plan ' become visible will educators be in a position to do their share."

Our universities have rendered in my opinion, very great services to India. Assuming the correctness of the premises of our critics—that our educational system was originally designed to produce merely clerks and subordidate officials—it has certainly long since belied the intention or expectation, of its organisers by producing not only almost all our great national leaders, but also all those who have been successful workers in various spheres of public activities, with advantage to themselves and with credit to the country. It is to their *alumni* that India owes, to a very large extent the progress that she has made in so many fields of national activity, which has ushered in what is popularly known as the great Indian Renaissance. It is the products of the universities who have made India what she is to day—an India throbbing with the pulsations of a new life. All university graduates might not have contributed equally to this upheaval, but I have no doubt that without them the national awakening could not have come into existence. It is because I firmly believe in this causal relationship that I also believe as a logical corollary, that the destinies of India will continue to be moulded and wielded by the university products of to-day and of the future. To discourage our university education by condemning it outright, and discrediting its achievements is, therefore to do disservice to the country.

I am, therefore, glad that such attempts at wholesale denunciation of our university system have been lately subjected to criticism by several distinguished educationists, who by their position and knowledge are fully qualified to speak on this question with authority. One of them is the present Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who was your convocation lecturer. But dealing with the great advantage of university education, I recall, in particular, the striking observations, recently made in the course of a remaraable address, delivered to under-graduates, at Lucknow

by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. He justly emphasised the importance of university training as the great lever for national uplift, and the responsibility of the university men and women "if they wanted to do great deeds," not only "to develop an individuality" but to "differ from those common people who had not had the benefit of university education," by eschewing hysteria and the mob mentality, and avoiding "too much shouting." I entirely agree with the views of the experts, as to the much greater scope for service by our universities, if only they were supplied with larger financial resources, and fortified with greater moral support from the leaders of public opinion, instead of carping and cavilling criticism being levelled at them by those who try to depreciate the great advantages of university education, in their over-anxiety to reduce unemployment, or advance the cause of primary or technical education.

In fact, while some of us seem to pass sleepless nights frightened by the nightmare of the increase in universities and graduates, Sir Mirza Ismail struck a refreshingly bold note in a recent speech —"India needs more universities," he said, "and ought in course of time, to be able to maintain them. For great work has to be done in the next fifty years and the cry is for more men to do it—more educated men, men of culture, men of character and sound commonsense, men who can plan and bring to fruition the great ideal of a new happy and united India." "I am not afraid," he continued, "of more education, of more educated men. I am not daunted by the glut of graduates on the market, and by the vexed problem of unemployment" I make no apology for having placed before you, in the very words of some eminent Indians, the other side of the question to which I have ventured to bespeak your careful consideration

We are sometimes told by our mentors that higher education is not of much value as Indian students usually go to universities to get a degree in order to earn their bread, and not for acquiring knowledge and culture. But are not the majority of students, who enter the portals of European and American universities, actuated by the same utilitarian motive ? Why then blame the poor Indian student alone, as if he were born with a double dose of the original sin ? And is culture wholly incompatible with bread-earning ? Very few of us, indeed, are born with a silver spoon in our mouth, and most of us have to work for our daily bread. But it is not impossible, I maintain, for a cultured man to work for his bread, neither is it impossible for the bread-earner to be a man of culture : real and abiding culture, not flashy brilliance ; tempered steel, not burnished tin. I would, therefore, appeal to you, the new graduates, not to be down-hearted by the unfriendly criticisms at the education you have received. For my part, I firmly believe that the education imparted to you ought to be, and will be, a source of strength and not of weakness, and should help you to bring into play your grit, stamina and spirit of enterprise, and open out new avenues for your talents and energies in the service of your great country.

National development in all its aspects—social, political and economic—which is so absolutely essential for India's freedom, and the achievement of her rightful place among the nations of the world, requires that her sons and her daughters should be educated sufficiently to realise their great heritage, and their no less great responsibilities to themselves and also to the future generations. For this great work we want men and women of the highest education, and not mere technicians—whether engineers or mechanics and artisans As happily put by a distinguished educationist and scholar, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, in his convocation address at Dacca : "the true function of a university is not to send forth mere technicians, or narrow specialists, but leaders who can view a problem, as a whole, and guide and co-ordinate the work of subordinate instruments."

This is not to oppose the development of technological studies, or the expansion of primary education. It is only to emphasise the obvious that the problem of Indian education should be viewed, as a whole, and not compartmentally in detached groups or sections. An attempt should be made to devise a comprehensive scheme of reconstruction and reorganization of Indian education from the primary stages to the highest, and our Education Ministers should apply themselves to this great task in a spirit of impartiality, and without any mental pre-possessions in favour of, or against, either higher or primary education, and without being misdirected by the pursuit of deceptive foreign analogies, which may lead to the ignoring of important factors peculiar to Indian conditions and situation. I have dealt with this question at some length, since it is no longer an academic but a practical topic of discussion amongst us, in view of "a genuine apprehension in the public mind in some

provinces"—I quote from a recent editorial in one of the leading nationalist newspapers, the *Hindu*—"that higher education will be adversely affected", as 'pronouncements have been made, upon this subject, which are, to some extent, calculated to give rise to this suspicion."

Closely connected with the discussion of our system of higher education is that of the place occupied by English in our university curricula. Here, again, I have come across a good deal of unwarranted criticism for which, it seems to me, there is no justification. The adverse criticism is evidently based on the assumption that the prominence given to English in our higher studies hinders, or is apt to hinder, the growth and expansion of the fairly-developed Indian languages for literary purpose. But I confess I do not at all appreciate this point of view. In almost all Indian universities many of the modern Indian languages are now taught upto the highest standard, and degrees are awarded to successful students who qualify themselves in them, just as in other branches of learning. There is also a consensus of opinion that not only primary, but even secondary, education up to the Matriculation standard, should be imparted, where practicable, through the medium of the provincial languages. But when it comes to the question of the abolition of English, or its relegation into the back-ground, from higher studies, it deserves very careful consideration before we decide to tamper with a well-established system which, with all its defects, has contributed to the up-building of the nationalist India of to-day. It is undoubtedly as the result of higher education being imparted to our students in English, that this great land of ours is on a fair way to become before long a full-fledged nation, and the national pulse is beating even to-day with a unison the like of which is not recorded as having happened, at any earlier period, in our long and chequered history.

It has become almost customary in addresses delivered to graduates and students, at Allahabad, to refer to the confluence of the Jamuna and the Ganga at that place (the "Prayag" of olden days) as symbolical of the blending of Hindu and Muslim cultures, in our great country But while that may be so, it does not represent the whole truth, for just as there is a third, though hidden, stream which lends sanctity to Prayag—the Sarasvati—even so our modern educational problem involves three, and not two, factors. That third factor is the great western culture, of which we all are the products, and which, as such, can not be left out of consideration. The fusion of cultures, in our universities, cannot be accomplished except through the medium of modern culture to be obtained through a western language, like English. This point is very important, and it is the failure to appreciate it that vitiates the many proposed schemes of Indian educational reconstruction. The very prominent position which English has come to occupy as the lingua franca of the educated classes in this country, can not be ignored in any dispassionate and fair-minded survey of the birth, growth and evolution of Indian nationalism.

English to-day is no longer a foreign language amongst the politically-minded classes in India. It is the second language which educated Indians habitually use in their political and civil activities. No Indian language is or can, at present, be found equally suitable for the purpose, as is also evidenced by the proposed establishment (by a directorate of prominent Congressmen, headed by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru) of a new Congress daily, at Lucknow, in English. The idea of political and civil freedom is practically alien to our indigenous languages, and it is the knowledge of English and the magnificent literature enshrined in it, which has been admittedly the great emancipating force in Indian life. As emphasised in the presidential address, at a session of the Indian National Congress, it is impossible to argue one into slavery in the English language. It is obvious even to casual observers that the measure of economic and political freedom obtained by us, is due to the efforts of our national leaders conversant with the English language, and well versed in the great literature embodied in it. It is also due to their efforts that we owe our reform movements, in various spheres of activities.

The argument, advanced by those who would like to dethrone English from the prominent position it occupies to-day, in our universities, namely, that some other countries (like Japan and Turkey, for instance,) have accomplished the feat of national education through the medium of their languages, is by no means convincing, as it overlooks the fundamental difference between comparatively small countries, with small populations of a few millions, and India—a great sub-continent with its many languages, vast territories, and an enormous population constituting about

one-fifth of the human race. Those countries have also a population speaking only one principal language,—unlike ours where there are a number of developed languages each with a considerable literature. The analogy of such countries, for replacing English, from the position it has come to occupy in India, by some Indian language is, therefore, wholly misleading and unsound from the practical stand-point.

Besides, in considering this subject, we should not overlook the undisputed fact that English is now the most widely used language, and is spoken and understood much more extensively throughout the world than any other. It is spoken by more people to-day outside Britain than inside that country, and has thus acquired the status of an international language. But that is not all. It enshrines, besides a rich imaginative literature, work-a-day knowledge in all its branches, and renders them available to us in India, which are already being utilised by the youth of this country in the great and difficult task of uplifting our people, by contributing to their advancement and progress. English is thus no longer the monopoly of Englishmen or of Britons, but a great heritage to all who may care to study and acquire it, and reap the fruits of their acquisition by the advancement of learning and its consequential results. The prejudice amongst some sections of our people, against the study and use of English is probably due to political considerations, born of the assumption that it is the exclusive property of the British.

But as you are no doubt aware, there are at least three great nations, outside the British Isles, which speak English as their mother tongue. One of them (the United States) is now Britain's equal in sea power, and perhaps her superior in money power. The Asiatic nations (like China and Japan), with which India has close affinities, have made a knowledge of English compulsory. India's position in international life is thus alongside of the English speaking nations. For these reasons I hold that the movement to discard, or to discourage, English is a retrograde one, from the nationalist point of view, and it should not be encouraged by the well wishers of the country. Holding this view I am gratified to find that the Education Minister of Hyderabad State declared his views on this subject, the other day, in the course of an address as follows :—"I agree that education should be in the vernacular. But if we would, as a result, let English go overboard, we shall be severing all contact with the world, forget all that we have learnt from the West—democracy included—and lose touch with the world of science and arts, and of progress." These observations are all the more significant since they emanate from the head of the Education Department not only in the largest and most populous Indian State, but also the one where higher education is imparted—in the Osmania University—through the medium of an Indian language.

Whatever an Indian convocation address, delivered at present, may or may not contain, it must refer briefly or at length, to the one unpleasantly outstanding feature of all our activities, namely, "communalism." When Reuter wires that Lord Willingdon told a London audience, the other day, that "communal feelings are the curse of India at the present time, and Mr Bhulabhai Desai (the leader of the Congress party in the Central Assembly) emphatically confirms that declaration of the ex-Viceroy by stating (in a recent message to the press) that "it is no exaggeration to say that the greatest pest to Indian society to-day is the demon of communalism" no convocation lecturer can be said to have discharged his duty if he omitted to deal with this subject. You all are quite familiar with this overpowering monster, which assumes diverse shapes and dominates all spheres of activity in the India of to-day. As you open your morning newspaper you come across the results of communal propaganda and activities, throughout the country, in various forms—riots, murders, bloodshed, disturbances and breach of the peace, amongst the masses, and resonant cries for separation and more separation in the administrative, economic, legislative, social and political activities amongst the classes. Your own province has had recently to bear the brunt of it in an acute from, and no other area in British India can be said to be immune from it, while the virus is now slowly spreading into the Indian States, which were generally free from it till recently.

Thus, one finds at present in Indian life an intensive struggle for freedom coupled with an extensive communal tension. But freedom, in the real sense of the term, is wholly incompatible with communalism, and the two cannot co-exist. Any political party which believes, or professes to believe that the mere substitution of an Indian government for the British administration will automatically solve the communal problem, is indeed, very greatly mistaken. It is but a vain delusion that the disappear-

ance of what is euphemistically called (in our political parlance) the third party in India, will almost mechanically lead to the solution of the communal problem. That the situation has become complex by reason of the existence, policy and action of the British administration in the country is certainly true, but whatever the contributory cause the problem has to be solved now, even while the foreign government is installed amongst or never; since the disapperance of the British element from India cannot be foreseen, at present, even by the most powerful political telescope, in view of the rapid growth and expansion of communalism in the country.

It is, therefore, for the responsible elements in the Indian communities to put their heads together, while there is still sometime left, to devise suitable methods for suppressing the forces of communalism in all its manifold and multifarious aspects, so that by concentrating their attention, they may possibly be able to rid India of this great and growing evil, and make the country safe for the growth and development of a truly democratic and self-governing system of government. The evil has come to assume so large a proportion in its intensity, and is so perennially persistent, that it behoves all who have the interests of India at heart to devote themselves heart and soul in finding its solution, not only by mobilising all available resources, brains, good will, patriotism and sincerity—but also a firm determination not to slacken their efforts till success crowns their labour.

Many of you, I dare say, will in the course of your career interest yourselves in what may be called the great freedom movement—the movement to make your country fully self-governing, and free from political and economic subordination to any other State. But I am a believer not only in economic and political freedom, but in freedom in a larger and wider sense: freedom from all unreasonable and unjustifiable restraints, not only economic, industrial and political, but even religious and social. If you take the same view of freedom as I do, you may take as your motto a short sentence from the manifesto sent by the Nobles and Commons of Scotland to the Pope of Rome, so far back as 1320, in which they said:—"We fight not for glory, nor for honour, but for that freedom which no good man will surrender but with his life." If you care to adopt this comprehensive formula as the rule of your conduct and cherish liberty as the fundamental rule in all your activities, you will have learnt to refuse to submerge your individuality, as a rational being, either in the State, or in a social community, or a political party, or an economic group, or a religious fraternity, but will assert its value for progress, freedom and responsibility.

At present such a view of individual freedom is at a discount even in western Europe not excluding Britain, where it was hitherto held in high esteem. There is to-day even in advanced democratic countries a decay of the individual's responsibility which is so essential to my mind in the difficult work of government while the individual and his indefeasible rights to the expression of his individuality, are being relegated into the background in the new experiments in government which are being tried in various countries. I hope, however, that you will not allow yourselves to be crushed, but will stand up for personal freedom, which like air is absolutely necessary to human life, it being—in the words of a great statesman—"the most ineradicable craving of human nature, without which peace, contentment and happiness, even manhood itself, are not possible." Those of you who have read in the world-famous history of the greatest Greek historian, Thucydides—which that famous author, anticipating the verdict of Time, called "an everlasting possession" for humanity—the declaration of Pericles, in his memorable Funeral Oration, the inspiring words: "Esteem courage to be freedom, and freedom to be happiness" should hold to it as the fundamental equation of all your activities. The great appeal of Pericles rings true through the ages, and you should try to seek your happiness in freedom, and do your part bravely in hastening the day of the establishment of freedom in India—freedom not only in its narrow political sense, but in the widest acceptation of that term.

If you indulge in introspection—as I trust you do—you must have realised that your failings, whether in the matter of overcoming communalism, or any other matter are mainly due to the fact that though you intellectually assent to many things, your feelings and emotions stand in the way of your carrying them out in practice. Now it may, at first sight, seem paradoxical that your feelings should not permit you to do what commands your intellectual assent. But that it *is* so, is a stubborn fact, and an undeniable reality. It is a matter of common experience in this country to find people, in all spheres of life, professing views and sentiments which they dare not think of putting into practice, or against which they not unoften act, and even justify

their action. It is, in fact, not an unusual experience to find an educated Indian not only, at times, wanting in the courage of his convictions, but actually doing things which belie his professed beliefs. I received the other day from one of the most eminent Indians—a man of great distinction in many walks of life, and withal possessing a rare judgment and wide experience—a letter on this subject, in the course of which he wrote as follows: "What strange times we are passing through: communalists call themselves nationalists, capitalists pose as socialists, socialists hunt with communists, and communists court capitalists. 'Plague' on them all' is, I think, the only possibly cry".

Now why should that be so, and how can it be accounted for? The question is discussed by Herbert Spencer in a luminous essay on "Feeling versus Intellect" This is how he explains the apparent inconsistency:—"It is assumed that when men are taught what is right, they will do what is right, that a proposition intellectually accepted will be morally propositive. This undue faith in teaching is mainly caused by the erroneous conception of mind. Were it fully realised that the emotions are the master and the intellect the servant, it would be seen that little could be done by improving the servant while the masters remain unimproved" You will thus easily see how necessary it is that our young men and women should have a chance of improving, by proper exercise, their emotions, as well as their intellect. For obvious reasons, however, it is not possible for our schools and colleges to offer suitable opportunities for what can be properly developed and exercised only in the more congenial atmosphere of the home. And as the home implies the influence and guidance of women, it is clear that there cannot be surroundings favourable to the growth of emotions in our homes, unless our women are duly qualified by education and training to play their parts, as they should do, in our home-life.

It is only when our women, being themselves educated and enlightened, are able to train the rising generation under proper home influence, to mould their emotions and develop their character on sound and rational lines, and to inculcate in them, at an early age, a feeling of their being "an Indian first and an Indian last", and thereby implant in their young and supple minds the great and patriotic lesson of national unity transcending all communal differences, that India may reasonably expect to come into her own. In this view of the matter, you are brought face to face with one of the greatest problems of Indian reform, namely, the emancipation—physical and mental—of our women I shall ask you to address yourselves, in right earnest, to this great and crucial problem than which none is more important or more urgent. Only when you will have solved it satisfactorily, will you have proved yourselves worthy of the education, and of the degree you have received to-day.

You are entering the world on the threshold of a new era in the history of your country—an era in which the silver lining in the dark clouds is becoming more and more clearly visible, an era of hopeful prospects, ushered in by the establishment of popular governments in the provinces of British India, and moulding the destinies of the people. Addressing a political gathering, the other day, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru—who declared that till the last moment he was opposed to the formation of Congress ministries--went on to say that he felt he must confess, that since Congressmen accepted office, "events arising from the acceptance of office had strengthened the freedom movement, and produced an exhilarating effect on the masses." The new Indian constitution, though seemingly a settled fact, is only as settled as anything can be so regarded, in a perpetually mutable world, and your thoughts must now naturally turn more and more to the problem as to how it can be enlisted in the cause of securing greater and wider freedom for India and how our future programme should be shaped in the light of this fact. And it is that which brings us face to face with the eternal problem of idealism and practicality in all our activities.

It is generally said that everyone in the modern world wants facts and no one needs fiction--the terms "fact" and "fiction" connoting, what we call in common parlance, the practical and the ideal. "What I want," Dickens makes Mr. Gradgrind say in *Hard Times*, "is facts. Teach these boys, nothing but facts. Facts alone are wanted in life." The notorious Mr. Squeers in *Nicholas Nickleby*, was evidently of the same mind , though the facts he taught, at his "Do-the-boys Hall," were not even useful, except to himself. Matthew Arnold, in no less emphatic terms, but with finer irony, expresses a similiar view through the medium of his modern school-master, Dr. Archimedes Silverpump, and his very admiring pupil, named Bottles. "Useful languages," used to say the school-master, "living languages, and the forming of the mind through observation

and experiment, these are the fundamental articles of my educational creed." And Bottles thereupon supplied the comment as follows :—"Original man, Silverpump ! fine mind ! fine system ! None of your antiquated rubbish—all practical work—latest discoveries in science—mind constantly kept excited—lots of interesting experiments—lights of all colours—that's what I call forming a man" !

Now it is generally agreed that fact alone produces that narrow type of practical man caricatured by Dickens and Arnold Instead of knowledge, culture, imagination, broad-mindedness, tact, urbanity and sympathy, there is often found an unfinished product, an uncultured spirit, a warped mentality and a wrong perspective. We know also but too well how, similarly, fiction alone is equally unsatisfactory as an educated force and influence, as it becomes a kind of escape from more serious and practical problems of life Thus what India needs most at present is harmony between the ideal and the practical, if the nation is not to burn itself like the misguided flies in the flame of fantastic idealism. In our political, social and economic life, what we need above everything else is a balance, a perfect poise so that from a position of controlled elevation we may assimilate all that is best in our surroundings, rejecting all the rest as poisonous substance. This is not a call to accept "moderation" as that oft-repeated word is used and understood now in our country, but an appeal to pursue the path of the wise who, in their march towards the destined goal, neither deliberately shut their eyes to stern realities, nor allow themselves to be blinded by the momentary glares of the flashing novelties of shibboleths, stunts and slogans.

While, therefore, I hope that none of you will think of emulating the so-called practical man, whose practicality is but a pretext for the disregard of a high standard of living and conduct, and of the exercise of the noblest emotions, you must at the same time guard yourselves against degenerating into his nominal enemy, but real ally, by developing into a sentimental idealist, who butts his head against the stone-wall, with injury to himself and with advantage to none. The true conception of combining a high ideal with its necessary limitation, which I have emphasised, was happily set forth by one of the most successful administrators and workers in public interest, the American President, Theodore Roosevelt, when he uttered the wise dictum :—"Common sense is essential above all other qualities to the idealist; for an idealist without common sense, without the capacity to work for actual results, is merely a boat that is all sails, with neither ballast nor rudder." If you keep those observations in mind, you are not likely to go wrong, and see your efforts brought to naught, in any field of activity; while at the same time you will have lived to realise your legitimate ideals and high aspirations.

But to have one's feet on the ground—howsoever essential it may be—is, after all, no great achievement. Most of us simply cannot help it. But the human spirit has not been content to stick to the ground, and has taught itself to soar high skywards, at much sacrifice of life and energy I remember to have read in the life of Cecil Rhodes that while in Africa fording on horseback a turbulent stream, in the company of a big game hunter, the swift eddies of the river, round his horse's legs, made him faint. His companion noticing it gave a sharp rap on his chin, and said : "Look up, man, look up, not down." He did so at once, and recovered his balance And so we shall get faint by looking down, and fixing our eyes only on the vicious circle of our personal and particular problems We all need constantly to look up for going through life and its activities, as each of us should.

Ideals, you will be told, by some, are alright, but they will not provide you with bread and butter. I am not so sure of that. Nevertheless, those of us who hold that nothing is good in this world but what is good to eat, have no need to send their boys to a university to achieve that end. A university education is worth little if it does not pre-dispose men and women to value the great and distant ideals more than the immediate return in cash or kind. "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush" is the very worst motto which a university student could have. Pray, do not, therefore, deceive yourselves by hugging the delusion that your worth in the world will be measured by the amount of net personality at which your wills are to be sworn or by constantly endeavouring to add to the bank balance to your credit.

Those who think that the ideal and the real are two opposite poles of the compass, that there is no sort of contact between them, that they are completely antithetical, are really the blind ones of the earth. It was the first of the apostles who recalled the old benediction as a sure sign of a

nation's regeneration: "Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams." I hope you will see visions of the future glory of India, just as I—an old man of sixty-seven—still dream dreams of her rise in the scale of nations. Do not, therefore, be dissuaded by the counsels of friends who would like, above all else, to see you prosperous like themselves. Take their advice, by all means, but use your own judgment. You are at a time of life when the call to sacrifice in the interest of a great cause—and there is none greater than that of India's freedom—receives more ready response than from those who have passed the meridian of their lives. Listen to the inner voice, and give yourselves freely to some great ideal, which may appeal to you, in the service of your country. The success which comes in the pursuit of a great ideal brings enduring happiness in its train. If success does not come, you will still have deserved it. The true aim of university education cannot be better described than in the eloquent and wise words of one of the greatest English poets, Tennyson, to which I bespeak your attention.

At least not rotting like a weed,
But, having sown some generous seed,
Fruitful of further thought and deed:

To pass when Life her light withdraws,
Not void of righteous self-applause,
Nor in a merely selfish cause;

In some good cause, not in mine own,
To perish, wept for, honour'd known,
And like a warrior overthrown;

Whose eyes are dim with glorious tears,
When, soiled with noble dust, he hears,
His country's war-song thrill his ears;

Then dying of a mortal stroke,
What time the foeman's line is broke,
And all the war is roll'd in smoke.

May it be your great privilege throughout life to serve India inspired by the highest idealism embodied in these soul-stirring verses of a great poet, and God grant that you may live, as an Indian, first and foremost, and work for common rights, privileges and responsibilities, actuated by common aspirations for the freedom of your country, trying to make common history, uninfluenced in the least by any considerations of caste or creed, rank or sex, or anything that is calculated to dissociate you from sharing the lot of common humanity in your country! I adjure you to work in this spirit while life lasts, remembering that yesterday is but a dream, and to-morrow only a vision, but that each well-lived to-day will make every yesterday a dream of happiness, and every to-morrow a vision of hope. Look well, therefore, to to-day. Such is the lesson taught by the great sages in the days of yore. Follow it with zeal and earnestness.

Look backward, how much has been won;
Look round how much is yet to win;
The watches of the night are done,
The watches of the day begin.

The Punjab University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by the Hon'ble *Dr. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan*, Premier, Punjab, at the Annual Convocation of the Punjab University held at Lahore on the **23rd. December, 1937**:—

I deem it an honour to have been asked to address you to-day. The privilege of delivering the convocation address is, as a rule, and very appropriately, extended to a

distinguished luminary from that galaxy of learning, scholarship and service which is at once a source of inspiration and pride to the country. Eminent men of letters, renowned scientists, educationalists of repute and distinguished administrators were thus invited in the past to give of their knowledge and wisdom for the benefit of scholars and students. Their equipment and eminence in their particular spheres fully entitled them to the distinction. My main qualification is, on the other hand, the consciousness of my limitations for this task. It may be that in inviting me to address you to-day, His Excellency the Chancellor desired to substitute for the rich and sumptuous intellectual delicacies to which you have been so long accustomed, a simple and unpretentious home-made fare, for a change. I crave your indulgence.

This convocation is, in one sense, unique in the history of our University. To-day for the first time we meet as citizens of an autonomous Punjab. As such, it is my privilege to address you to-day as a fellow citizen, sharing the pride and hopes, the anxieties and aspirations which pulsate in the heart of every patriotic Punjabee. It is in this spirit that I would desire my observations to be received.

The change in our status calls for a corresponding change in our outlook. The days of the lotus-eater are gone. A Punjabee to-day cannot afford to sit idle or brood over theoretical handicaps. There are political and economic hurdles in our way which have yet to be negotiated. We must now face our responsibilities and problems with a new, broadened and tolerant outlook. Pessimism born of suspicion and diffidence which was responsible for an attitude of mind almost akin to defeatism in the past must yield place to a confident and vigorous optimism full of hope and enriched with constructive idealism. In this new orientation, it will not avail, as has sometimes been considered fashionable in the past, to be content with a disparaging analysis of our educational system and to blame those responsible for sponsoring it. I would rather offer our mead of gratitude to all the pioneers and workers who, within their limitations and in accordance with their circumstances, rendered of their best in the service of the Province in the past. The machinery set up by them, whatever its merits or demerits as judged in the light of our requirements to-day, has made us what we are and has contributed towards that awakening which constitutes the regeneration of a new Punjab. I would, therefore, leave it to the historian to deal with the past and content myself with inviting the new Punjabee, to apply himself in a spirit of confidence, courage and constructive statesmanship, to the appreciation of our problems and their solution.

4. Let me first congratulate the University authorities on some of the reforms and improvements which they have recently introduced in the academic and administrative phases of the University life The inclusion of a degree examination in Dental Surgery (B. D. S) of the diploma of Laryngology and Octology, of the diploma in Commerce, as distinguished from the degree of Bachelor of Commerce are steps in the right direction. Facilities have also been provided for the candidates who have passed Honours examination in a Vernacular language and B. A. in English, to take the B. A. degree by passing in two elective subjects. The extension of LLB. course from two to three years should help, at least partially, to relieve congestion in the legal profession and to ensure improvement in the standard of its new recruits.

5. It is gratifying that the Chemistry Laboratory, under the able and enthusiastic guidance of Dr. Bhatnagar, continues to do valuable reserch work which, apart from its educational value, is proving of great benefit to the industrial concerns in the Punjab and elsewhere. Some of the results of Dr. Bhatnagar's researches have deservedly earned for him and his associates an international place in the field of applied Chemistry. I wish Dr. Bhatnagar and those associated with him even greater success in the future.

6. On the administrative side, the formation of a Mufassil Board registers a much-needed and popular reform. Moreover, the balanced budget of the current year must be gratifying to the University authorities as it is to the Government and all other well-wishers of the University.

7. About 40,000 students including 5,000 girls, sat for the various examinations this year. This involved elaborate arrangements covering about 300 centres with over 2,000 Supervisors and nearly the same number of Examiners. The expedition and punctuality with which the results are now published simultaneously throughout the Province has secured for the Punjab University a leading position among the Indian Universities on which Mr. Singha, the Controller of Examinations, and his assistants can feel legitimate pride.

8. The most ardent admirer of the Punjab University, however, would not claim perfection for it. There is much ground for improvement, and if I might say so urgent improvement, to which the best brains of the Punjab must apply themselves and without delay. Mere tinkering or a haphazard effort in the matter of educational reforms will not, however, avail or satisfy the needs and the aspirations of the New Punjab. The educational system of a country, like the human body, is a closely knit and delicately balanced organism, which calls for an all-round healthy pulsation to function efficiently. Our objective then must be to devise a carefully planned and comprehensive scheme of reform which would embrace all the various components of our educational system

9. The controversy regarding the aim and purpose of education—whether it should be liberal and cultural or useful and practical—is as old as education itself. Aristotle wrote in his Politics. "No one knows on what principle we should proceed. Should the useful in life, or should virtue, or should the higher knowledge, be the aim of our training—all three opinions have been entertained."

Let theoretical purists fight for the exclusive application of one or other of these ideals to our system of education, but as practical men we have to look forward to a judicious and seasoned blending of all of them according to the needs and aspirations of our province.

10 Some idea of the nature and magnitude of our education problem can be gathered from the number of candidates who sit for the various University examinations A critical study of these figures and the results of the examinations might also prove useful in formulating proposals for future application Where the candidates fail to touch the standard in view, our future educational plan should be designed to make good the omission. Let us take the figures of the current year. Nearly 40,000 candidates, including 5,000 girls, sat for the different examinations in 1937 and 26,375 were successful. Of these successful candidates, 85 passed the professional examinations (74 M B, B S. Final; and 11 in Engineering; 36 are Bachelors of Commerce, 225 including 28 M Scs of the Honours School are M. As. and M. Scs, 472 are Law Graduates, 2,046 B Scs.; 2,710 passed the examination for Oriental Titles and in Vernacular Languages; and 3,536 the Intermediate Examination both in Arts and Science. The remaining 17,165 are Matriculates. As an index of the educational progress of the province these figures are undoubtedly encouraging, but this satisfaction gives place to anxious concern when it is realised that a vast majority of these successful candidates must perforce help in swelling the number of an already formidable army of educated unemployed. Even after excluding those who, by reason of their inaptitude or indifferent academic careers, might legitimately be classed as unemployable, there must still remain a considerable number of efficient Graduates, under-Graduates and Matriculates, who for want of adequate openings and opportunities can never hope to find suitable employment. It is this disquieting feature which constitutes the real tragedy of our present educational system. One cannot help feeling for those thousands of our young men who, on completing their educational career, go out into the world full of cheer and hope only to find themselves up against the stern realities of life and its manifold disillusionments and disappointments. Their endless wanderings from office to office and door to door in the quest of a job and the inevitable "sorry there is no room for you here" which awaits a vast majority of these young aspirants, soon dams the spirit and exuberance of even the most persevering and the bravest among them. Constant rebuffs and disappointments engender feelings of resentment and dismay, and when on top of these vicissitudes they find that instead of attaining a standard of living which they had pictured in their minds the depleted financial resources of their parents are incapable of procuring to them even those amenities to which they were accustomed in their college days, their disillusionment is complete. Cheerfulness and optimism give way to despondency and discontent, and hundreds of our boys who enter upon their educational career full of hope and ambition are thus transformed, primarily as a result of our present system of education, into disgruntled cynics and bitter critics of Government. All the iniquities and shortcomings of the system are attributed to Government which is accused of having consistently encouraged higher education without providing adequate opportunities and facilities for the profitable employment of its products. This attitude of mind is not inexplicable considering that in 99 cases out of every hundred the objective—to a great extent inevitable in the present circumstances of the country—of both the students and their parents has been acquisition of knowledge not for its own sake or for its cultural and intellectual benefits but mainly as

a means of securing employment. The avenues of employment, however, are extremely restricted and the competition for even the more humble posts is getting increasingly keen with every fresh batch of aspirants turned out by our educational institutions. The realization that there is such a thing as the law of supply and demand, alas, comes too late in the day.

11. Take next the financial aspect of the problem which is particulary important to a poor province like ours. The waste of national energy and wealth which it involves is enormous, as I will presently show, and unless this waste is checked in time and used to better purpose it might have disastrous consequences both from the economic and the administrative points of view. Let me illustrate my point by referring you to some figures for the last quinquennium. During the five years from 1933 to 1937 no less than 179,201 candidates appeared in the various University examinations. Of these 103,725 sat for the Matriculation Examination and the remaining 75,476 for the other examinations. It is estimated that during the school period the average expenditure of a student including the school fees and cost of books and clothing etc. is approximately Rs. 1,000 for the whole period of ten years up to the Matriculation standard. Now if we multiply this amount by the number of candidates who sat for the Matriculation Examination in the last 5 years we get the colossal figure of 10.3 crores. It must be noted that in calculating this amount wastage due to detentions or desertions has not been taken into consideration which by itself accounts for an enormous loss to the parents and the State. According to the Hartog Committee's estimate the loss on this account in primary classes alone amounts to 60 per cent of the total expenditure on those classes. Now let us consider the expenses incurred by a student who after passing his Matriculation Examination joins a college for higher study. In assessing the cost it must be remembered that majority of these students have to join a college far from their homes, and consequently they have to pay for their board and lodging in addition to other tuition expenses. In the circumstances, an average expenditure per student of Rs. 30 a month or Rs. 720 for two years including fees and subscriptions and the cost of books, clothing, etc, would not be an unreasonable or extravagant estimate. A large number of students actually spend a great deal more than this amount. Even according to this very conservative estimate, the total bill of the 30,269 students who managed to reach the Intermediate Examination during the past 5 years could not have been less than 2 and one-fourth crores. We have still to reckon the additional expenditure incurred by those who continued beyond the Intermediate stage for the degree and professional examinations. The number of candidatss for the B A. and B. Sc. degree alone during this period was 17,214. Therefore, if we calculate the cost for the minimum additional period of two years it would amount to Rs. 1 and one-fourth crore. Then there are 1,565 who sat for M. A. Examination, 85 for M. Sc. and 2,706 for LL B.; their total expenditure must come to about 31 lakhs. There are besides, over 22,421 candidates for the Oriential Titles and Vernacular exrminations and nearly one thousand candidates who took professional or M. Sc. (Honours) examinations, involving an expenditure of about 1 and three-fourth crores The total cost on the conservative estimate cited above, making no allowances for desertions and detentions, adds up to the enormous figure of about 15 and a half crores. If we add to this the 7 and half crores spent by the State during the same period we get the colossal figure of Rs. 23 crores for the quinquennium or approximately Rs. 4 and a half crores per annum. A portion of this expenditure no doubt is unavoidable, and a fair portion could perhaps be termed a profitable investment. Nevertheless, the fact remains that a substantial amount of this recurring expenditure represents unnecessary waste. Further comment is unnecessary. Even if a little of this colossal expenditure could be saved and directed to more profitable channels, e.g., development of agriculture, industries and trade the problem of unemployment would soon lose its present sinister significance.

12. We might now pause to enquire what is the return to this poor province for the aforesaid enormous annual expenditure? The answer can be read in the presence of thousands of graduates and tens of thousands of matriculates, some unemployable but a vast majority of them unemployed because there is no room or opening for them in the province. The advent of Government Mofussil colleges opened in pursuance of the policy to provide suitable facilities for secondary and higher education in the backward areas, inevitably means an increase in the number of aspirants from rural classes for Government posts in an already over-flooded market. On the cultural side, despite a desirable political awakening of the people,

our present system has created, in the words of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, "not a cultured community but a community of qualified candidates". This indeed is a poor return, both on the moral and material basis of evaluation, for the large fortune, and the effort of our youth which are thus being frittered away. Delay would be dangerous and unless we make a concerted and planned effort forthwith to get out of the groove, in which we seem to be working, we will be abetting the further development of a system which has long outlived its utility. There are several other aspects of this vexed and complex problem but I would not weary you by referring to them in detail here. Its two main defects to which I have invited your attention are enough to indicate the necessity of an early and thorough overhauling of the system. The problem calls for courageous and concerted action. The new Punjab cannot permit—and God willing will not permit—the continuance of this wasteful drain of its wealth and energy—resources which could be profitably applied in the better service of the province and its ordered progress.

13. The first essential step, before we launch on the difficult and delicate task of the overhauling of our present machinery, is to be clear as to our goal in order to avoid setbacks and costly experiments In this matter it is indeed gratifying that all responsible educationists and public men in the country, whatever their differences on some other issues, are agreed on the main features of the educational edifice which we need to set up. It is now generally accepted that educational system of a country to be profitable should take the fullest cognisance of its peculiar needs and must be in complete harmony with its aspirations. Let us, therefore, with constructive confidence remove these sign-posts on our educational high road which, despite the accident of some excellent results, were designed—probably with the best of intentions in the then prevailing circumstances of the country—to aim at the mass production of clerks and subordinate officers.

14 It is almost a truism to say that a sound educational system must be laid on sound foundations. The basis of this foundation is now universally accepted to be the rock-bed of free and compulsory education. The Government of your Province, let me assure you is, pledged to the attainment of this ideal within the shortest possible period We recognise that the most important function of the State is to ensure for its citizens a standard of literacy which may enable them to take an intelligent interest and share in the political, economic and social life of the Province In this connection, you will be interested to learn that the Ministry of Education is earnestly examining the question of raising the four year primary course to a five year course in order to secure a sufficient and permanent grounding for our children, which may save them from lapsing into illiteracy after they leave the school. Simultaneously the Province may confidently look forward to a period of educational expansion on right lines so that the ideal of free and compulsory education working efficiently throughout the country may soon become a *fait accompli* in the Punjab.

15. Our programme of free and compulsory primary education will, however, touch the children of our school going age, but in my picture of the New Punjab we cannot leave out of reckoning the majority of our countrymen who are passed the school-going age and are without even the rudiments of literacy. They constitute the bulk of our electorate and are the backbone of our social and economic system. But they are also victims of exploitation in the economic field and a fairly large section is still subject to social handicaps. It is the duty of the state to remove these disabilities and one way of mitigating these evils is to dispel ignorance. For their instruction, I would like to see a strong impetus given to the movement of adult education throughout the Province. Let official and non-official agency cooperate to see every school imparting at night or during holidays a carefully planned short and interesting course of adult education. Moreover, I would like the University authorities to consider a plan under which ordinarily no candidate may be allowed to sit for the Matriculation and higher examinations who during the vacations, had not given a minimum prescribed period of free services, on a prescribed basis, in furtherance of the adult education campaign in the province.

16. Take secondary education next. You would not expect me to forestall here the conclusions on this and other questions which are engaging the attention of the Punjab Government and others interested in the educational reform of the Punjab. It may, however, be safely assumed that the stage of secondary education should provide clearly defined and cautiously aligned channels, designed to prepare our youth for particular careers suited to the individual student's aptitude and circumstances.

There should be separate avenues for those desiring vocational training, clerical appointments, professional education and higher University education. I should make it ordinarily impossible for a student who had not gone through the secondary course for clerical lines to apply for clerical post. The curriculum in the revised system of secondary education would also require a wholesale revision. Our future text book will have to be selected keeping in view the changed needs of the province and befitting the pride and great martial traditions of its people, with particular stress on the immediate and future needs of a free and progressive nation. Moreover, our qualifying tests at the various stages will have to be devised to secure adequate recognition of the candidate's capacity to think and not merely the capacity to cram.

17. The pace of education of ours girls must also be accelerated much more than hithertofore, but on healthy and correct lines. The importance of this question cannot be over-emphasized and if the Punjab is to fulfil its destiny, its womanhood must be adequately equipped educationally to contribute towards that well-balanced cultural, social and political progress which we desire Let me, however, clearly state that my conception of the type of education needed for the girls, under the changing circumstances in the Province, calls for a reorientation of the present-day ideas in many directions, and that I would, in the best interests of the Punjab, dread any movement of female education which tends to detract from the best traditions of modesty, religious devotion and character associated with our womanhood.

18. The University education must also adjust itself to the changing needs and conditions of the Province. Standards of professional examinations must be revised suitably to relieve congestion, particularly in the legal profession, and to reduce chances of failure resulting from uneconomic competition from different practitioners. Industrial and scientific research and education must be so organised as to stimulate and meet the demand for agricultural and industrial development It does not, however, seem fair to the taxpayer or the prospective candidates themselves to provide increased facilities, or even to continue the existing facilities, on the present scale for a purely literary higher education. Our present generous and costly open-door policy, which could be appropriately termed as a mass production policy, is mainly responsible for attracting hundreds of indifferent matriculates to a purely literary course of higher education. Such education should primarily be reserved for the more promising students who are likely to benefit themselves and the province from this type of education, or those who can afford to pay for higher education as a luxury. The higher University education would thus become a fairly expensive item to be paid for, wholly or in part, by the State or from endowments in the case of brilliant students, and in the case of other students by their parents. I should spend the resources and man-power thus released on expanding primary education and on the economic and cultural re-organization of the Punjab. Moreover, I would like the University to democratize its enlightenment through a well-planned scheme for higher cultural training of the educated adult population of the Punjab, which would come out of our re-organized secondary schools with a capacity to think. They would thus be able to earn a living and have time, yearning and capacity for cultural consumption for which facilities could be provided by the State and the University. The advent of the Radio with our own broadcasting station offers great potentialities in this direction.

19. One of the greatest needs which must be borne in mind by those entrusted with the education of our young boys and girls is the maintenance of the health and physical fitness of the students The martial traditions of the Punjab are a proud heritage which we must maintain at all costs. The Punjab has been described and must continue to hold the proud potition of the sword arm of India. The freedom of a country demands as a first requisite, its capacity to protect itself against foreign aggression and internal revolt. In this sphere, our Province has played and is destined to play a glorious role in the service of our King and country. To prepare us for it, however, physical training should be emphasised in our schools and colleges. In fact I would like to see the grants-in-aid to aided institutions made conditional on the proper physical training of their students and the promotion of students to a higher class made to depend, among other things, on the attention paid by them to their health and physical training.

20. The changed educational needs of the province demand a corresponding change in the constitution, and the outlook of the University itself. Some of the suggestions made by the Anderson Committee might well be implemented in the near future;

other reforms would also seem necessary. All these would doubtless receive the attention which they deserve. There must, however, come from within the University a genuine indication of a new spirit of broad-minded co-operation and guidance demanded of it. In particular, the controlling organisation should inspire general confidence by making itself truly representative of all classes and interests and by establishing closer and more direct contact with the different parts of the province. It must pay special attention to the legitimate needs and aspirations of the backward areas and classes—including the scheduled castes—in order to maintain a general high level of academic progress in the province. The time seems also opportune for the careful examination, by all concerned, of ways and means necessary to avert the present trend of some denominational institutions to emphasise their communal outlook. All communities must now learn to contribute their best towards the cultural pool of the Punjab; and as a means to this end, I would like to see appropriate University Chairs set up in some or all of our local colleges in order to avoid unnecessary duplication and expense and to foster a spirit of loyalty to the University among students. For instance, a Chair of Islamic History and Research could be suitably established at the Islamia College and one for Hindu philosophy at the D. A. V. or Sanatan Dharam College and so on. This will incidentally encourage specialization in those subjects. These and other similar problems would all have to be examined and solved in keeping with the spirit and the needs of the times.

21. I have outlined above some of the fundamental changes needed in our educational fabric It is obvious that their execution would demand joint consideration, co-operation and effort by the Government, the University, and the people of the Punjab. They must all work with a single-mindedness towards the achievement of these common ideals. Party and personal considerations must give way to the bigger issues at stake. In this task, I can assure you that the Government of the Punjab will do its best, and I hope and trust that the others concerned will not lag behind.

22. The fallacious arguments that this or that reform cannot be undertaken because it constitutes a radical departure from the past or would involve a revolutionary change in the existing law and regulations should no longer arrest our legitimate efforts. The regeneration of the Punjab must go forward. Blind and slavish adherence to customs which stand in the way of reform must be abandoned Laws which hamper progress must be revised Let it not be understood, however, that the re-orientation of our educational policy will by itself bring about cultural and economic millennium. The check on wasteful literary University education and the increase of vocational and technical education cannot by itself provide employment for the products of our new system of education. The question of unemployment is a mixed educational and economic problem It calls for concerted effort in both the educational and economic fields in which the official and non-official agencies must move together. The Punjab Government is fully alive to its responsibility in the matter, and as you know has made a beginning by its policy of making grants of land to educated youngmen. Over 8 thousand acres have hitherto been distributed and more will be allotted as and when land becomes available on completion of our new irrigation projects. This, however, can only touch the fringe of the problem; but it is an experiment full of promise. Moreover, the Government has appointed a representative unemployment committee with terms of reference wider than any other similar committee appointed in India. The deliberations of this committee are not intended to be in the nature of a political eye-wash, and with all the earnestness that I can command, I wish to assure you that we are determined to spare no possible effort to solve the unemployment problem within the limits of our resources. We are proceeding apace with schemes for development of agriculture, and proposals for the industrial progress of the province are receiving earnest consideration. The Haveli project when completed would irrigate a large area in what is now an insecure tract. Meanwhile it is providing employment for hundreds of educated young men and thousands of skilled workers and unskilled labourers

23. Similarly, sustained effort is needed to ensure full effects of the proposed changes on the cultural renaissance of the province. In this sphere, thought is the great creative power, and the cultural revival movements in the various countries have all been preceded by the birth of a new spirit of patriotic consciousness. Let us banish the idea that our own culture, literature, dress, mode of living necessarily; implies a stamp of inferiority on the cultural plane. It should be just the reverse

and on the cultural plane it is our right and duty to retain and revive the best that is in our own culture and to enrich it with the best which we can assimilate from other cultures The lead in this matter should come from the intelligentsia; and the students of Lahore Colleges would do well to be standard bearers of this revival movement. Simplicity, dignity, æsthetic expression and spiritual background are the basic foundations of our culture. Let us all try to interpret them in our individual and corporate lives. As a step towards this end, I would suggest popularising the study and appreciation of our literature, our philosophy, our religions, and similar other factors which go to make the cultural expression of a nation.

24. It is customary on such occasions to address a few words to the young students who are on the threshold of entering a new life. I wish them all success in the new careers which await them I would further avail of this opportunity, as a fellow-citizen who has gone through the experiences of life—the impassioned dreams and idealism of youth as well as the cautious limitations of one who has gone through the mill of public life—to address a few remarks to my young friends in our schools and colleges. The old order has changed. The citizens of tomorrow are expected to bring forth a different type of outlook and preparation from their predecessors in the past. The future of a nation is folded in its youth as is the flower within the close embrace of the sepals that sheath the bud. What you are thinking to-day the Punjab will think to-morrow. Your characters, noble or mean, will show themselves out as the attributes of our nation a few years hence. You have, therefore, to treat your present period as a sacred and coveted opportunity of training. Learn to distinguish between licence and liberty. Live disciplined. Respect your duties more than your rights Treat yourself as a trust of the nation and as its future soldiers who shall have to fight its economic, social and political battles, remember that discipline is the highest virtue in a soldier and that it is the reverse of patriotism for a young recruit to rush into the front line before he has fully gone through the course of his training. You owe it, therefore, to yourself, to your parents, and to your country to make the fullest possible use of this period of training and not to be carried away from its main purpose by misleading war-cries or sentimental slogans. Remember that you have to discharge your obligations to, and fulfil the hopes of, your self-sacrificing parents who have often suffered long and substantially to see you settled honourably and comfortably in the last days of their life. Loyalty to ones country and society must begin at home. Learn to think out for yourselves. Remember that there is always the other side of the picture and that it is the privilege of youth to rise above partisan and parochial considerations and to bring to bear on the problems the fresh and buoyant outlook of youth. Your province has a right to expect of you, the cultivation of an outlook and spirit which would enable you to latter years to view our national problems in their true perspective, as it is only then that you will be able to give of your best in the service of your province and motherland. Develop character and self-respect worthy of the citizens of a great nation. Be courteous but not servile. Be truthful and upright Control yourself in face of temptation. Create a public opinion amongst yourselves—in which I would request the University authorities and professors of colleges also to assist—to discourage extravagance and to despise empty show.

25 It is also my duty to warn you, as a friend, not to be misled by empty rhetoric and ostensible friendliness of those pseudo-patriots who try to side-track you in the name of nationalism. I have reason to believe that enemies of our country and of democracy are at work to spread destructive doctrines through our schools and colleges, The methods which they commonly employ are to dilate on and exaggerate the economic ills of the country and to wax eloquent over the alleged iniquities of imperialism. They usually begin by establishing their hold on the more impressionable and emotional among the students, and use their unwary victims as mediums for spreading the virus. These are some of the main arguments and methods under which they conceal their real purpose of setting up chaos in the country; and let me add that this warning is not based on mere conjecture or surmise. We must, however, be careful not to confuse these dangerous impostors with those genuine patriots and progressive economists who advocate constructive political and economic evolution in the best interests of the country.

26. On the main threads of the economic re-organization of the province, there does not appear much difference between the responsible leaders of the impotrat school of thought in the Punjab, and obviously no scheme of economic planning will suit the requirements of this province which ignores the basic factor that the Punjab is essentially a land of small peasant proprietors. Similarly, the word "imperialism,"

like certain figures of old mythology, has two distinct expressions. If it means the exploitation of one country by another or of India by England, no patriotic Indian, worth the name, would be found wanting to resist it to the utmost of his capacity. But this should not be confused with that other type of imperialism——by whatever name you may call it—which means a comity of nations, who actuated by common ideals and interests, stand together on the basis of free and equal partnership, for upholding the best traditions of democracy and self-determination, against that spirit of unwarranted aggression which is unfortunately being exhibited by certain nations of the world to-day. It is obvious that means of communication and transit, as well as the community of economic and other interests, have brought the peoples of the world nearer than ever before. No nation can now afford to stand isolated as if in a vacuum. The pathetic experience of China shows that those who advocate an isolated international position for our country, in the present circumstances of India and the world do so either with mental reservations or by deliberataly shutting their eyes to the stern realities of the situation. Their attitude betrays a criminal ignorance of the destructive forces and under-currents at work, as also of the devastating potentialities of modern armaments. The destiny which I visualise for my country is an India free to rise to her highest political, social, economic and cultural stature, lending her moral and material prestige to a commonwealth of nations which stands for the unhampered progress of its component parts and the peace of the world. I would earnestly appeal to all my young friends to prepare themselves so that they may in due course contribute their quota as patriotic citizens towards the attainment of this destiny.

27. In conclusion, I would appeal to the youth of the Punjab, the future hope of our province to keep clear of the petty narrow minded communalism which dictates intolerance and injustice to others Remember that we have to reconcile ourselves and our interests to the legitimate interests of our neighbours in a spirit of mutual accommodation, and do not forget that in almost every phase of our life we Punjabees have to sink or swim together. It is only by tolerance and fair-play towards others that we can expect to get the best due to us and the province.

One parting word to those of you who stand on the threshold of the new careers which await you outside the portals of the University. Life has its prizes and surprises for all; the prayers of your parents and good wishes of your well-wishers will be with you to fortify you. I join them in wishing you success. May you fulfil our hopes and your ambitions and prove worthy of our motherland. Many of your ancestors lived at a time when they could only serve their country through defeats. You are privileged to be the heralds of the new order. The future is in your hands. Trust in God and move on. God speed.

The Gurukul University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by *Sir Gokul Chand Narang* at the Annual Convocation of the Gurukul University held at Meerut on the **30th. December 1937**.—

"I have been invited to deliver the convocation address not because I am worthy to deliver the address to such learned batch of graduates of the Gurukul, but because I have an unflinching faith in the Arya Samaj. I congratulate those graduates who have received degrees after a strenuous and continuous study of full 14 years and hope that they will utilise their knowledge and learning for the services of the nation and the country Generally, it is the duty of every body to serve his community, country and religion, and also of the graduates who come out of the Universities with the public money that their education had been made possible. But the graduates of the Gurukul owe this duty more strictly"

The learned speaker continued: "It was realised by late Munshi Singh that the University graduates are incapable to render the public service in the true sense, and so he established the Gurukul of Kangri, and the Gurukul of Brindabon was also started at the same time. Dear graduates, your duty is higher than the University graduates. If you too on entering your life will devote the whole of your time to earning your livelihood, I will think that the Gurukul education has failed to bring about the desited result. It was not on account of the simple life or low expenses that your parents sent you to this institution, but the real reason would have been a desire to serve the Aryan Race, and the spreading of the Veda and Vedic culture. At present there are two sorts of people in our country. The one are those who hate religion, and the others are those who are unaware of religion. These sorts of people are numerous in our Hindu community. Therefore it is highly necessary to teach such persons the true principles of the religion.

In our ancient days there were three forms of Gurus-Kula, Guru, Kula Prohit, Pandha with their defined branches of control. At present these persons do nothing beyond taking their share of alms in the marriages, and it is pitiable that most of them are uneducated and do not know even the A B C of the language.

Addressing the public the speaker said, "You should not think that the number of 5 graduates can do nothing, as Rishi Dayanand or Guru Nanak were all alone, and they were able to raise the status of the Vedic dharma in such hard times of the Muslims.

Addressing the Snataks he said "You should not devote the whole of your time to the earning of your bread, but should devote a sufficient time to the service of the community, nation, and the religion as all eyes are turned towards you for the emancipation of our community. The Hindu community these days is static, while other communities are fast progressing. 25 crores of Hindus are sheep without a shepherd to control them. Therefore you should work as the tower of light and should spread whatever you have learnt in this house of learning. You must be an ideal for others to follow.

"I warn those people who think that the Hindu dharma is like a smashed boat. Arya Dharma will live for ever so long as there is rationality in the world as our religion is the most rational in the world. I have toured in foreign lands and know that if there is any religion which can give spiritual relief, it is only Vedic religion. For example salvation according to the Vedic Dharma can be achieved with good action of the individual while according to other religions it cannot be achieved without the recommendation of some super-human.

'At present the Hindu community is static, while the other communities are dynamic and are fast progressing in all directions, Continued the learned speaker. 'We are not organised and we have no joint programme for the future. No caste or community can live which has no future programme before it. If there is any hope of keeping the Hindu community in tact it is from the Arya Samaj, and I am proud of being an Arya Samajist.